American Psychologist
1963, Vol. 18, No. 12, 752-756

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICER: 1963

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American Psychological Association

IT is a pleasure—and a challenge—to report to you upon the completion of my first year as your Executive Officer.

This is my first opportunity to acknowledge the trust placed in me by the Board of Directors and the Council of Representatives. It is also the first time my fellow psychologists and I have seen each other since I took on the responsibility of being your administrative officer. As I was writing this report, I was wondering what will be the last item called to my attention before I go onto the platform. Will it be about getting the right addresses on journals or about getting the right titles on people? Will it be about nuclear test bans, or will it be about tribal conflict and counterinsurgency among the spirited clans of APA? (It turned out to be—who gets which gavel when?)

In any case, this new task can be quite interesting. And I would like to thank the colleagues who have given me guidance and support. I refer to the Board and the Council, which, as your representatives, govern the APA and guide the Central Office.

My thanks go particularly to our President, Charles E. Osgood, to my predecessor, John G. Darley, and to Meredith P. Crawford, whose continuing devotion to the interests of APA goes far beyond his official responsibilities as Treasurer. His contribution to APA this year is matched only by that of his gracious wife. Mrs. Crawford must indeed feel that I am a sort of Man Who Came to Dinner—and stayed all year. Working on plans for the new building with Meredith in his basement hideaway is something I will retain as the main recollection of my first year at APA.

It is a particular pleasure to report what so many of you have discovered for yourselves—that APA is blessed with a singularly competent and devoted Central Office staff. I am most grateful for their patient induction and tutelage.

This was a year of quite a few notable events, and I would like to note some of them.

This was the year of a very successful International Congress and I want to mention particularly the thoughtful leadership of Carl Pfaffmann in this effort and the calm competence of Charles Bray who gave day-to-day direction to the extensive and complicated preparations for the Congress. And I wish to report that the Young Psychologist Project which you so generously supported was a high light of that Congress. We have a number of distinguished visitors here in Philadelphia and hope they feel particularly welcome.

There has been a considerable flurry of Congressional activity with laboratory animal experimentation, mental health and mental retardation, National Service Corps, and Civil Defense legislation getting the most visible attention. Civil rights and education measures and pending legislation on psychological tests and scientific advisory panels for Congress were among other active interests.

The establishment last year of a staff officer position, funded by a foundation grant, made it possible to extend the range of APA activities which seek to insure that psychological knowledge and consultation are made available to the decision makers in national and international affairs. Lawrence Solomon is very ably assisting this development.

Our knowledge of the scientific communication process and its effective mechanisms was expanded by the publication last month of 14 technical reports from the NSF-APA Scientific Information Exchange Project. The editing and operation of *Psychological Abstracts* were returned to the Central Office and a full-time Executive Editor, Philip Siegmann, appointed. Operational research on the *Abstracts* continues in cooperation with the NSF-APA Project.

The work of experimental psychologists will this fall and in the future be viewed by millions of people as the educational TV series entitled "Focus on Behavior," recently completed, is aired throughout the nation. This 10-film series was sponsored by APA under a grant from NSF. Psychologists also were represented with two films in the TV series sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

During the past year, 87 psychologists journeyed considerable distances from their own institutions to visit 87 small colleges with a view to providing outside stimulation to the work in psychology. The visits were supported as a part of the Visiting Scientist Program of NSF.

The opportunities and the requirements of a career in psychology are described in an attractive APA booklet prepared with the cooperation of all the Divisions and supported by NSF. One hundred thousand copies are now available for free distribution upon request to the Central Office.

The work of the Board of Professional Affairs was facilitated this year with the establishment of a full-time staff position as Administrative Officer for Professional Affairs. Joseph Margolin has effectively carried out this responsibility this year. This provision also made it possible to expand to full time the work of the Administrative Officer for Ethics and Social Responsibility. Forrest Vance assumed these duties on July 1, 1963. Newly activated committees on the Practice of Clinical Psychology and on Insurance and Related Social Issues drew heavily upon these expanded facilities of the Central Office in the vigorous pursuit of their missions.

The reports of the Committee on Scientific and Professional Responsibility and of the Special Committee on Registration of Graduate Programs in Psychology, along with the recommendations of several boards and standing committees, led the Board of Directors at its May meeting to authorize the establishment of an ad hoc Committee on the Scientific and Professional Aims of Psychology representative of the wide range of interests of psychologists. It is my view that this is not "just another committee," but a major effort by the Association to understand and act on the issue of professionalization. In a sense, it is a face-to-face confrontation which must, in an atmosphere of mutual respect and task-mindedness, evolve an accommodation process.

Finally, I note the significance of the new headquarters building. We will, I know, all take great pride in the actual achievement of such an impressive physical representation of the work and effort of psychologists. As I have become personally and intimately acquainted with all the details and all the consideration and planning given to the building project by what must by now number several hundred psychologists, and as I have found an overwhelmingly enthusiastic response to the building project by the many psychologists whom I see in the course of a year, I have no doubt but that this will constitute one of our most important accomplishments as an Association. We are building well for the present and the future.

What about psychology today? It is a challenge to shape a set of observations of a developing science and profession; and as a new officer I am diffident about my observation of trends. But even a reasonably disinterested view would identify psychology, in its more formal sense, as an important and significant force in our culture. The range and depth of penetration is tremendous, as a few more examples will remind us.

The Columbia *Jester* found humor, you will recall, in the animal lab when the rat in the Skinner box says, "Boy, have I got him conditioned!" More recently, in the comic strip of the same name, Winnie Winkle gained insight from her mother's consultation with a clinical psychologist—portrayed in all his shirt-sleeved and hairy-chested splendor. The historic civil rights decision of the Supreme Court drew upon psychology, and the discerning have found an obvious awareness of the thinking and work of psychologists in several passages in recent speeches of the President of the United States. The pervasiveness of psychology in our culture is readily documented.

The diversity of contributions by psychologists is evidenced also in their work settings. Man-on-the-moon projects enlist the aid of psychologists in the design of environments and the analysis of man's decision capabilities. The more mundane business and industrial enterprises give attention to organizational behavior. Motivation theory is applied to the functioning of the economic system under which we live. Schools and colleges provide thousands of opportunities for the development and application of psychological knowledge. Hospitals, clinics, counseling centers, and private consulting rooms hold out the promise of more effective and satisfying functioning to hundreds of thousands of puzzled, troubled, and sick individuals. Behavior technology enhances our military and national security programs. Peace, arms control, and disarmament organizations, in and out of government, use psychologists in research and advisory roles.

These and countless other evidences of the contributions and acceptance of psychology mark American life today. It is a reinforcing state of

affairs as we seek to enlarge and improve our knowledge and our worth to society.

But I think only the naïve would look around our burgeoning family reunion and believe that every day in every way we are getting better and better. We hear certain jarring notes. And I am not just referring to those noisy rows or quiet enmities which naturally exist in family gatherings, including ours. I mean rather that there are certain sharp questions being asked from the inside and the outside of our group.

Psychology and psychologists, in the nature of things, have always been especially vulnerable to criticism. And we are caught in a dilemma! We may be distrusted or disliked or censured by substantial numbers of the public, including some very articulate and thoughtful critics, because we are thought *to know too little* or *to know too much!* It sometimes seems we cannot win for losing.

When we examine current examples of negative feedback, as I have done recently, we can be made to seem the concocters of a veritable Devil's Brew. Sensory deprivation, stress induction, electrode implantation, psychopharmacology, environmental design, hypnosis, psychogalvanic responses, psychological tests, and behavioral manipulation are among the basic ingredients. Some of the critical comments may be only the froth on a sea of sensationalism. But we should be given pause when a respected civil libertarian editorializes about us: "Has the time come to ask a few questions about the use and abuse of knowledge that thrusts to the threshold of the human soul?"

My analysis suggests that unfavorable public reactions frequently center on four issues which may arise in the research and practice of psychologists: (*a*) invasion of privacy; (*b*) denial of freedom (as, for example, involuntary participation in testing programs); (*c*) deception; (*d*) behavior control.

Ironically, these have been and currently are intraprofessional as well as public concerns. Apparently our own concerns inevitably will find their way into the public arena. I cannot see how the study of human behavior can develop without accepting the citizen as a full partner, with the right to look at our books at any time.

It seems clear that we will have more, not fewer, public protests, along with an intermittent schedule of positive reinforcement, as we extend our participation in human affairs.

Let me now share with you another observation, or more properly, a conception, that I have found useful in thinking about some of the dominant issues in psychology's affairs.

A central issue is, of course, the professionalization of psychology—which proceeds apace. Actions and events, most recently in St. Louis and again in Philadelphia, demonstrate that APA is facing reality and that we are gathering ourselves for important next steps.

Starting early last October, while I attended a meeting of the new Committee on the Practice of Clinical Psychology and then with other APA committees and boards, I have tried to clarify my own thinking by trying out on my colleagues the following oversimplified conception.

Historically, psychology has patterned itself upon a *socialized-group-endeavor model.* Psychologists worked primarily in settings which, in general, permitted or required close, day-to-day personal relationships with colleagues and often with other persons with similar if frequently transitory interests—namely, students. Ordinarily, their work was done under the auspices of public or eleemosynary institutions or agencies. (It is both the tax-exempt nature and the group interaction aspect of this sponsorship that leads me to use the term "socialized.") The other defining characteristics and the roles, rituals, and modal activities are too well known to require further description. This continues to be the typical pattern for psychologists today, when three-fourths of the APA membership is deployed in schools, colleges, universities, governmental units, and other nonprofit institutions and organizations.

In recent years—there are early antecedents as well as transitional modes—there has emerged a pattern which I identify as the *entrepreneurial-solo-endeavor model.* (I use entrepreneur in its basic motivational sense of *enterprise* and do not mean just to allude to economic enterprise—we try in APA to be careful about the precise words we use.) Anyway, the entrepreneur-psychologist situated perhaps in his private office or suite, works on his own and offers primarily a personal relationship, for a fee, to an individual client. The roles, rituals, and modal activities are not widely understood among the generality of psychologists; we have a scarcity of descriptive data. I am sure that misconceptions abound, and that many misconceptions exist in the heads in this hall—including the head of your Executive Officer.

We have all too little knowledge and understanding of a mode of endeavor that seems to generate a heightened interest in diverse legislative enactments, insurance reimbursement, set versus sliding fees, week-end social gatherings, off-campus training institutes, telephone answering services, interprofessional relations, and, as unfortunately was the case this year, in systematic Divisional election lobbying. We are not fully prepared—who is ever prepared—to cope with all the new issues, as well as the old—the more familiar areas of ethics, research, substantive issues in psychology, and higher standards of training and practice.

Many of us think we detect similarities to the medical model, and we are puzzled because there is evidence that medicine, including psychiatry, is moving perceptibly in the other direction. Medicine is moving in the direction of psychology's historic model—that is, to a group-endeavor model.

Everett Cherrington Hughes, the distinguished occupational sociologist, noted this transition more than a dozen years ago and just this year the sociologists, Blau and Scott, assessed an aspect of this specific circumstance. They write:

> The professions in industrial societies, having long been typified by the independent practitioner, appear to be undergoing a vast and far-reaching period of transition. During recent years a large number of the members of the "old" professions, such as physicians and lawyers, have become salaried employees of formal organizations; the "new" professional groups—social workers, librarians, nurses, accountants—are almost exclusively employed by organizations rather than engaged in private practice. The salaried professionals are increasing in numbers many times faster than are the independent professionals.

Is psychology caught up in cultural lag or cultural confusion? If a man is opposed to a given model, is he opposing the future or the past?

I personally am reasonably confident that there will be major consequences flowing from the relative emphasis that psychology eventually places upon these two models. We will always have the public as a partner. Society will not leave an important matter like war to the generals. It should not leave peace to the scientists, and it will not leave the guidance of human behavior to the therapist nor to the druggist. Professionalization per se is, I believe, much less significant in its implications for the future than is the *form* it will take.

I want to set a third observation alongside these two before weaving the thread that will, I hope, give them some unity.

In these past months, I have been increasingly impressed with the need to investigate the reciprocal relationships between psychology and the law. As psychology extends its base of operations and as it diversifies its models of endeavor, it will of necessity be responsive to considerations of law and the legal process. There will be increasing clarification (and perhaps some obfuscation) of the status and functions of the psychologist both by statutory enactment and by the precedents emanating from court decisions and administrative rulings.

In turn, there is the prospect that psychology will have its own increasing impact upon legal thought and process. It may well be that the evidential bias, if you will, of psychology will in the long run gain a more receptive hearing from the law than has perhaps been accorded psychiatry. If we keep our powder dry and our data firm, our influence on and contribution to this central social institution may indeed be of major significance.

Now I should like to identify the theme and thesis that permeates this set of observations.

Simply stated, it is this. Considerations of social responsibility, ethics, and morality must continue to inform and influence our decisions and actions—as individuals and as an Association. Perhaps they are more critical considerations than ever.

Derek J. de Solla Price, the well-known historian of science, has spoken to this point recently in his provocative Pegram Lectures at the Brookhaven National Laboratory. He says:

> One of the things I think is happening is the maturing of a certain responsible attitude among scientists analogous to that which, in almost prehistoric times, moved physicians toward the concept of the Hippocratic Oath. Contrary to the popular belief, this happened not because doctors were unusually dedicated or public-spirited people but because they were all too easily held personally responsible by their customers for poison, malpractice, and so on. The scientist has had a much harder time in arriving at this, for his customer has usually been the state rather than an individual. His guilt has been in the eyes of the world rather than in those of an individual. Here I refer not only to such matters as nuclear testing and fallout but also to a general question of what service science is rendering for the common good and for the improvement of man's higher understanding.

Disinterestedness in the results of the application of psychological knowledge to human affairs

may now no longer serve as a protective cloak as may have been proper or possible in earlier days. Psychology and psychologists are embedded in a cultural matrix and share in the common life and concern of our society. Undoubtedly we will continue to struggle with conflicting views of our responsibilities for the common good. However, I believe that we must and will concern ourselves as psychologists more and more with the uses of the knowledge that pours forth from our laboratories, consulting rooms, and field stations.

Whatever models of endeavor we may invent and elect, or have forced upon us, will require our continuing evaluation of our role performance and our modes of conduct.

If increasing proportions of us choose the entrepreneurial-solo pattern, and this is not yet clearly the trend, we will continue to discover new dimensions and new details of personal responsibility.

New perspectives, new problems, new adaptations and solutions, many of them unfamiliar and perhaps frequently of little personal interest to most psychologists, have emerged with this model of endeavor. I say *new*, but I am impressed with the great amount of time, thought, and action accorded many of these matters over many years by various agencies of the APA as is revealed by a review of the minutes and records. A substantial number of carefully considered policies and procedures have been established; the evolutionary process has prevailed. It will continue, informed by a sense of social responsibility.

In closing, I want once again to turn to law—and what a great humanist has said of the law beyond the law.

Last year, Chief Justice Earl Warren discussed the relationships between law and ethics in a memorable address. Here is his opening paragraph:

> In civilized life, Law floats in a sea of Ethics. Each is indispensable to civilization. Without Law, we would be at the mercy of the least scrupulous; without Ethics, Law could not exist. Without ethical consciousness in most people, lawlessness would be rampant. Yet without Law, civilization could not exist . . .

Chief Justice Warren continues,

> There is thus a Law beyond the Law, as binding on those of us who cherish our institutions as the Law itself, although there is no human power to enforce it.

And again,

> The existence of this Law beyond the Law places heavy responsibilities on the individual. It is he who has to apply it in difficult and perplexing situations. This necessity requires him to be trained in the discernment of right from wrong and in the will to accept the right, without the slightest duress. His problem is the more complicated because the issues presented by life are rarely simple . . . the individual, confronted with life's problems, has to evaluate the relevance of one value or precept against another, insofar as both concern the immediate situation. No wonder that he is frequently perplexed; and wishes he could free himself from the obligation to follow the Law beyond the Law.

Psychologists, in our personal and corporate activities, frequently experience this perplexity. Our responses may range from cynical indifference—through bemused tolerance—to wise and compassionate concern. We are fortunate that the latter "indispensable ingredients of moral decision," as the Chief Justice has termed them, have predominated to this time.

Today we psychologists know that society, wittingly and unwittingly, has encouraged our curiosity, supported our exploration, submitted to our inquiry, sought our services. Society will, I believe, absolutely require our accountability. We should meet them more than halfway. We must give a good account to ourselves.

We see a future which holds promise of excitement and incitement, of resolutions and solutions, of growth and diversification, of successes and failures. We, as individuals and as an Association, may well respond to a paraphrase of Chief Justice Warren's concluding charge to his fellow citizens:

> The responsibility which is ours is to conduct our affairs with wisdom, with conscientiousness, with a view to the future, with an understanding of the public need, with a view to the long-range perspective of history, and above all, with great compassion for the individual.

I can think of no more honorable commitment for us all.

Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology

William D. Garvey and Belver C. Griffith

Reprinted from Science, December 25, 1964, Vol. 146, No. 3652, pages 1655-1659

Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology

The immediate dissemination of research findings is described for one science.

William D. Garvey and Belver C. Griffith

The "scientific information crisis" is generally understood to refer to an increasing quantity of literature, especially in the archival journals. Coping with the crisis is usually assumed to be a matter of improving the publication, distribution, and retrieval of this literature. But the literature is only a portion of a system that encompasses many forms of information exchange; and without denying the great importance of the archival journals, it may be said that they have received a disproportionate share of the attention being given to the mechanisms by which scientific information is disseminated. In psychology, at least, the exchange of new scientific information between its principal producers and consumers does not wait upon journals. The active scientist makes use of a whole network of means of communication, many of them informal or of small range, and yet apparently highly efficient. Their efficiency lies not only in their expeditiousness but also in their selectivity, for the group that is actively interested in a particular set of findings is often quite small. Indeed, often the readership of a particular paper in a current journal may consist largely of people who already know its content from earlier sources.

The importance of devices that direct information in a selective manner becomes clear when we consider the scale of scientific psychology. There are about 30,000 psychologists in the United States, about 40 percent of them employed in academic institutions. It is in the academic institutions that research and other scholarly work in psychology is concentrated, but contributions are also made by psychologists in industrial organizations, hospitals, and government research centers. Most of the important formal channels of scientific information are managed by scientific and professional organizations. The largest of these is the American Psychological Association (APA), which sponsors information-exchange activities for the entire range of subject matters included in psychology. It has a membership of 22,000, it publishes the principal journals, and it holds annual meetings that are attended by as many as 10,000 persons, of whom 1000 present papers. In addition, there is a hierarchical structure of regional and state organizations affiliated with APA, which hold annual meetings of their own; more than 1000 scientific papers are presented annually at state and regional meetings.

Outside the APA structure, there are approximately 20 organizations, each concerned primarily with a limited subject matter within psychology. Although their scale is small, their combined membership includes a fifth of all APA members, and they are apparently increasing in number as well as in size. The largest has about 1000 members, and the largest of their meeting programs consists of perhaps 100 papers. Besides formal meetings and the publication of journals, their scientific information-exchange activities are extensive and may include preprint or reprint exchanges and the arrangement of informal conferences (some at the APA annual meeting). There appear to be about 2000 psychologists who are extremely active in the processes of scientific communication. This group on the whole consists of members of APA who are also members of at least one of the special psychological organizations. They furnish most of the research material that requires or warrants information exchange, and their efforts keep psychology going as a basic science—that is, they regularly publish journal articles and make formal presentations at annual meetings; they are the producers of books on psychological subjects; they are the holders of the major federal research grants and often serve as monitors or advisers on other federal grants. There also appears to be a larger circle of persons who are extremely active in handling and producing information (and who are, therefore, an important part of the first group's audience) but whose information activities are always directed to some extent to other disciplines and do not affect the main stream of psychology.

Journals of some professional interest to psychologists number close to 1000. About 20 of these, including 5 or 6 that serve fields other than psychology, may be considered central, in the sense that large numbers of psychologists use them to obtain information. A recent issue of these 20 journals considered as one contains 500 to 600 articles. There are in addition about 400 institutions that issue technical reports of some relevance to the work of psychologists. Book publication is less amenable to measurement, since it does not fall into an ordered series and also because not all books of interest to psychologists are clearly identified with their discipline. If books in all of psychology and psychiatry and the relevant margins of other social sciences, biology, and engineering are counted, 200 to 300 technical books of scientific interest to psychologists are published in a single year.

Dissemination before Journal Publication

Over the last 3 years the American Psychological Association has conducted a series of studies, the Project on Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology (*1*), which, among other things, has traced the process from the time producers start the work that is ultimately to be reported in the journals until reports of it have appeared in secondary publications. These findings could be organized in a number of ways. We have chosen to present them here by diagramming the course of

The authors are the principal investigators of the Project on Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology, American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.

an average research report. In this diagram (page 1657), the four ovals each represent a significant point in the producer's work. The line connecting these four points also divides the figure into two sections: To the right lie possible forms of an oral report of the work, each indicated by a rectangle. To the immediate left lie possible forms of a written report, and at the far left lies the smaller category of forms of secondary publication and of index listings of the study. The ordinate on the left gives the median time of each form of dissemination relative to the time of journal publication, some exceptions being noted in footnotes to the figure (*2*). Finally, the entire figure is lightly shaded except for the small area that contains forms of dissemination through which the information is generally available to the scientific public. All other forms, lying in the shaded area, have audiences which are to some degree restricted.

Work published in a psychological journal this month would have started about 30 to 36 months ago. Between 18 and 21 months ago, it would have reached a stage at which a rather complete report of it could be made; and shortly thereafter, between 15 and 18 months ago, the first reports would have appeared. These would have been very informal oral reports at colloquia within the producer's own institution. During this same period a more formal oral report is likely to have been given at a meeting of a small special-interest group. A few months later a formal oral report may have been made to a fairly large audience at a national or regional meeting. About one in five articles which appear in the principal psychological journals has previously been reported to a national meeting, and one in ten to a regional meeting. In the case of work reported to the APA annual convention, the first public announcement is made in the form of a listing of the title and abstract in the published program distributed to all APA members prior to the convention. The program of meetings serves not only the convention attendant but also the nonattendant who is actively trying to locate work relevant to his own. Within the period of a year, about 30 percent of APA members use a program of meetings they did not attend to locate sources of relevant information. Although the convention presentation is offered to about 3000 attendants at regional and up to 10,000 attendants at national meetings, the number who actually attend a particular paper session rarely exceeds 100.

An informal kind of written dissemination, the distribution of copies of the presentation, occurs shortly after the convention. From 70 to 100 percent of authors, the number depending on the meeting and the distribution of its program, receive requests for copies. Usually, however, there are few requests for any single presentation. The convention presentation and any distribution of its text are interim reports in the sense that the majority of persons who make convention presentations seek journal publication.

An author begins writing the journal article about 17 months prior to publication and typically completes it in 2 to 3 months. Shortly thereafter —12 to 15 months prior to publication—he begins to use a variety of means of disseminating it (including the convention presentations already described). The first important dissemination of a reasonably complete written report of the work is made in the form of typed or mimeographed copies. Approximately 60 percent of authors distribute such copies; the number distributed is small, however, and recipients are generally local colleagues. Also during this period, 8 percent of authors will produce and distribute technical reports (with regard to these the picture is not clear because of the rather complicated distribution systems).

The next stage, which occurs approximately a year prior to journal publication, is the distribution of preprints or prepublication copies of the article. Approximately 40 percent of authors distribute preprints, the average number of copies being about 10, although some authors distribute as many as 200. The primary purpose of this distribution is to provide immediate reports to persons working in the same area. (It is interesting to note that 15 percent of these preprints are distributed in response to requests from persons familiar with the work through knowledge of prior oral presentations.) Preprint distribution occurs at several points around the time at which the article is submitted to a journal. Some authors distribute preprints just before submitting manuscripts, most prefer to distribute after submitting, and some delay distribution until editorial acceptance.

On the average, the interval between submission and publication is approximately 9 months. Approximately 20 percent of published articles have previously been rejected by one or more journals, however, and in their case the times in the dissemination process previously discussed are, on the average, set back a year. Curiously, few rejected articles fail to appear in one journal or another. The data suggest that rejection keeps an article out of a particular journal—not out of the literature.

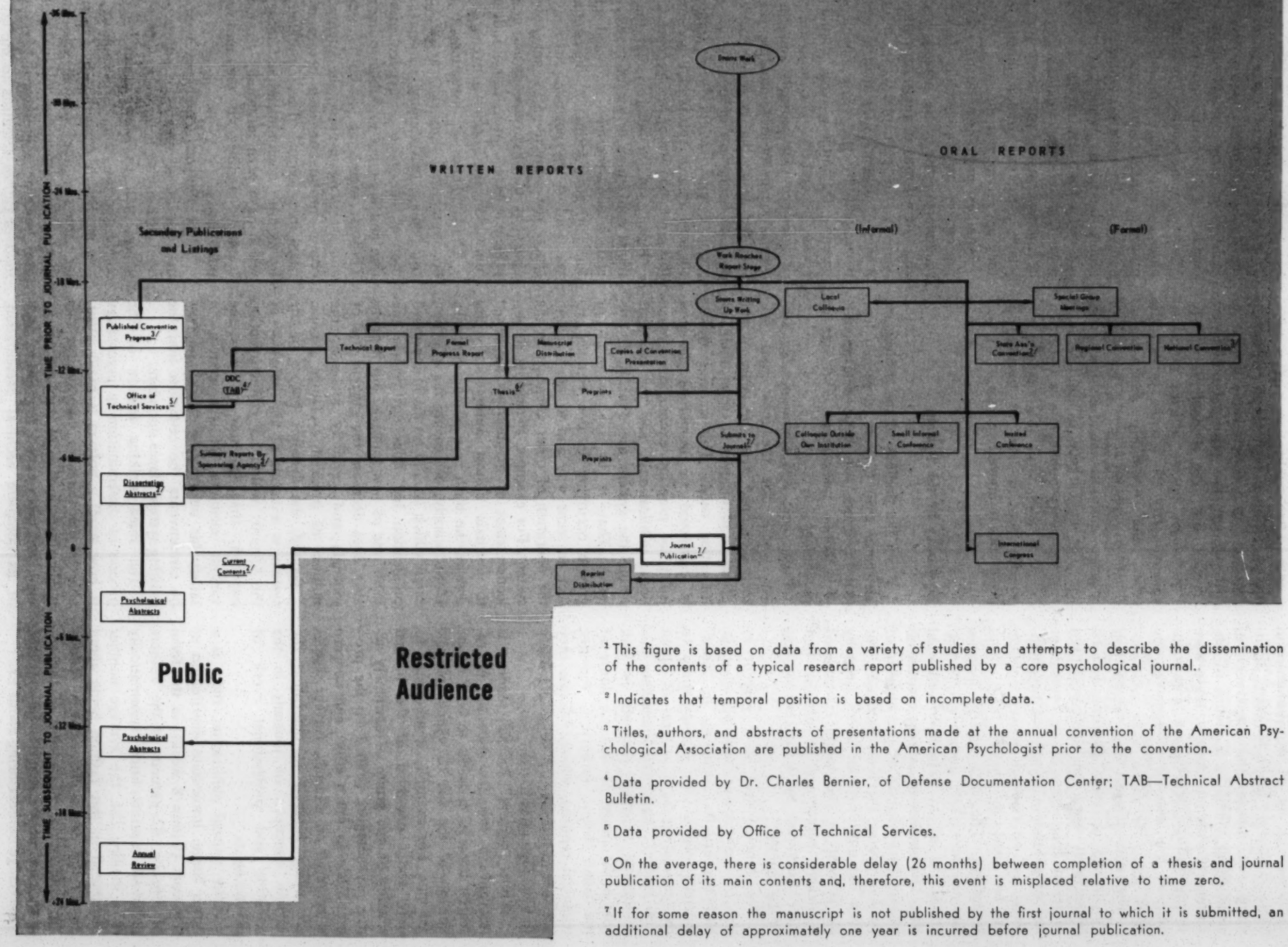
During the period between submission of the manuscript and publication, reports of the work continue to be made. Of published studies, approximately 5 percent are formally reported in this period at colloquia outside the author's own institution; this means of publicizing research appears to be used mostly by prominent researchers who are on something like a "colloquium circuit." Another 5 percent are reported at invited conferences, usually supported by an institution for a very small group of scientists prominent in a specific field.

Journal Publication and Later Dissemination

The process has been described up to the time the work is published in a journal. After publication, the issue containing the article is sent to individual and institutional subscribers. Individual subscribers include as much as 30 percent of the general population of psychologists for the principal journal serving the most numerous specialty (clinical psychology) and as few as 1 percent for principal journals in unusual specialties (psychoacoustics, gerontology, and others). Beside the immediate display of the article to individual subscribers, there is the less direct display through subscriptions held by institutions. The important role of institutional subscriptions is shown by the excess, about 10 percent, of persons reporting that they regularly use a particular journal over the number listed as subscribing.

In the 2 months following publication, up to 20 percent of APA members will pick up the journal, if it is an extremely popular one, and will at least expose themselves to the title of the article in the table of contents. Some of these persons go on to read some part of the article or to scan it.

THE DISSEMINATION OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION IN PSYCHOLOGY[1]



[1] This figure is based on data from a variety of studies and attempts to describe the dissemination of the contents of a typical research report published by a core psychological journal.

[2] Indicates that temporal position is based on incomplete data.

[3] Titles, authors, and abstracts of presentations made at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association are published in the American Psychologist prior to the convention.

[4] Data provided by Dr. Charles Bernier, of Defense Documentation Center; TAB—Technical Abstract Bulletin.

[5] Data provided by Office of Technical Services.

[6] On the average, there is considerable delay (26 months) between completion of a thesis and journal publication of its main contents and, therefore, this event is misplaced relative to time zero.

[7] If for some reason the manuscript is not published by the first journal to which it is submitted, an additional delay of approximately one year is incurred before journal publication.

In our collection of data on current readership ("current" meaning within 2 months or so of distribution), no distinctions were made between "skimming" an article and "reading" it, since either could be a means of obtaining information from it; these were simply distinguished from a mere scanning of the table of contents of the issue.

The data suggest that about half the articles in "core" journals will be immediately read, in this specialized sense of the word, by 1 percent or less of a random sample of psychologists, and no research report is likely to be read by more than about 7 percent. The data clearly indicate that the immediate audience for most articles is of an extremely restricted size. The number of current readers increases very slightly as the number of persons *seeing* the issue increases, but even the most popular issues (seen by 20 percent of the sample) contained a sizable percentage of articles that were examined by 1 percent or less of the sample.

The articles read by 1 percent or less of the persons sampled—that is, half the articles appearing in "core" journals—would by extrapolation to the population have a total of about 200 readers. Thus, the immediate dissemination through journals is well within the range of that for some of the other forms (preprints, reprints, technical reports), which, because they are sent to interested persons, are likely to have high rates of use.

While "current" journal reading is relevant to the dissemination of research findings, it seems to be a minor portion of the use to which journals are put. For example, it amounted to only about one-third of the journal reading of one group of extremely active psychologists studied by the project. Since so much effort and concern is centered on journals, further studies are being planned to determine the various functions of journals in the scientific and professional work of psychologists.

After journal publication, there is a rather large, immediate distribution of the work (within 8 weeks) in the form of reprints; 62 percent of the authors distribute reprints fairly systematically to a mailing list, the average number distributed in this fashion being about 25. In the period immediately following publication, 94 percent of the authors also receive requests for reprints, the average number being about 13.

The article would be abstracted in *Psychological Abstracts* about 15 months after publication, and possibly placed within a context of other current work in a review some time after that. Of the two principal outlets for reviews, one, the *Annual Review of Psychology*, covers articles published approximately 21 months earlier; the other, the bimonthly *Psychological Bulletin*, probably—for a variety of reasons—embodies an even longer delay. The appearance of an article in any secondary publication is uncertain, but it is quite clear that reviews emphasize popular lines of research in preference to innovative ones.

Dynamics of the System

When the findings of the project are viewed in their entirety, it seems clear that there are two basic determinants of scientific information exchange in psychology.

First, there is a communication system which, for the most part, has been developed over the years by the scientists themselves to meet their information needs. This general system is composed of numerous elements (such as preprint exchange, conventions, publications), and the elements within the system are dynamically related. That is to say, changes or growth occurring in one element affect, in some way and to some extent, the operation of other elements in the system. For example, increasing the rejection rates of manuscripts submitted to journals almost automatically increases the birth rate of new journals. Unfortunately, decreasing the rejection rates, which usually results in increased publication lag, does not reduce the birth rate of new journals, but it probably does decrease the current use of journals and certainly increases the number of preprint exchange groups.

Second, the dynamic nature of the system is a result of the behavior of the scientist within his communication network, that is, how he uses the various elements of the system to satisfy his information needs and how he circumvents the restraints that the existing system places upon him.

The most striking feature of the process of dissemination in psychology is how small a portion is easily available to the scientific community. The public dissemination of information occurs late, takes only a few forms, and, in its complete archival presentation, that is, in scientific journals, has a small immediate audience. Nevertheless, it is these forms which are the primary concern of current work in information retrieval. The system also includes a great variety of informal means of scientific communication. Most of these means, on the other hand, occur relatively early in the process, actually about the time the author would have a complete written report in hand. While some of the audiences for these informal means of dissemination are small, others are comparable in size with those audiences which examine articles shortly after they appear in journals.

Another prominent feature of the process is a considerable degree of redundancy; the same persons receive equivalent forms of the information repeatedly. In particular, the informal means of dissemination tend to seek or be sought by the same people, apparently including a large number of active researchers. The absolute sizes of audiences for journals and for informal means of dissemination suggest that the group that is really interested in a particular set of findings is quite small. Comparison of these audiences suggests that a substantial portion of this group consists of the "repeaters."

Finally, in the total system the national convention is one of the earliest, and certainly the least restricted, of all the "private" forms of dissemination and holds a key position. In many respects the convention is not now an especially effective device, and it is a principal target of efforts to develop innovations in information exchange.

The dynamics of dissemination may be summarized thus: The active scientist displays two seemingly irrepressible motives, one to obtain needed information and the other to publicize findings. Through requesting copies of reports and attending meetings, he attempts to obtain information long before it appears in a journal. The multiplicity of forms of communication, most of which have been informally created by scientists, testifies to the motive to publicize.

These motives, combined with the network of all means of communication within the field, constitute a dynamic and, to some extent, an unstable process. The expression of the two motives is controlled at a particular time by the existing system of means of communication. In the long run, however, any thwarting of these motives causes scientists to modify the

system by creating new means of publicizing and discovering information and by allowing other means to atrophy through lack of use.

Such stability as there is in the process of dissemination seems to be related to the long lag in journal publication and to the common assumption among psychologists that journal publication is the normal outlet for research findings. These factors probably sustain the present general form of the process. The system of informal dissemination, the amount of effort devoted to obtaining information prior to journal publication, and the size of the audience that seeks immediate access to the findings when they finally appear in journal form would seem almost certain to change if the publication lag were greatly shortened or if journal publication were less widely sought.

Notes

1. Extended treatments of the results of this research appear as volume 1, Reports of the American Psychological Association's Project on Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology (December 1963). A limited number of copies are available from the American Psychological Association, 1200 17th Street, NW, Washington, D.C.
2. The time intervals are actually medians of data reported in one or more of the Project's studies. There are often large deviations about these medians and, as can be seen in the original reports, certain of these deviations are associated with interesting phenomena.
3. The work reported here was supported by grants G-18494 and its continuation GN-281, which were made to the American Psychological Association as part of the program of the Office of Science Information Service of the National Science Foundation. The research was planned and executed by the staff of the Project on Scientific Information Exchange in Psychology which includes (in addition to the authors) Bertita E. Compton, Madelyn J. Miller, Margit Siegmann, and Kazuo Tomita. The Project's advisory panel reviewed research plans and findings. Its members include Raymond A. Bauer, Dorwin Cartwright, Kenneth E. Clark, John G. Darley, Quinn McNemar, Donald W. Taylor, and Arthur H. Brayfield (*ex officio*).

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Reprinted from AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST, Vol. 20, No. 12, December 1965
Printed in U. S. A.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICER: 1965

PERSPECTIVES ON APA

ARTHUR H. BRAYFIELD

American Psychological Association

THIS has been an interesting year, perhaps the busiest which psychology has ever had. I would like to mention several highlights by way of introduction.

This year has seen increased recognition of psychology in many different ways. In Washington we have received practically all the Washington recognition signs. Psychological tests this year were investigated by two Congressional committees. That is a real sign that we have been doing something for somebody—I will speak more of this later.

A psychologist was appointed to the President's Cabinet. John W. Gardner, a former member of APA's Policy and Planning Board, is now working on policy and planning for the entire nation as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

We had many errands to the White House this year. The American Psychological Association was asked to be present for the signing of the extension of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. And I was pleased to go there one day for the signing of the Community Mental Health staffing bill. This was a landmark in Federal support of social services. Through the year many psychologists, including yours at APA, have often conferred with the National Institute of Mental Health officials and others. We may all have suggestions as to how this program might work better. But those most familiar with it have no doubt we will see great opportunities for many psychologists come from this program.

This year APA itself observed many important milestones. On October 16 we will dedicate the new building, and you are all invited to the ceremonies. You will hear more of this and find more details in the *American Psychologist*.

A most important detail to us is that the building is fully occupied and is soundly financed.

The most striking feature of this year in psychology, however, is that this has been a year of stimulating discussion about psychology and psychologists.

In this city we have just finished the Conference on the Professional Preparation of Clinical Psychologists, and I can report that it was a tremendously stimulating and productive affair.

The program at this convention, in its symposia and its papers, visibly indexes the nature and range of psychologists' interests and activities during the year. I would call special attention also to an innovation at this convention—the Proceedings prepared and distributed in advance of the meetings by the National Science Foundation (NSF)–APA Scientific Information Exchange Project in cooperation with five participating divisions. This holds much promise for revitalizing the annual convention as a forum for scientific discussion.

My primary purpose today is to step back from the day-to-day activities of the Association and to report on some of the fundamental activities of APA in the perspective of, say, the last 3 to 5 years. I shall speak to the *governance* of APA, then discuss briefly recent developments on the *operational* side of APA, and, finally, direct your attention to the area of public affairs and APA's role.

GOVERNANCE

The single most important activity of APA is the work of its self-governance structure. The operating programs of APA are based upon the policy formulations and the decisions which issue from the various bodies—committees, boards, and Council—which constitute the governance structure.

The present structure has gradually evolved over the years since APA was reorganized in 1945; it will continue to evolve. The perspective of the past few years suggests that increasing attention will be given to the forms which this development might take.

The question of representation and representativeness looms large in the minds of some.

As required by our Bylaws, attention during the past 2 years has been focused on the size and composition of Council. A proposed Bylaw change which would reduce Council to a size at or near the 85-member limit prescribed by the existing Bylaws, and which would preserve the present proportions among state and divisional representation, failed to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority vote for its approval this summer.

This vote is put into perspective by the following analysis.

A total of 18,339 ballots on the proposed Bylaw change (including two Bylaws of lesser import) were mailed to the APA members eligible to vote. Somewhere in the neighborhood of two-thirds of the members (actually 61.5% or 11,267 members) did not return ballots. Perhaps they could be termed indifferent. Voting in favor of the proposed Bylaw change were 4,108 members or 22.4%. Voting against the proposed Bylaw changes were 2,931 members or 15.9% of those eligible to cast votes. Thirty-three members returning ballots abstained. Two circumstances should be noted. First, the polls were open for 60 days. Second, some state associations actively campaigned against the Bylaw change, and representative statements from the state associations recommending against it were carried in the *American Psychologist* prior to the voting.

Thus two sizable minorities, constituting in toto 38.5% of the membership, have registered their respective views on the composition of the Council. An orderly process has been followed—and will continue to be followed. All interested voices are being heard. There will be other votes and other issues. The APA is a responsive and responsible organism.

Representation on boards and committees is a concern of some.

I should like to report to you upon a relevant procedure which is being routinized. The Executive Officer is authorized by Rules of Council to seek from the state associations and the divisions their suggestions of names for prospective board and committee members and to communicate them to the appropriate elements in the nominating process. We have now made two "dry runs" with this procedure and find that it gives some promise of being a useful supplementary procedure in the nominating process. *Perhaps it is suggestive of the level of interest in this matter that the returns from the states and the divisions have not exceeded 20%.* Possibly there are confounding factors; at any rate, we shall continue this practice during the coming year.

In the above report I have left unanswered the question of what is meant by representativeness. There are many bases for stratifying the membership. The simple fact is that we all wear many hats and we do have a basic community of interest. Only slowly do distinctive "interest groups" emerge, and then usually in response to a specific issue or perceived problem. So far in APA good will, our general permissive stance, and a problem-solving orientation have permitted our honest differences to be explored, reconciled, or accommodated. There are, of course, intermittent signals that our capacity for responsible action may be put to the test from time to time. If so, we will discover the true dimensions of our integrity and our maturity.

As the affairs of APA have grown more complex and extensive, your boards and committees have grown in number and in frequency of meetings. This is indexed by the growth in the expenditures for these purposes. In 1962, APA spent $41,503 for all boards and committees; in 1966, $101,020 is budgeted, an increase of approximately 140%. (I note an interesting relationship between governance activity and operational activity; during this same period, total Central Office costs rose 100%. It would seem that the more frequently boards and committees meet, the more they generate for Central Office to do.)

The Board of Directors has, of course, been very much a part of this increased activity, and in 1964 it budgeted for four Board meetings during 1965, which have been held. Additionally, the Executive Committee of the Board has met frequently during the past year. The Board instituted the useful procedure of having the chairmen of the major boards meet with it at the May meeting. This year, discussion of a second meeting of Council was initiated by the Board, and divisions and state associations were asked to respond. Approximately one-third of the divisions and states replied within a month and generally reported a favorable view or a desire to discuss. A spring meeting of Council is being planned.

Another channel of communication within the governance structure was opened up this year with the establishment of the *Washington Report*, which

goes from the Central Office to the governance structure. This has been well-received and the 1966 budget provides support for a regular monthly newsletter along the same lines. An intriguing but little known communication innovation was our request of 2 years ago to divisions and state associations to put the Board of Directors, the Policy and Planning Board, and the chairmen of the other major boards on their newsletter mailing lists. These newsletters provide a fascinating overview of some of the interests and activities of psychologists.

Potentially the most significant innovation in APA governance has been the gradual introduction of middle-range and short-range planning into policy formulation and program development via the mechanism of the budget. The paradigm goes like this: Start with a philosophy or set of objectives—go then to an appropriate set of policies—proceed to the development of specific programs—then price them out in the form of a budget. Do this for time spans ranging from 1 to 3 years. Thus the boards and committees must take an active role in the planning and budget-making process.

We explored this concept in the budgeting process during 1964, refined it somewhat during 1965, and are now prepared to move to this on a more formal basis during 1966. We foresee three consequences, at least: (*a*) Issues and programs and their complexities, *including the establishment of priorities,* will be more clearly delineated; (*b*) boards and committees will feel an increased sense of responsibility for their recommendations; and (*c*) it will be necessary for the Central Office staff to play a more active role in identifying emerging issues, providing information and analyses in the form of staff papers, and supplying feedback on operations for the relevant boards and committees.

We have this late spring and summer explored a mechanism which is related to policy matters but which lies mainly in the operational area. Where policy is well-established, we may still feel the need in Central Office for particular kinds of expertise on a consulting basis. Thus we have recently experimented with a more formal utilization of "instant" consultants or task forces on matters of community mental health legislation, on Medicare regulations, and on behavioral science research in the Federal Government. In these three instances we assembled in Washington persons with specialized knowledge to render assistance on these complex topics. In each instance, they involved one or more members of the relevant boards or committees. These experiences were, in everyone's view, eminently successful.

I want to summarize, from the perspective of the past few years, what has occurred with respect to the *governance* side of APA.

First, its range of activity and responsibility has expanded enormously.

Second, it is aware of the issue of representation and representativeness and responsive to it.

Third, appropriate modifications and innovations have been made to enhance the flow of information.

Fourth, the budgeting process has been made an instrument of policy formulation and program development, with emphasis upon short- and middle-range planning.

Fifth, in a variety of actions, the governance structure has emphasized the high value which APA places upon an orderly governmental process.

OPERATIONS

I want now to turn to the *operational* side of APA.

In speaking of operations, I refer primarily to the Central Office activity carried out at the new Headquarters at 1200 Seventeenth Street, N.W., in Washington. The Central Office is the primary operating arm of the Association. In 1966 you will employ approximately 90 regular staff people and at peak periods perhaps another 10 temporary personnel.

Last year at this time I reported to you upon a *functional reorganization plan* which had been contingent upon the adoption of the 1965 budget. This plan, the outcome of some years of growth and development, was put into operation during 1965 and has shaken down very well. I have reported elsewhere the appointment of Charles Gersoni, an experienced administrator, as Associate Executive Officer and Director of Program Administration. John McMillan came to Central Office early this spring as Administrative Officer for State and Professional Affairs; he was joined just this week by Richard Docter, who will serve as his Associate Administrative Officer. An administrative assistant also has been budgeted for this area during 1966. Another professional staff position is budgeted for 1966 to serve in both Education and Training and

in Scientific Affairs. Ernestine Cummings, a recent PhD from the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri with a strong minor in psychology and with extensive experience as a media director in advertising agencies, became my personal assistant in July. The public information position has been enlarged to full time in the 1966 budget, and Michael Amrine, Director of Public Information, has had as his assistant since May Dorothy Campbell, an experienced Washington writer and publicist. Regrettably, Forrest Vance has resigned as Plans and Projects Officer to accept an appointment at the University of Rochester. Bertita Compton, formerly Research Associate on the NSF–APA Scientific Information Exchange Research Project, has assumed the duties of that position, including the *National Register* project.

Thus there has been an orderly growth in the professional staff at Central Office since 1961, slightly more than doubling in size. The APA has been fortunate in attracting highly qualified staff persons with experience directly relevant to their functional responsibilities.

During the past 6 months, Boris Cherney, Director of Business Administration, and Charles Gersoni have led a task force which has intensively studied the position classification system which has been in effect for a number of years. Major changes which amount to a complete revision have now been made. The resulting occupational classifications are geared directly to the Federal classification system and salary schedule, and each position in the Central Office has been reclassified.

If the Council of Representatives wishes to intensify or enlarge the Association's effort in any area or areas of activity, we have an appropriate organizational structure into which we can absorb the additional personnel which would be required.

A compelling priority of recent years, demanding the time and attention of your responsible officers and the understanding and support of each of you, has been the financial and business management of the affairs of the Association. This is a judgment concurred in by everyone who has been close to the day-to-day work of the Association in the past few years.

I do not refer to the necessity for a dues increase, although this was, in part, involved. I refer primarily to the necessity for developing a professional capability within the Central Office which could systematize, plan, and execute efficiently all those support services of the total operation which we designate as business administration, and a professional capability which could provide the types of financial and operational data and analyses upon which policy and action can be intelligently based. Once created, such a capability would face a tremendous job of modernization and streamlining of procedures and operations which had far outgrown the available resources.

Today APA has such a capability. Last year I gave you many of the details of the financial and business operation so I shall not repeat them now, other than to add one intriguing statistic: Your mail room at Central Office is currently processing 8 tons of mail per month, exclusive of the journal mailings. I shall tell you again that in my judgment we have a first-rate financial and business operation.

This evaluation is supported by the overwhelmingly favorable reaction of the major APA boards before whom Boris Cherney presented the details of the financial and business affairs of the Association during the past year. And I think it significant that during the past year other associations have turned to APA and to Cherney and his staff for information and assistance. We have hosted, for example, officers and staff of the American Speech and Hearing Association, the American Personnel and Guidance Association, the American Sociological Association, the American Chemical Society, and several others who have wanted to know "how APA does it."

I am pleased, however, to report that your increased and highly effective Central Office financial and business management capability accounts for only about 13% of the total expenses of the Association, including grants. These costs are well within the proportionate costs of comparable organizations and in most cases are less.

I do want to single out one aspect of our present financial management for special attention. Simply stated, it is this: *APA now has reasonably accurate and detailed knowledge of what it costs to do what it is doing*. The 105-page budget document for 1966 displays in detail what APA is doing, what it actually costs for each function, and what the sources of support are by way of income.

Specifically, the budget describes each of the 14 programs or activities which constitute the prime reason for APA's existence, gives the income

and expenses of each, and shows the allocation of member-dues dollars as they are required by 13 of the 14 programs to make up the operating deficit. Comparisons are made for 1964, 1965, and 1966. For example, the State and Professional Affairs program was supported by $110,391 of dues in 1964 and will require an estimated $193,136 in dues in 1966. Again, the annual convention program required $42,368 in dues in 1964 as contrasted with the projected 1966 requirement of $53,216. The *Employment Bulletin* received $10,877 in dues support in 1964 and is budgeted for $13,258 in dues support in 1966.

This type of functional budget, in process of development for the past 2 years, was strongly recommended as a form of budget analysis and presentation by the Policy and Planning Board this year and the recommendation was concurred in by the Board of Directors. It is now available; its utility remains to be tested over time. Its significance, in my view, is its use as a guide to planning, to program development, and to decision making as described earlier.

This annual report would not truly render a perspective if I did not comment on the new Headquarters building, a project which officially got under way almost 5 years ago.

The planning, design, financing, construction, landscaping, and leasing of the new building, the physical move into it, and the accompanying "settling in" is a fascinating tale—but one which I do not propose to tell today. I can only say that perspective was in high demand and short supply at times. I recently refreshed my memory of those events and found that during my first year in office my log book records 365 conferences or telephone discussions dealing with the building. But that is by now of only historical interest. Last week I inspected the newly partitioned 1,000 square feet of offices on the third floor into which a portion of your expanding publications program will move after this convention. We will then be settled in again—for a while.

The important thing is that the building project, which required so much time and effort on the part of so many, is a success and is a major accomplishment of which you can be genuinely proud. And I am pleased that this has been the universal reaction of the many members who have visited their Headquarters building in recent months. The new building is both an efficient work space and an impressive symbol of the achievement and contributions of psychology and psychologists. It belongs to all of us; I hope that it will be visited and used by every member of APA.

I want to summarize, from the perspective of the past few years, what has been accomplished with respect to the *operational* side of APA under the guidance of the Board of Directors and the Council of Representatives with your continuing support.

First, it is functionally organized, appropriately staffed, and effectively engaged in carrying out the extensive, diverse, and important responsibilities with which it is charged.

Second, its financial undergirdings are sound and its business management is thoroughly professional.

Third, it is, for the first time in many years, efficiently housed.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

The area of public affairs has clearly emerged in the past few years as one of APA's central concerns and major activities. For the purpose of this discussion I will define public affairs as those Government policies, programs, and legislation which affect the development of psychology and the activities and functions of psychologists or to which psychology and psychologists can make a relevant and appropriate contribution. My emphasis here is upon the Federal arena.

Many psychologists are directly involved in the activities of the Federal Government.

Special analyses of the 1964 *National Register* data indicate that at least 1,600 psychologists are employed full time by the Federal Government. Of these, probably fewer than 100 were in uniform. Because the *Register* data are incomplete, it is probable that the total number of psychologists in Federal Government actually is somewhat larger today. More than 4 years ago, an APA survey of 48 Government organizations identified 1,498 psychologists, and the agencies then had 265 unfilled vacancies. From the data at hand, I would estimate that something like 1,000 psychologists are in the Veterans Administration and that almost as many more are spread throughout the Government with some concentration in the Department of Defense and in NIMH.

Perhaps 200 of these psychologists have administrative and leadership roles, headed, of course, by John W. Gardner, the new Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. For APA they constitute one very important source of liaison with the Federal Government.

Psychologists play another very significant but much less widely known role in Government affairs as part-time or intermittent consultants and advisors—in an official capacity. The APA was able to add a special questionnaire in the 1964 *Register* survey which sought to elicit information regarding the nature and extent of such forms of Government service and involvement. The names of nearly *900 psychologists* were so identified, many of them serving in at least several such capacities. I believe this to be an underestimation. (The questionnaire returns were screened to eliminate as far as possible the 450 psychologists who serve as local consultants to the Social Security Administration Board of Appeals and the approximately equal number of VA consultants.)

Each science and profession in American life has a small number of individuals who, as individuals, are heavily involved and quietly influential in the affairs of the Federal Government. Judging by the frequency and level of their involvement, I estimate that there are 50–75 "influentials" from psychology who circulate on the Washington scene on an informal as well as formal basis and have an impact in some reasonably fundamental sense. Informal discussion with well-placed Washington observers suggests that this figure is in line with "proportional expectations" in comparison with other disciplines and professions.

All of these psychologists—full-time Government employees, part-time consultants and advisors, and free-floating "influentials"—in one very real sense constitute the major thrust of psychology in public affairs. The ideas they advance, the skills they demonstrate, the problems they help solve, the decisions they make, the advice they give, all these represent psychology to agency officials, to Representatives and Senators and their staffs, and frequently to the general public. Because they differ widely in education and training, in fields of interest, in competence, and in values and views, they represent no monolithic "psychology's position." Obviously they do not represent an "APA position." *Yet, in truth, they represent us all.*

It was the testing practices of psychologists in a Government agency which touched off the recent Congressional investigations of testing. It was a research program in another Government agency's "captive" operation that triggered the Congressional attack on behavioral science research this summer. It has been the demonstrated effectiveness of hundreds of such psychologists in Government that has opened the doors for many other psychologists to make contributions and to participate in Government-supported programs.

It is my experience, and the judgment of my predecessors in this office, that the psychologist in Government service, particularly on a full-time appointment, is the greatest single source of influence on the advancement of psychology's interest and role in public affairs. We do well to honor our colleagues who have chosen careers in Government and to give serious attention ourselves to responding affirmatively when the opportunity for such service presents itself—as it increasingly will.

A major reason for locating an APA Central Office in Washington at the end of World War II was to enable psychology to have close ties with developments in the Federal Government as well as to be geographically proximate to other associations and organizations with similar interests. Thus it is that *APA itself* plays a significant part in public affairs. Although I wish to reserve to another time and place a comprehensive analysis of this role, I do want to touch briefly upon it.

A major APA activity in public affairs and Government relations is to do what is sometimes ambiguously termed "monitoring" established, operating Federal programs. We are alert to suggestions and criticisms regarding operating policies and decisions which may be relayed to us from the membership around the country. We seek to be effective in relaying these comments and critiques to responsible officials in the agencies. Central Office staff meet informally and frequently with key officials throughout the executive branch and have established effective working relationships with them.

An old Washington hand, privy to much that goes on in Government and in associations, has observed (and I paraphrase):

> This is a delicate function. Ideally, Executive Officers or Secretaries must offer advice and counsel without attempting to administer, and cooperate without becoming captive

to, the programs in the agencies. This is a relationship which calls for integrity on the part of both Government and non-Government personnel. Sometimes the distinction between Government and non-Government is blurred as a result of personal cooperation—but each must be aware that the distinction does exist.

Even before the Central Office was established, in fact in the year before APA was reconstituted, the Association was alert to this function as demonstrated by the following statement:

The American Psychological Association at its Annual Meeting in Cleveland September 12, 1944, takes account of two influences adversely affecting the vocational, educational, and personal counseling of men and women being returned from the armed services to civil life: On the one hand there is a serious stultifying duplication of counseling which is certain to diminish its effectiveness; and on the other hand (and partly as a result of the duplication), too many of the counselors are most inadequately trained.

The Association therefore instructs the Council of Directors to take active steps, by making appropriate representations to the Federal Government and the several agencies concerned and in any other way which shall seem effective, to minimize both these evils.

It so happens that I was in Washington as a full-time consultant to one of the new Government counseling programs at about this time and I recall that it was a distinguished colleague, occupying a high advisory position in Washington, who sounded the alert to the Association and to other sources of assistance. His concern and the concern of the Association helped lead to the development and adoption of Government policies which were to have very important positive effects on the then emerging profession of counseling psychology.

This role has been repeated many times since by psychologists in cooperation with APA.

The APA also takes an active interest in legislative affairs, and has for some time. Another footnote to history was provided by two actions of the Board of Directors at the annual meeting in 1945.

On September 8, 1945, the Board sent the following message to President Truman:

The American Psychological Association, meeting in Evanston, Illinois, strongly commends the section of your recent message to Congress which proposes a single federal agency for cooperative scientific research. The events of the war years and especially of recent weeks have demonstrated to thinking men the need for the inclusion of the social sciences as an integral part of this vast project. Our need for an understanding of man and his ways was never so great. The first and primary defenses against the destructiveness of atomic energy will always lie in the cooperative institutions of mankind.

Upon the same date, the Board adopted the following resolution.

The American Psychological Association at its regular annual meeting September 8 in Evanston, Illinois, voted approval of the purposes and general provisions of a bill to establish a National Neuropsychiatric Institute (H.R. 2550, S. 1160). The problems of neuropsychiatric disorders are of vital concern to the national welfare, and their magnitude demands a coordinated attack by all of the sciences and professions devoted to the study and treatment of such disorders.

In this same spirit of concern and shared responsibility, APA today takes a somewhat more sophisticated and certainly more complicated approach to these matters. Central Office staff members are in frequent touch with at least key members of Congressional committees and their staffs as well as with the legislative liaison people in the relevant Government agencies. It is important to remember, incidentally, that more than four-fifths of the legislation introduced in the Congress is initiated by the executive branch and the agencies have key roles throughout the legislative process.

It is a not uncommon practice for a representative of APA to testify at Congressional hearings. How does APA prepare such a statement? You will find in the November 1965 *American Psychologist* a discussion of the considerations which are weighed when APA is preparing to testify. That entire 192-page issue of the November *American Psychologist,* devoted to psychological testing and public policy, is, in part, a case study of one type of APA Congressional and agency involvement. In this issue we asked Michael Amrine, APA's public information consultant for 13 years, to be Guest Editor.

A major policy question in APA has revolved around the nature and forms of support or opposition which APA should employ when it acts with respect to legislation demonstratedly relevant to its interest and competence. I can report to you that we are working with APA's legal counsel, including the firm's tax division, to clarify some of these questions so that the appropriate APA policy-making bodies will have adequate background for decisions which they must make. Some guidelines are clear, such as acting upon request or invitation

from Government bodies. The representation of individual views is a well-established procedure. Beyond that we encounter grey areas and complicated questions which include the use of direct forms of "lobbying," which some members advocate. But this involves much more than legal questions, as the Council of Representatives recognized in several of its actions at this Annual Meeting when it indicated a preference for discussion, negotiation, and more formal types of representation of psychology's interests.

Given sound policy guidelines, there will always remain questions of the strategy and tactics of effective action. I will make four possibly premature observations, including a quotation.

1. There must be systematic coordination of action among groups of psychologists, whatever its nature. This requires two-way communication.

2. Spokesmen for APA must be authorized to negotiate issues realistically during the rapid turn of events in legislative activity.

3. "The desire for harmony in a number of organizations has caused a clear majority to fall prey to a stubborn, articulate minority. At some point along the road to maturity and effectiveness, organizations learn the difference between consensus and unanimity, between respect for minority views and immobilization by a minority [Babbidge & Rosenzweig, 1962, pp. 110–111]."

4. Good taste, reasonableness, and integrity are, in my view, essential to the conduct of such activities. *To ask less of ourselves is to ask too much.*

There remains an unresolved question in APA's orientation to public affairs. This is the question of APA's role in social engineering, social issues, social action. In a "mission-oriented" society such as ours, that society—frequently through its mechanism for government—seeks to resolve the problems arising from social, technological, and psychological conflicts and pressures. The role of the individual psychologist in this quest is one of self-examination and decision. The role of the "discipline-oriented" APA is less clear. It will bear careful and continuing examination.

Finally, I wish to report on three specific items relevant to this discussion of public affairs.

The 1966 budget provides for APA support of a full-time position in the Central Office for a Public Affairs Officer. We are fortunate to have in this position Harley Preston, who during the past year has directed the Marshall Fund project on psychology and international affairs. The following statement of this program's general function appears on page 88 of the *Proposed 1966 Budget:*

> The Public Affairs program is a new and expanding function of the Central Office. Specifically, the program is designed to assist the Executive Officer in identifying and appraising developments in psychology that may be relevant to the formulation of public policy and in identifying and appraising developments in public policy formulation that have implications for psychology as a scientific discipline and as a profession.
>
> Channels of communication between makers of public policy and the membership of APA are established by weekly reviews of all public announcements of pending action on Federal regulations and legislation; development and maintenance of formal and informal relationships with agencies, units, and individuals of the executive and legislative branches of the Federal government; and participation in an informal network of communication among other scientific, professional and educational organizations that have mutual interests with psychology in public affairs.
>
> Many of the elements in this developing program have been carried on in the past by the APA Public Information Officer and by administrative staff officers in response to the informational needs of the different boards and committees each served and will *not* be superceded by the Public Affairs program.
>
> The United Nations and its affiliated organizations have been requesting assistance from APA in the formulation of their programs in the past, and these requests are expected to increase in number. Also, in 1966 two international congresses involving psychologists have already been scheluled: the XVIIIth International Congress of Psychology in Moscow and the Xth Interamerican Congress of Psychology in Lima, Peru. The Public Affairs program will include coordination with the Secretariats of these international congresses and will provide staff support to those APA committees and official representatives concerned with international affairs.
>
> For the fiscal year, 1965–66, the Public Affairs program will be based upon one man-year of professional effort and one man-year of secretarial and clerical assistance. Approximately one-half of the personnel costs will be covered by a grant to APA from the James Marshall Fund. The balance of the personnel costs and those expenses incidental to the operation of the program will be met from the dues of members.

The Congressional Fellowship Program, organized and administered by the American Political Science Association and sponsored for psychology by the APA Committee on Psychology in National and International Affairs, merits the support of psychologists. The program, just announced (*American Psychologist*, August 1965) for 1966–

67, offers its Fellows a unique opportunity to become intimately acquainted with practical American politics and the day-to-day workings of the Federal Government. Applications must be submitted prior to December 1, 1965. Promising young psychologists, preferably in the age group 23–35, with the PhD or nearing its completion, and without extensive experience in Washington, D. C., should be encouraged to apply.

Of great importance to the long-range scientific interests of psychology is the activity of the Committee on Science and Public Policy (COSPUP) of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). The August *American Psychologist* carries extensive excerpts from its recent report to the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the House of Representatives, which is intelligently concerned with the relations between Government and science. Presently, five disciplines are working in cooperation with NAS in preparing reports for the same Congressional Committee.

I am pleased to tell you that APA's Board of Scientific Affairs (BSA) is actively engaged in a similar project under the same auspices. Carl Pfaffmann, the new Vice President of the Rockefeller University, who is a member of the NAS COSPUP, has met with our BSA in an informal advisory role. At the same session, Donald Hornig, the President's Scientific Advisor and Director of the White House Office of Science and Technology, met with BSA and discussed the project and related matters. As you know, Hornig will give the major address at the dedication of the new APA Headquarters building. I believe that this is a far-reaching development of great importance to psychology.

It would have been fun in this final section devoted to APA and public affairs to have relived with you the excitement and variety of legislative events and public affairs in which your Association has been engaged during the past year, including our triumphs in the long, drawn-out community mental health "staffing" legislation campaign.

Or I should have liked to review the Congressional investigation which scrutinized the professional activities of a consulting psychologist and concluded in its August 12 report that a nonprofit corporation created by the Air Force to help manage its missile programs had paid a consulting psychologist $240 a day (plus expenses), which totalled approximately $65,000 for a 4-year period, "for services of dubious value" (and noted that the highest consulting fee the organization "paid to the most talented scientist was $200 per day"). This House Subcommittee noted "some indications of improvement in the situation" (following the hearings), including the fact that the company "has decided to do without the questionable management crutch provided by the consulting psychologist."

Or I should have liked to have made an analysis for you of the events which led the Senate Committee on Appropriations to reduce the Department of Defense 1966 appropriations request by $2,000,000 "to be applied to behavioral and social sciences" research and to reduce the appropriations by another $1,100,000 for a recently canceled behavioral science research project. Or to discuss the consequences of the directive sent from President Johnson to Secretary of State Rusk on August 2, 1965, in which he asked the Secretary "to establish effective procedures which will enable you to assure the propriety of Government-sponsored social science research in the area of foreign policy." These events are, of course, important to the research interests of psychologists.

Or I might have shared the developments as recent as those occurring three days before I left for Chicago, when I conferred with the third Government agency which has been under Congressional pressure to eliminate the use of personality tests in Government-supported grant or contract research or to impose stringent conditions upon their use in such research. This is a direct challenge to the research interests of psychologists.

And then there have been education, rehabilitation, manpower training and development, poverty, heart, cancer, and stroke regional centers, correctional manpower, handicapped children, Medicare, and NSF and NIMH appropriations among the most obvious legislation of interest. And the first day of this convention was also the day for Congressional hearings on legislation limiting and restricting the use of animals in experimentation. I spent most of the morning of that first day on the phone to Washington.

It was so much simpler 20 years ago for the Board of Directors just to send a telegram to the President.

These, then, are some perspectives, personal to be sure, on APA governance, operations, and the special area of public affairs. It has been my

purpose to inform; it is my pleasure to report to you. And I want to close this report by recalling to you my first Annual Report as your new Executive Officer at Philadelphia in 1963. I believe that the following excerpt from that 1963 Annual Report is the most important message that I can bring to you in 1965.

Today we psychologists know that society, wittingly and unwittingly, has encouraged our curiosity, supported our exploration, submitted to our inquiry, sought our services. Society will, I believe, absolutely require our accountability. We should meet them more than halfway. We must give a good account of ourselves.

We, as individuals and as an Association, may well respond to a paraphrase of Chief Justice Warren's . . . charge to his fellow citizens:

"The responsibility which is ours is to conduct our affairs with wisdom, with conscientiousness, with a view to the future, with an understanding of the public need, with a view to the long-range perspective of history, and above all, with great compassion for the individual."

I can think of no more honorable commitment for us all.

REFERENCE

BABBIDGE, H. D., JR., & ROSENZWEIG, R. M. *The Federal interest in higher education.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

An Agenda for Psychology, Psychologists and APA

Arthur H. Brayfield, Executive Officer

I wish to discuss six substantive issues which seem to cut across the diverse fields and interests of psychologists. They are basic issues which constitute a continuing agenda for psychology, psychologists, and APA.

1. Support of Psychological Research.

The support of research is basic to the growth and development of psychology as a science and as a profession. The major share of psychological research is supported by the Federal government. Increasingly, the Congress is assessing the nature, extent, and role of such federally financed support. Very recently, behavioral science research has been a special object of Congressional scrutiny in connection with research conducted abroad. In general, federal support for scientific research has levelled off in the last several years. Also, there has been a tendency for Federal agencies involved in the support of science to support "big science" and, some observers note, to pay less attention to the support of "little sciences," i.e., the work of individual investigators.

On the other hand, new or enlarged sources of Federal research support have become available to the behavioral sciences. For example, such mission-oriented programs as education (including vocational ed), poverty, rehabilitation, manpower development and retraining, mental retardation, aging, Peace Corps, and population control include or feature research funds.

In recognition of the growing interdependence between science and the Federal government, the National Academy of Sciences in 1962 created a Committee on Science and Public Policy (COSPUP) to provide an instrument for communication and consultation between the scientific community and the government. A distinguished psychologist, Carl Pfaffman, has served on this Committee since its inception.

Early in 1964, the Academy and the Chairman of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics announced a contractual agreement whereby the Academy would provide certain services to the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development. A recent issue of the American Psychologist carried a summary of one of the visible results of this agreement.

Currently, COSPUP is generating long-range planning reports for presentation to the Congress. These are comprehensive surveys of scientific fields which indicate the present status of the field including areas that should be strengthened and areas with strong potential. A prototype survey is that for chemistry which is the product of ten subpanels--six dealing with the subject matter of the science and four with its utilization including the problem of manpower and of education and training.

Last Spring, APA initiated a review of the COSPUP activities and currently is cooperating with Dr. Pfaffman and the Academy on the development of such a long-range planning report for psychology. Dr. Pfaffman will discuss this project with Council tomorrow.

2. Scientific and Professional Information Exchange, Storage, and Retrieval.

Psychology shares in the "knowledge explosion" and the attendant problems of information exchange, storage and retrieval. There are close to 1,000 journals of some interest to psychologists. Some 200-300 books relevant to psychology are published each year. About 1,000 persons make presentations at an annual APA convention and an equal number appear before regional associations; the state association programs add still other hundreds of presentations. Psychological Abstracts currently cites 16-18,000 references annually. And these are only the conventional elements in the exchange process.

Research findings, "think" pieces, case studies, and accounts of professional problems and practices constitute the life blood of psychology in all of its manifestations.

We are indeed faced with a knowledge explosion of almost unmanageable proportions.

There are some current APA activities which are relevant to this basic problem.

For example, the Publications Board is presently reviewing the need for a publications medium in the area of professional practice.

Psychological Abstracts has gone to a computer printing process which also will enable it to establish a retrieval system, supported by Federal funds, which may become a prototype for other fields. A streamlining of procedures will get the Abstracts publication lag down to three or four months.

In early 1962, APA's NSF supported Scientific Information Exchange Project began a series of studies on communication among psychologists. It was hoped then, and the hope has been borne out, that an objective overall description of communication patterns would supplant individual impressions about the process and furnish a more factual basis for information exchange innovations. Such innovations are beginning to take form. The changes in the Abstracts operation, the Pre-Convention Proceedings, and the listing of papers accepted for journal publication are recent innovations. The information needs of teachers have recently been studied and similar investigations are underway among professional practitioners and among graduate students.

3. Manpower

As for so many fields of endeavor, psychology faces a continuing manpower problem which involves considerations of both quantity and quality. The overall dimensions of the problem are so well known that I shall select only a few aspects for comment.

We have the problem of identifying or developing psychologists qualified to fill leadership roles in certain established "special interest" fields such

as: Mental Retardation, Child Clinical, Rehabilitation, Corrections, School, and Community Psychology.

I can use school psychologists as an example of this need. Our National Register survey suggests that there are perhaps 1500-1800 persons serving as school psychologists who would qualify for APA membership; approximately one-fourth have the doctorate. This is a rapidly developing field and one in which training programs are just now emerging from a rather chaotic state.

School psychology potentially plays an unusual role in psychology. The public perception of a professional field is to a certain extent based on personal contact. I believe that over the next twenty-five years it is possible that the major direct exposure of laymen to psychologists may be their contact, direct or indirect, with the school psychologist.

I do know that education has "come alive" and is one of the social settings "where the action is." For this and the other reasons I have suggested, it is very important that we make a deliberate effort to develop leaders in this field.

We have the problem of identifying or developing psychologists qualified to fill leadership roles in certain emerging "special interest" fields such as:

Poverty, Urban renewal, Conservation, and Population Control.

We have a problem in identifying or developing psychologists qualified to provide "expertise" based on special knowledge of a "setting" or a social problem area. For example, nursing homes for the aged or mass transportation. What frequently is required is a knowledge of economic, legal, political, and sociological factors in order to make an effective contribution or to gain acceptance. (Perhaps there is a "worldliness" factor also involved here.) In part, a number of the special interest fields mentioned earlier pose this requirement. The supplementary questionnaire which you will receive in the National Register survey this month is an effort to obtain relevant data for psychology.

We have not come to grips with our role in developing the use of and providing the training for psychotechnologists or, do I dare use the term, persons ancillary to psychologists. The prospective emergence of some new breed called a mental health worker is, for example, a signal of the existence of this very live question. So, too, the child development specialists called for in the Gibbons bill. Perhaps I should qualify my comment and suggest that we have come to grips with the problem and, realistically and operationally, have concluded that we strain our resources when we even now fall far short of meeting the requirements for developing and producing doctoral level psychologists in the more conventional fields.

We have not assessed the need for rationalizing our utilization of the total pool of graduate student applicants. Perhaps we need a cohort study to identify all applicants and then follow them up over an extended time period. In this connection, perhaps we need to assess systematically the extent and operation of the existing graduate student stipend support system. In particular, the new or emerging graduate programs and departments may require additional support. In short, we need more hard data on the inputs to the graduate training system.

4. The Autonomy or "Ball Park" Problem.

In essence this is to ask the question--is psychology always destined to play in someone else's ball park? That is, what is the basis for our social institutional support? I explored this question somewhat in my Paterson Memorial address published in the August, 1965 issue of the American Psychologist so I shall not repeat that analysis.

Another phrasing of the question is--what are the conditions which effectively provide that psychology will be an independent and autonomous profession?

And in its most specific and recurring form, the question is--to what extent is psychology a health profession? (Which, of course, raises the question--what

do we mean by health?)

In my view, some version of this question--however phrased--is a major source of the variance in many specific policy questions to which psychologists as individuals and in their organizations address themselves.

The issue is posed most clearly in the private practice sector of psychology. Here, the direct confrontation with psychiatry is most apparent although it exists elsewhere. The voluntary prepaid health insurance reimbursement issue is, of course, a major staging area for the confrontation. The same issue in another form is developing with respect to the provisions of Title 18 of the Medicare legislation which presently preclude the reimbursement of psychologists in private practice for outpatient mental health treatment services. It occurs also in connection with the Community Mental Health Centers program where psychologists in private practice seek full hospital privileges for themselves in the interest of continuity of care for their patients.

One of the problems in these difficult areas is that psychology sometimes has seemed to be in a "me too" position where medicine and psychiatry have established a beachhead. Two recent developments seem to me to avoid this dilemna and to have great potential for ameliorating or resolving the autonomy problem.

The first is the increasing emphasis upon the unique contribution of psychology as it focuses upon a developmental approach to psychological fitness, human effectiveness, or social competence. This seems to be a domain which is rather uniquely ours. The statement on the community mental health centers prepared by Nick Hobbs and Brewster Smith with the assistance of an informal advisory panel and relevant committees is in this vein. I predict that it will be a landmark statement for mental health professionals and will have a real impact on lay leaders.

The second significant development is the move to develop independent psychological service centers staffed and administered by psychologists as in California and in New York. The concept, particularly as George Albee has described it, seems to have a very real potential as an alternative avenue for establishing the autonomy of psychology. Such centers could be retrogressive, as the experience of the psychoanalytic training centers suggests, but there is no reason to believe that the hazards are inherent in the concept itself.

At any rate, I do know that the autonomy question--in some form--occurs daily and I do know that it touches on questions of the kinds and amounts of knowledge we possess, our numbers, our finances, the distribution and use of political power, our ethical commitments, the history and nature of our social institutions, our models of endeavor, our public and personal perceptions.

5. Psychology and Public Affairs.

It is clear that psychology is caught up and involved in public policy in two important respects. First, public policy action, decisions, legislation, and regulations (and investigations) affect the development and practice of psychology in significant ways. For example, the annual appropriations for NSF and legislation authorizing community mental health programs equally engage our interest. The 16 bills now pending in Congress which would regulate animal experimentation speak our concerns just as did the rider to the recent Social Security legislation which provided for a new Joint Commission on Mental Health Services for Children and Youth.

Second, psychology may, and I stress may, have a contribution to make to the formulation of public policy on matters which have less immediate relevance to the development and practice of psychology. The key here to psychology's interest is the tested knowledge which psychology can bring to the problem.

Since 1958, the APA has had a general policy supporting activity in these two arenas of public policy. Currently, steps are being taken looking to the development of an appropriate mechanism within the APA governance structure to deal effectively with the policy considerations underlying our formal participation in public affairs. Among other things, we need more clearly stated criteria for distinguishing between scientific and professional opinions and social judgments.

As I gauge the expressed interests of some psychologists, I am led to estimate that we will need to assess the role of APA in social action in the near future. The great social issues of the day engage, and rightly so, the interests of many psychologists. The major policy issue arises if an effort is made to channel social action through the Association. I can best illustrate this by referring to the stated "1966 Social Action Objectives" of the National Association of Social Workers. These are among the numerous goals which were transmitted on January 7 to all members of the House of Representatives and the Senate by NASW:

> The United States should pursue a policy of mutual example in reducing defense expenditures, rather than in their escalation.
>
> A prepayment system of health care operated under the Social Security System should be extended to all Americans regardless of age.
>
> While recognizing the value of work-training programs, a broad-scale program of public works is needed along with the training--and there is much public work to be done.
>
> Migratory workers and government employees should be included within the Social Security System.
>
> Legislation should be enacted that makes it a Federal crime to intimidate or murder any person in pursuit of constitutional rights.
>
> The day-to-day municipal operation of Washington should be delegated to officials responsible to the residents who would elect them.

If you read, as I do, all the State Association Newsletters that are published, you would find indications that a similar range of social action interests are to be found among psychologists. The formation of social action committees in some of

the states is a sign of the times.

Because I devoted a substantial portion of my recent Annual Report to some of these considerations and will discuss them further tomorrow, I shall not now further extend my comment on these matters.

6. Social responsibility.

Psychology either has or must come of age with respect to its social responsibility and public accountability.

Society is taking us seriously - we must be clear about our own roles and relationships in society at large.

I shall illustrate something of the nature of the problem with three references.

Within a 24 hour period last fall, Admiral Rickover got extensive space in the Washington Post for two statements, one to the British Association for the Advancement of Science and one to the House Appropriations Committee, which included slashing attacks on psychology and psychologists. I need not remind you that the Admiral has been something of a darling of the Congress - thus, I am sure, the Washington coverage.

And need I remind you that 1965 was the year of three different Congressional investigations of the activities of psychologists - the Aerospace case, Project Camelot, and psychological testing.

Finally, I am sure that we have an "iceberg" problem in the area of human experimentation. I do not believe that we are sufficiently aware of the possibilities for public reaction to some current methodologies and practices. And I do know that we will continue to have "fall-out" from the Congressional investigations of psychological testing for some time. Perhaps this is the time and place to announce that the Today program tomorrow morning from 7-9 on Channel 4 will be devoted to psychological testing; at 8:30 a.m., Representative Reuss, who was a special member of the Gallagher Subcommittee, and I will be interviewed by

Sandy Vanokur.

Just this week, on Monday and Tuesday, the House Subcommittee on Livestock and Feed Grains held hearings on what are termed the "Dog and Cat" bills. This is legislation to register and license all animal dealers and to license all research installations using any vertebrate animals. I was very much interested to compare the lengthy strategy meeting which I attended last Sunday night in company with some fifty representatives of interested organizations and government agencies with a similar meeting about 3½ years ago. In 1962, the groups were opposed to any legislation. This week-end they had accepted the necessity and inevitability of federal regulation and were seeking to modify the provisions of the legislation. Our voluntary efforts at self-regulation did not suffice.

On another front, it seems increasingly clear that we are going to have to consider developing a set of standards of professional practice in psychology that speak to the quality of service. Incompetent performance is something different from unethical performance.

Some of the provisions of the Medicare legislation, the statements at the recent White House Conference on Health, and our private discussions with key people in HEW clearly indicate that the government will continue to move to set standards of health care and practice. Recent statements by the president of the AMA demonstrate that medicine has gotten the message. The AMA's First National Congress on Medical Ethics and Professionalism in Chicago last week-end was a very significant event.

Our own participation in the Medicare program puts us in line for similar pressures, I suspect. Perhaps these are inevitable accompaniments of professionalism in a complex society where it is difficult for the "buyer to beware."

In my view, our public accountability will subject all of us to increasing public scrutiny.

These six substantive issues are pervasive. They constitute the fundamental referents for so many of our day-to-day actions and decisions. We must be thoughtful, responsive, and responsible.

(Presented at APA Council of Representatives, March 10, 1966, Washington, D. C.)

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
1200 SEVENTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Telephone: (Area Code 202)—296-7310
Cable Address: Ampsycol, Washington, D. C.

May 4, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
TIMES
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mr. Adams:

It was a very real pleasure to participate with you in the recent Russell Sage - Columbia University Arden House seance on the mass media and the behavioral sciences. I would like another go-around where we could get down to brass-tacks.

A major thrust of my leadership in APA has been to focus the attention of psychologists on what I call social responsibility and public accountability. It is my belief that the mass media serve a very important role in reminding us of our responsibilities and our accountability. Thus I welcome the interest of the media people in our activities and affairs. If at any time we can be helpful, I hope that we will be called on.

I am taking the liberty of sending you (mostly under separate cover) some background materials which you might be interested in glancing over and perhaps make available to appropriate members of your staff. I also have asked Michael Amrine, our public information officer, to put you on his regular distribution list. We do not, incidentally, make a big thing of news releases preferring instead more informal and a wider range of activities.

Again, may I express my gratification at being "associated" with you.

Cordially,

Art Brayfield

Arthur H. Brayfield
Executive Officer

AHB:nc

Enclosure

P. 2 I. Background

Geography - Capital of the Middle Atlantic State of Virginia on the James River about 100 miles inland from the Atlantic Ocean. Just beyond the Metropolitan area are the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The city itself sits on 7 ancient hills.

max elevation 312 ft above sea level

History City was founded in 1737 became the Capital in 1779 of Virginia Commonwealth. It was a center for Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, Patrick Henry, Edgar Allen Poe and Robert E. Lee. During the latter part of the Civil War it was the capital of the Confederacy and fell to Union forces in April 1865 after being burned by the natives before evacuation.

Economy - 500 diversified manufacturing plants are busy turning out a variety of products at more than $1½ billion annually. It is known as the Tobacco Capital of the World. It is head quarters for several national firms and the financial center for the upper south.

2. Area Metropolitan (sq mi) 737
Corporate sq mi 39.9
Mean annual temp. 57.9
Mean July " 78.1
Mean Jan. " 36.7

Population of Richmond City decreased 4.5% from 1950-1960 230,000 to 219,000. Metropolitan est. 1965 475,000

4. a. Negro are largest of non-white minority groups with only about 1000 other non-whites. In 1960 42% non-white and planning commission expects this to increase to 50% in 1970 and 56% in 1980. 1960 Metropolitan non-white 26.4%.

b. Non-white population ~~increased~~ increased 26.3% 1950-1960 non-white children under 18 in same period increased 63.3%

c. –

5. – C

6. Climate seems to have improved in education, public accommodations

7. 42% of the population (Negro) lives on 26% of the land. The East End, ~~South~~ North Shore of James river parts of Northside are major areas. Areas changing at present are west end near The Block, and Northside East of Route #1.

Questions

a. Minority Groups live in several large ~~ghettos~~ communities and several small ones through Metropolitan area.

c. Minority groups are becoming more consentrated.

d. There are several integrated neighborhoods, but at the moment one could not call them stable but in transation.

8.

Hamblet
Georgetown

Bill Snoddy with - Philips Hall
tries to prevent sale - results
as market flooded.

Mr. Carter C.P.R. for realators
Mr. Arthur Rucker Jr. - Rucker + Richardson

Agency AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

August 1, 1967

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find a letter sent by AFL-CIO Community Services Director, Leo Perlis to Community Services affiliates, recommending a program to aid riot victims.

The letter spells out seven steps which can be utilized in a community, some of which you may find useful in similar programs.

The second item concerns a speech which I delivered to the Southern States Apprenticeship Conference in Biloxi, Mississippi. Of note is the fact that a Mississippi newspaper picked up this speech and gave it such good coverage.

Comments on either of these two articles are welcomed.

Yours sincerely,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DS/jg
opeiu #2 afl-cio
enclosures: (3)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

July 31, 1967

TO: All National CSC Members (FYI)
All Local CSA Representatives
All Local CSC Chairmen

Dear Sir and Brother:

Recent riots have caused much human misery in many of our communities.

As a result, people are in need of food, shelter, clothing, medical care, legal aid family counselling - and jobs.

Many of these people are AFL-CIO members and their families.

Our job is to assist them - and all other victims of these man-made disasters - on the basis of need regardless of the cause of the need.

This fundamental policy has guided us through the years in implementing many of our programs - from natural disaster services to strike assistance.

The sole criterion is human need - and it doesn't matter, in terms of human response, whether that need is caused by an act of God or an act of man, an act of management or an act of labor, an act of White or an act of Black.

This was best expressed yesterday by President Meany in his telegram to Vice President Randolph:

> "As an item of first priority, America must aid the innocent victims of the rioters. Certainly they deserve, at the very least, the same help the government gives the victims of natural disasters..." The complete text is attached.

In line with this position, may I urge you, wherever necessary, to do the following:

1. Call a meeting of your AFL-CIO community services committee to determine needs and to develop programs of assistance.

2. Invite to this meeting - or another meeting - authorized representatives of such public and voluntary agencies as

the Unemployment Service, Unemployment Compensation, Public Housing, Public Welfare, Community Action Program, VISTA, Vocational Rehabilitation, Urban League, Family Society, Red Cross, Salvation Army and other agencies to establish meaningful contact and to provide essential services.

3. Recruit volunteers, (union counsellors, consumer counsellors, community services committee members, ladies' auxiliaries, others) to work with the victims of the disasters through appropriate agencies and channels.

4. Involve the victims of the disasters in the development of specific programs of aid and assistance.

5. Arrange, wherever necessary and possible, the utilization of union and agency facilities, such as halls, centers, pools, etc., for counselling and referral services, collection and distribution depots, recreation purposes and training classes.

6. Initiate, in consultation with appropriate agencies, campaigns, wherever necessary, for food, clothing, shelter, toys, etc., for distribution through the most effective channels, to the victims of the man-made disasters.

7. And most important - help locate, through management, the appropriate unions and agencies, jobs for those who are willing and able to work

These are only a few reminders, but you are familiar with all the ways which you so successfully followed in many areas during strikes, layoffs and natural disasters.

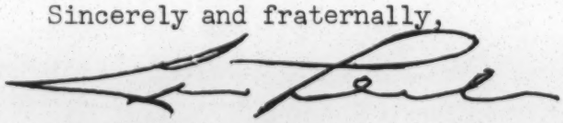
I am sure you will follow them all, and if you need our help, please call.

A community services representative will be available to attend your meeting and to assist you in developing an effective program.

All this, of course, will not remove the basic political, psychological, economical and social causes of discrimination, poverty, slums, disease and all the other evils, but first things come first, and we have our own job to do.

Please keep me posted.

Sincerely and fraternally,



Leo Perlis, Director
Department of Community Services

LP:pw
opeiu #2, afl-cio
Enclosure

NEWS from the AFL-CIO

NA. 8-3870

FOR RELEASE IN A.M. PAPERS, THURSDAY, JULY 27, 1967

AFL-CIO President George Meany today sent the following telegram to AFL-CIO Vice President A. Philip Randolph:

The sober, thought-provoking statement issued by you, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Young and Dr. King fully merits the support of all Americans. Let me assure you it is the position of the AFL-CIO.

We will continue to push, with all the vigor at our command, for the adoption of legislation to meet the problems you outlined -- to eliminate from the American scene disease, slums, unemployment, poor educational facilities and above all else, discrimination.

As an item of first priority, America must aid the innocent victims of the rioters. Certainly they deserve, at the very least, the same help the government gives the victims of natural disasters. We urge the Congress, as an immediate matter, to amend the necessary laws to give them this assistance.

We say to the Congress: Now is not the time for the cheap humor and complete stupidity shown by those members of the House of Representatives who voted to kill the rat-control bill. Nor is now the time for a minority of the Senate Judiciary Committee to engage in a racially-inspired attack on the nomination of Thurgood Marshall to the United States Supreme Court. Now is the time for action and statesmanship by passing the poverty, housing, education and civil rights bills proposed by President Johnson and restoring full funding for the Model Cities and rent supplement bills passed last year.

My warm congratulations to you and your colleagues on a courageous, sensible statement.

-30-

DAILY HERALD

Mississippi Coast, Friday Afternoon, July 21, 1967

Slaiman Voices AFL-CIO Stand On Civil Rights

By NANCI CAMPBELL
Daily Herald Staff Writer

Don Slaiman, director of the Civil Rights division of the AFL-CIO told today delegates of the ten state Southern States Apprenticeship Conference at Buena Vista Hotel, Biloxi, that "both the government under law and the AFL-CIO are seriously committed to equal opportunity in apprenticeship for all youth, regardless of their race, religion or nationality."

He continued "especially when it comes to skilled jobs, the entry of minority youth group, whether Negro or other, cannot be accepted solely by non-discriminatory regulations.

"In addition," Slaiman told the packed audience "a minority group youngster will not automatically apply for a job even when the door is open." He said that in many cases a youngster must be convinced of the opportunity of applying for an apprenticeship position.

"It is for this reason that a number of government and private pilot programs in a number of cities have been successsful in achieving the entry of an increasing number of Negro and other minority apprentices in skilled trades programs where they were rarely found before."

He added that where such efforts have not been engaged in, "we have seen very little movement—even in areas where non discrimination has been guaranteed."

The director, from Washington, D.C., commented on the apprentice information service in Washington, which he said has placed over 500 apprentices in the capital area. He stated that an apprentice well-functioning information service contributes to a "better community relationship and a better image."

He noted in a later statement his feelings that the press "biased against us" and implied that the press used only news which was sensational in nature—"never carries the good we do," he said.

"I'm going to sit down and make sure they (reporters) get a copy of what I said today," Sliman told the convention.

During tomorrow's convention activities, 214 outstanding apprentices will be honored with certificates by Hugh C. Murphy, administrator of the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training.

Throughout the afternoon today, the conventioneers, engaged in a series of technical panel meetings for such trades as boilermaking, carpentry and electrical operations.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dear Staige:

How the hell are you?

4/4/62

Can you send me:

a) a copy of your report on Miss. violence

b) 20 - or ten if you don't have enough - copies of Albany pamphlet for students of mine who have asked for it.

Thanks. Hope to see you soon.

Howie

April 18, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

Paul Anthony has asked me to reply to your letter of April 13 inquiring about "Albany." Our own stock of this report is very low, but we are at present reprocessing it. By the early part of next week we should be able to have 300 copies in the mail to you.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
secretary to Mr. Anthony

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

April 13, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We have exhausted our entire stock of "Albany" and would be interested in securing additional copies for distribution through Current Readers Service.

If at all possible, I would like to get 300 additional copies. Please let me know whether you can make them available.

Sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:ms

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LAWRENCE SPEISER
Director

JULIE BARROWS
Executive Assistant

BR

November 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I would appreciate receiving a copy of your report on Albany, Georgia.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Lawrence Speiser

Lawrence Speiser
Director
Washington Office

List of people to send Albany pamphlet:

sent 11/20/62

Mr. Edward Kuhn, Jr. McGraw-Hill Book Company 330 West 42 St. New York 36, N.Y.
Mr. William Kunstler American Civil Liberties Union N.Y.C.
Mr. Jack Greenberg N.A.A.C.P. N.Y.C.
Mr. Angus Cameron, Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Ave. New York City
Mr. Peter Davison, Atlantic Monthly Press, 8 Arlington St. Boston, Mass.
Mr. John Fischer, 49 E. 33 St. New York 16, N.Y.
Prof. William Rivers, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
Mr. Erik Wensberg, Columbia University Forum, 605 W. 115 St. New York 25, N.Y.
Mr. Carey McWilliams, The Nation, 333 Sixth Ave, New York 14, N.Y.
Mr. Norman Podhoretz, Commentary Magazine, 165 E. 56 St., New York 22, N.Y.
Prof. William E. Leuchtenburg, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y.
Prof. David Donald, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
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Miss Shirley Freeman, 1214 7th Avenue, Albany, Georgia
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November 20, 1962

mailed 11/26/62

Hello:

Here is the list of all memebers in the Albany Council on Human Relations for receiving the ALBANY booklet. (Leo said SRC would mail these)

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416 Lincoln Avenue

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914 Cedar Avenue

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Thank you largely!

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

NOVEMBER 27, 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE
5 FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA, GA.

DEAR SIRS:

11/29/62

I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD SEND US FIVE COPIES OF DR. ZINN'S STUDY ENTITLED "ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY." I DERIVED SO MUCH FROM IT THAT I WANT SOME OF OUR OFFICERS TO HAVE THE SAME EXPERIENCE.

SINCERELY,

Will Maslow

WILL MASLOW

HENRY S. REUSS
5TH DISTRICT, WISCONSIN

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To: Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., W. Atlanta 3, Georgia

From: Peter Robertson, Administrative Assistant to
Congressman Henry S. Reuss

11/29/62

Could we please have two copies of your recent report in which you propose a "special corps of federal agents -- similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Dept. -- for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country."

Would you please place me on your mailing list for future publications.

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BP

November 29, 1962

Mr. L. W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the Council's second study of the Albany situation.

I would like to receive four more copies. Please let me know how much they are and I shall send you a check.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

Norman C. Eddy

Norman C. Eddy
Director
Christian Action

NCE:js

letters probably crossed

BP

EAST HARLEM PROTESTANT PARISH

2050 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 29, N. Y.

November 19, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We would very much like to receive five copies of the Council's second study of the Albany situation. This was referred to in the New York Times.

11/26/62

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Jean Startup

(Miss) Jean Startup
Secretary to
Norman C. Eddy

Albany Report

November 29, 1962

Mr. Tobias Simon
Simon & Rosen
706 Ainsley Building
14 N. E. First Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Simon:

Thank you for your letter of November 23. We are sending enclosed a copy of the Albany Report, together with a couple of other things.

We released the Albany Report after much thought. We have never before seen fit to mount in this way public criticism against federal policies and actions. We would not have done so at this time were Albany merely a local phenomenon (even though we have the deepest sympathy for the individuals who have been engaged there). We decided to make this strong statement because of apprehensions, which amount almost to convictions, that what has happened in Albany is likely to be repeated elsewhere and to be the most persistent kind of civil rights controversy over the next few years. In this sense I do think that Albany is even more important than the University of Mississippi. That posed tremendous Constitutional issues which simply had to be met and resolved. I am hopeful that there will not be another such recurrance. I cannot be hopeful at this time that there will not be recurrances of the Albany pattern and this makes me think that unless we have a more forthright policy, the whole cause of racial relations in the South could be hortibly messed up by a spread of this kind of situation.

We do not lightly criticise. We were, for example, just about the only liberal organization in the country which publicly defended the Attorney General's plea for a "cooling off" during the Freedom Rides. Moreover, last Spring we released our report on Executive Support of Civil Rights, which received wide publicity and was generally commendary of the Kennedy Administration. You will note, however, in it on pages 17-19 that we expressed last March essentially the same concerns about the Administration's policy in Albany that has been elaborated in the recent report. I might add that these are matters we have from time to time discussed informally with the Department of Justice.

Thank you again for writing to us, and we would be deeply interested in your further comments.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enclosures:
Albany Report
The Freedom Ride
The Federal Executive and Civil Rights
Executive Support for Civil Rights

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TOBIAS SIMON
MAURICE ROSEN

PLEASE REPLY NUMBER:

November 23, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have read of the report of the Southern Regional Council in the November 15, 1962, edition of the New York Times.

I would very much appreciate receiving a copy of same for complete study.

I have been very much interested in the Albany situation for some time because I, too, have felt that the "Albany movement" gains little in tangible results. However, the climate that is created by such movement is of invaluable aid throughout the rest of the country. There is no question in my mind but that the Florida situation is more peaceful because of what has happened in Albany, Georgia.

I am somewhat at a loss also to understand just exactly what the Federal Government could have been requested to do. For violations of civil rights the strong judicial arm has been a great comfort. We have used this, with some small success in Tallahassee, and I think our successes will continue to grow. I would like the privilege of corresponding with you further after I have examined the report.

With kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Tobias Simon

TOBIAS SIMON

TS:ev

Tobias Simon, atty.
Ainsley Bldg., Miami, Fla.

Born 1929
Admitted to Bar 1952

College A.B. HOFSTRA College
Hempstead, N.Y.

Law — LL.B. —
Harvard

Note: No other information
in directory.

ck $5.00
12/3/62
LK

ACK

12/3/62

November 30, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of Dr. Howard Zinn's full report on the incidents that have occurred at Albany, Georgia. I have just read his article in The Nation, December 1, 1962, on "Kennedy: The Reluctant Emancipator", and I am deeply moved by his analysis of the issues at stake for all Americans. I suppose my reactions are so strong because I believed in the serious intentions so strongly implied by statements, over the years, by this and other Presidents and officials regarding democracy and humanity, "in our time". It is painful when one realizes fully the extent of moral cowardice that is in each of us, citizen up to President. No one truly can caste the first stone. The least I can say about the racist in the South (and elsewhere in the world) or the dishonest politician in our midst, is that each is a member of the human race, or "the damned human race" as Mark Twain preferred to call us.

Mark Twain, along with many others through the ages, seemed to have known in his troubled heart how far short of humanity and decency we continually fall, generation after generation. He and others have looked with steady, unclouded eyes at the unbelievable acts of bestiality committed by men against other men, and have reported the "nobility" of the spectacle with candor, and compassion. Dr. Zinn seems to be one of this small select group and I am heartened to know he lives and works with

truth as his only task master.

Enclosed is a modest contribution to your organization. Were it possible to convert into money my feelings in this, the World Bank organization itself would be hard put to negotiate the amount you would receive.

Sincerely yours,

Orian Worden

Orian Worden
2294 Webb
Detroit 6, Michigan

"Albany" B2-3

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December 6, 1962

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Colleague:

The ILG and the NAACP. Several months ago Ernest Holmes, a Negro member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, made charges of discrimination against Local 10 of the Union with the State Commission for Human Rights. When the manager of the local, in a fit of anger, refused to permit an examination of its records by representatives of the Commission, the Investigating Commissioner made a finding of "probable cause." Fortunately, wiser heads reversed Local 10's position and made all of its records available. Unfortunately, however, there the matter has rested, at least as far as I have been able to determine. In my judgment the Commission should long ago have decided whether to reconsider and dismiss the charges or set them down for a public hearing. Certainly, the continuance of the present situation -- with the issue of discrimination remaining unresolved -- is contrary to the interests not only of the ILG and the NAACP but to the interests of the general public as well. It is high time that the evidence be presented at a public hearing, where it will be subject to cross-examination by counsel for the ILG.

In the meantime, it was quite natural that the attacks by Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, upon the ILG resulted in a denunciation of him by the union top leadership. It is equally natural that the NAACP Board of Directors should have adopted a resolution expressing their faith in Mr. Hill. If the matter stopped there, the long delay in achieving a resolution of the charges of discrimination might not be of critical importance. However, matters have not stopped there. On the contrary, both in the news and editorial columns of the Negro press, the controversy has received wide currency. Moreover, the situation has been strongly exacerbated by Mr. Hill's unwarranted statement that the ILG leadership was a "bureaucracy that has more in common ethnically and socially with the employers than with the workers it is supposed to represent." The harm done by this charge is not lessened by the fact that Mr. Hill is himself white and Jewish.

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ISIDOR TEITELBAUM, New York

Anyone familiar with the conditions of the garment industry in New York realizes that the ILG is the only safeguard against the revival of the sweat shop conditions which led to the formation of this great union almost half a century ago. And no one familiar with labor realities in New York can be unmindful of the fact that the workers of all backgrounds, Negroes and Puerto Ricans included, would be the victims of a return to such conditions. None of this, of course, would excuse discrimination by the ILG. But it does emphasize the great importance of having charges of such discrimination proved or disproved without further delay.

"Albany -- A Study in National Responsibility." This is the title of a pamphlet prepared by Dr. Howard Zinn, Professor of History and Social Science at Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia. It was published by the Southern Regional Council whose Executive Director, Leslie W. Dunbar, contributed an introduction in which he urges that, "What the country critically requires is governmental assumption, at both the state and national levels, of responsibility and initiative for the reform of racial relations, and for the uplifting of the economic and educational levels of the bottom tenth of our population."

The picture which Dr. Zinn paints of the situation in Albany, Georgia, may, it seems to me, be summarized and characterized as that of a police state representing the interests of the white 60% of the population and determined to deny to the Negro 40% their basic constitutional rights of freedom of expression, assembly and petition, as well as their fundamental constitutional rights to the use of public facilities such as parks and libraries, on a nonsegregated basis. It is also a picture of an "efficient" police state in which, by and large, the Police Department acts without brutality, although there have been some instances of shocking brutality by police as well as by the notorious county sheriff. Finally, it is a picture of frustration which the author attributes to default on the part of the Federal Government. He distributes the blame among the President (for failing to have done more than to have made two critical statements of the situation) the Department of Justice (for failing to institute criminal proceedings against local law enforcement officials guilty of brutality) and the FBI (for failing to make arrests in such cases). Passing mention is made of the fact that, although months have passed, United States District Judge Robert Elliot has still made no decision in the suit brought by Albany officials to enjoin demonstrations by Negroes and the countersuit brought by the latter to put an end to interference with their constitutional rights. Incidentally, the Department of Justice is further criticized for failing to bring suit to protect these constitutional rights and, instead, limiting itself to the filing of a brief amicus curiae opposing the city's suit and supporting the suit brought by the Negro community.

It seems to me that Dr. Zinn's criticism of the role of the Federal Government is only in part well taken. Actually, in my judgment, the present stalemate is the result of the deliberate sabotage by Judge Elliot who should long ago have handed down his decision. It further seems to me that this delay is due to the fact that Judge Elliot, an ardent segregationist, realizes that the city's suit is without merit, that the counterclaim for injunctive relief should be granted and that any decision which did not so hold would be reversed by the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

Although the Federal Judiciary is independent of the Executive and of Congress, President Kennedy must take the responsibility for the action - or rather the inaction - of Judge Elliot since the President appointed him with full knowledge of Judge Elliot's strong segregationist views. Unhappily, this is not the only instance in which President Kennedy has chosen to appoint Federal Judges in the South known for their reactionary views on race relations.

The Department of Justice is, in my opinion, also properly chargeable with failure to prosecute three policemen and the sheriff who have been clearly guilty of brutality intended to discourage the assertion by the Negro community of its constitutional rights. Nor, in my opinion, is it any answer that a grand jury would not indict. Since only a misdemeanor is involved, prosecution can be initiated on the basis of an information (affidavit) sworn to by the United States Attorney. True, it is doubtful that a local Federal jury would convict. On the other hand, such trials would afford an opportunity to put all the facts on record and thus focus state-wide, nation-wide and world-wide opinion upon these outrages and a community which tolerates them.

At this point it should be said that Dr. Zinn's criticism of the FBI for its inaction is not well taken. While there is much material in the report of the Federal Civil Rights Commission issued last year to support his view that the FBI is deeply distrusted by Southern Negroes, there is nothing in the present study to indicate that the facts have not been fully and promptly reported by the FBI to the Department of Justice, which alone has the authority to direct arrests and prosecutions.

Dr. Zinn also seems to me to be off base in citicizing the Department of Justice for failure to institute injunction actions to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro community in Albany, Georgia. Congress has repeatedly refused to grant such power to the Department of Justice and it is difficult to see any basis on which the Department could have sued for injunctive relief in the Albany situation in the absence of such legislative authorization.

Meanwhile, slowly, the local court in Albany is dispensing Southern justice to the more than 700 persons who have sought to exercise their constitutional rights. Ultimately, they will be convicted and then after great delay and great expense, most, if not all, of the defendants will be freed after they have carried their cases to the United States Supreme Court. Such administration of law, of course, makes a mockery of justice but it is to be expected in what, as was stated above, is essentially a police state.

The Color Line and the Courts. One wag has observed that the most segregated part of the South are its churches on Sunday morning. Not far behind, however, are the state courts despite the fact that in their case such segregation is clearly unconstitutional.

A recent decision at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, may provide the first opportunity to secure a ruling by the United States Supreme Court on the legality of courtroom segregation. Elsewhere, it has been maintained by sheer force, cometimes exerted with complete ruthlessness. In the Baton Rouge case, the Louisiana District Court Judge found guilty of contempt three Negro women who sought to sit in the front row of the white section and refused to move during the trial of Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE Field Secretary, charged with defaming the District Attorney and the Judge. The three women found guilty of contempt were sentenced to serve ten days and pay a $100 fine. It is ironic that Southern courtrooms should be the last place in which the completely discredited

doctrine of "separate but equal facilities" is applied.

A New Form of Federal Aid for Parochial Schools. Last week it was disclosed that the Federal Government proposed to sell to the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Rockville Center, Long Island, New York, for a parochial school 22 acres of the recently discontinued Mitchell Field in Long Island. It was further reported that the proposed sale price is approximately 20% of the value of the land.

AJCongress immediately protested the proposed sale as being "no different in law or fact from a gift of Federal funds to the Church to the extent of 80% of the value of the property." The telegram, signed by Ephraim S. London, CLSA Chairman, said "We wish...to make it clear that we do not object to the sale of this or any other surplus government property to the Catholic Church or any other group for a sum representing its fair and honest value."

"Block Busting." In recent weeks "block busting" tactics by real estate agents in changing neighborhoods were twice checkmated. These tactics involve a wide variety of practices used to induce panic selling.

Such practices are prohibited under the regulations promulgated in 1956 by the New York Secretary of State whose department licenses real estate brokers. Last month, Secretary of State Caroline K. Simon upheld the findings of the hearing officer that a real estate agent was guilty of urging white residents in East Patchogue and Bellport, Long Island, to sell their properties on the ground that they would drop in value because Negroes were moving into the area and that another broker had aided in such efforts. The first broker's license was revoked and the other's was suspended for a period of three weeks. Mrs. Simon also announced that an investigation was being ordered to determine whether similar misconduct was being engaged in by another firm in Roosevelt, Long Island.

Subsequently, the Detroit City Council, by a 7-to-1 vote, enacted an ordinance forbidding block busting and providing that violators would be subject to a fine up to $500, imprisonment for not more than 90 days, or both.

There is no doubt, in my opinion, that these prohibitions against block busting are constitutionally valid. It is equally clear that they are needed in order to deal with what seem to me to be the most predatory and ghoulish of business methods.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

S BV – suggest you send copy to Howard. He might even invent to write Tolin

WB ✓

PA ✓

ML ✓

BP – file

THE ATLANTA AREA OFFICE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ROOM 703 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To: ~~Les Denbar~~

This is an unaccustomed role for me - distributing A Congress stuff!

Charles

Charles F. Wittenstein
Area Director
ROOM 703.
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E.,
ATLANTA 3. GEORGIA

JAckson 3-8451

First Methodist Church

123 OCEAN BOULEVARD
PHONE 267-4410

COOS BAY, OREGON

AUSTIN HARPER RICHARDSON
MINISTER

December 6, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The December 1962 issue of the Nations Magazines carries an article entitled "Kennedy: The Reluctant Emancipation" by Howard Zinn.

A footnote to this article indicates that Mr. Zinn's full report on the situation in Albany may be secured from your office.

I would like to have this full report. Is there some expense involved or is my making this request sufficient to secure me this full report?

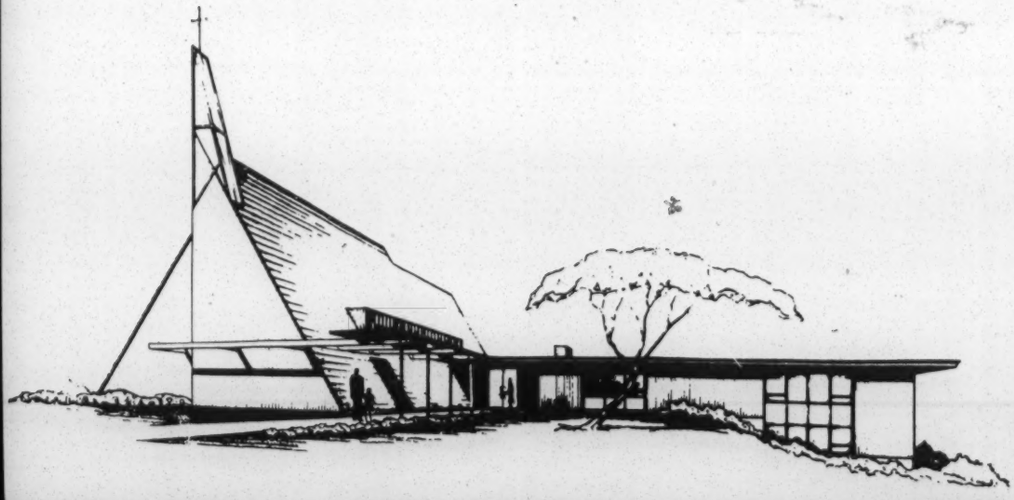
Sincerely yours,

Austin Harper Richardson

Austin Harper Richardson

12/12/62

AHR:G



Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

December 6, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to confirm the telephone agreement we had last week in which you promised to give us 500 copies of the Albany Report and we promised to pay twenty cents (.20¢) per copy for 500 more copies.

At this time we feel that it is financially unwise for us to invest in more copies. Frankly we just don't have the money and you should soon receive from us a check for $100.00 to cover the expense of the 500 copies we must pay for.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Forman/c

James R. Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee

JRF/nfc

B P:

when our new order of "Albany" arrives - please send 500 to SNCC. no charge.

The rest of the letter I don't understand, we should let the matter rest if they do.

Anyway 500 to SNCC - 30 a copy —

P A

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

3510 Hamilton St.
Phila. 4, Pa.
Dec. 10, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs,

Would you be so good as to send me the report by Howard Zinn on Police Practices, with special reference to Albany, Ga.? I am engaged in research on the Southern student movement, and require reports of this kind to keep me up to date. I would appreciate remaining on your mailing list for future reports of this nature.

Thank you.

12/1/62

Sincerely,

Martin Oppenheimer

Martin Oppenheimer

P.O. Box 976
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

December 10, 1962

Gentlemen:

Following Professor Zinn's article in The Nation (Dec. 1) a note says that one may have his report on Albany by writing to you. May I please have a copy? The publication mentions no charge, but I shall be happy to pay one if there is a charge. Thank you.

Yours very truly,
Elizabeth Keen
Elizabeth Keen

12/11/62

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

December 18, 1962.

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send me copies of the two reports by Howard Zinn on the Albany, Georgia movement. Thanking you for your help in this matter,

Sincerely yours,

Julius Paul

Julius Paul

12/26/62

January 3, 1963

Rabbi Carl I. Miller
Temple Israel
601 N. Montgomery St.
Gary, Indiana

Dear Rabbi Miller:

We are pleased to send you the requested copy of Dr. Zinn's report on Albany, and there is no change. Any friend of Rabbi Mantinband's is a friend of ours!

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

CARL I. MILLER, Rabbi
GARRY J. AUGUST, Rabbi Emeritus

PHONE 938-5232

Temple Israel

601 N. MONTGOMERY STREET
GARY, INDIANA

December 28, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

My friend and colleague, Rabbi Charles Mantinband, at a meeting recently in Washington mentioned a publication issued by you containing an article by Howard Zinn on Albany or massive resistance.

I cannot remember the exact title of this article, but you probably can identify the one I have in mind.

Can you send me a copy as soon as possible and invoice me for any charges?

Sincerely yours,

Carl I. Miller
jk

Carl I. Miller, Rabbi

CIM/jk

HANA

HARLEM NEIGHBORHOODS ASSOCIATION, INC.

211 WEST 133rd STREET • NEW YORK 30, N.Y.
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Mr. Charles A. Ward, Jr.

Community Organizer
Miss Phyllis M. Harewood

January 10, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please forward our organization the full Zinn Report on Albany for use in our work.

Sincerely,

Milton Yale

MY/glc

Milton Yale
Executive Director

1-14-63
MA
both reports sent

*Also Members of the Board of Directors

448

CARL I. MILLER, RABBI
GARRY J. AUGUST, RABBI EMERITUS

PHONE 938-5232

Temple Israel
601 N. MONTGOMERY STREET
GARY, INDIANA

January 10, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for your kindness in forwarding to me the copy of Dr.Zinn's report.

I am very glad to note your appreciation of Rabbi Mantinband, for he has certainly been a ray of light and hope.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Miller

Carl I. Miller, Rabbi.

/jk

Melissa Singler
261 E. 10th St.
New York 9, N.Y.
Apt. # 15

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Having spent part of last summer in Albany, working with the movement, I am particularly interested in reading Howard Zinn's report. Would it be possible for you to send me 2 copies? Congratulations on having printed a thorough report on the problems that face Albany, the movement and the people there. Yours in the struggle for

Freedom Now!
Melissa Singler
Melissa Singler

1-15-63
MA

January 16, 1963

Mr. John H. Bracey, Jr.
7251 S. Perry Avenue
Chicago 21, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bracey:

Thank you for your order, and for the $1.00 you enclosed. Since it covers more than the two publications you ordered, I am taking the liberty of enclosing another, our New South issue on Mississippi. I am also enclosing a publications list for your information. I hope you will find these materials informative and helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

13 January 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir,

In response to an announcement in the membership bulletin of the Students for a Democratic Society, I would like to receive a copy of Prof. Howard Zinn's booklet entitled "Albany: A Study in National Responsibility," and if possible a copy of Prof. Zinn's previous Albany report the title of which I do not know. No prices were listed so I am inclosing one dollar ($1.00) to defray any expenses. If this is insufficient I will be glad to make up the difference. I thank you very much.

Yours truly,

John H. Bracey Jr.
7251 S. Perry Ave.
Chicago 21, Ill.

Albany - 1 - 25
" 2 - 25
New South .20
misc.

cash $1.00
1/16/63
HK

sent
1-16-63
MA

January 21, 1963

Mr. S. J. Silverman
Australian National University
Department of Political Science
Canberra, A.C.T.
Australia

Dear Mr. Silverman:

We are mailing you today the requested copy of Dr. Zinn's report on Albany. Since the subject for your thesis is civil disobedience, I have taken the liberty of enclosing with it several other publications which may be of interest and help to you in preparing your thesis.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
Zinn, Albany: A study in national responsibility
Dunbar, The Annealing of the South
" Civil Disobedience
New South, Feb. 1962, Wright, "The Right to Protest"
" " Dec. 1961, Ring, "Love, Law and Civil Disobedience"

The University of Sydney

Please send one copy of Howard Zinn's report on Albany to me at:

Australian National University
Department of Political Science
Canberra, A.C.T.
Australia

for use in a thesis on civil disobedience upon which I am at work.

Thank you.

S. J. Silverman

February 21, 1963

Miss Patricia L. Benedict
2126 South Downing
Denver 10, Colorado

Dear Miss Benedict:

We are mailing you under separate cover the requested copy of Dr. Zinn's report on Albany. A publications list is also enclosed.

We do not maintain a mailing list for individuals; perhaps you would be interested in subscribing to our monthly publication, New South. Periodically, it lists our latest publications (which you could order if they interested you).

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

2126 South Downing
Denver 10, Colorado
February 15, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The February 1963 issue of A.L.A. Bulletin stated that Howard Zinn's "Albany: A Study in National Responsibility" and a previous report by the author could be obtained from you upon request.

As a student in the Graduate School of Librarianship at the University of Denver, and as an individual, I am very interested in the integration situation and am trying to keep abreast of its developments. I would indeed welcome a copy of the reports, and would also appreciate it if you would put my name on your mailing list for addition information on the subject of integration.

Yours truly,

Patricia L. Benedict

.25 coins
2/27/63
HK

602-40th avenue north
apartment 5
Nashville 9, Tenn.

February 25, 1963

Mrs Montez G. Albright
administrative assistant
Southern Regional Council
57 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Sent 2-26-63 MA

Dear Mrs Albright:

I donot recall at the moment saying any thing about the report of Albany a study in National Responsiblity by Howard Zinn as I have a copy of it that I obtained from the Tennessee Council on Human Relations some time ago.

However I am ~~enclos~~ enclosing twenty ~~25~~ five (25¢) cent for a copy of this report by Dr. Zinn after it has been reprinted. I would like for it to be sent to the following person:

Miss VALOUR WILLIAMS
9430 ZAMORA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 2 CALIF.

Also please send her all of the I-Reports that you sent me, as they appeared in the November-December, 1962 issure of the New South.

The I-Reports are:

1) I-31 Slipping Segregation Reprint from Wall Street Journal

I-32. Refutation of Race and Reason by Dr. William P. Sullivan. Reprint from Southwest Lousiana Register

I-33 The Challange of Desegregation for the American Polic Efecutive.

I.34 Desegregation in Southern Parochial Schools. Reports on Catholic dioceses in 11 states

I.35. State Commissions on Human Relations - official groups in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia &

I.36 ~~Rochester~~ Richmond Quitly

Leads the way in Race Relations"
reprint from The Washington Post,
L-37 Statement on "Economic cost
of Racial Discrimination in
Employment" Present to con-
gress by the council of Economic
advisers.
L-38 What price Violent? Press
Ommentary on the economic
hazards of the University of
Mississippi Riots.
L-39. Negroes Pay But Half
as Fast.

I am well pleased with these
reports myself and would appreciate it
if Miss Williams may receive these

Sincerely Yours

James R. Thornton, Jr

SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

People to get Albany pamphlet:

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Mrs. B.R. Brazeal, "
Mr. Edwin Cerney "
Mrs. Margaret Curry "
Mrs. Clare Haac "
Mrs. Joyce Johnson "
Mrs. Shirley McBay "
Mrs. Elizabeth Macomson "
Mrs. Mexico Mickelbury "
Mrs. Lois Moreland "
Mrs. Grace Perry "
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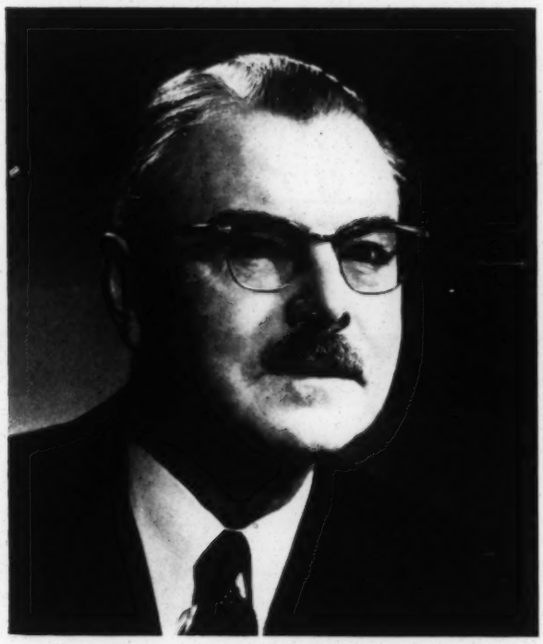
Dr. Richard Hocking 1146 Lullwater Rd. NE, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Walter Love, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.
Prof. Harvey Young, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Sinclair Jacobs 200 Montgomery Ferry Drive NE, Atlanta, Ga.

Thank you —
Howard Zinn

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Sun Life REVIEW

JANUARY 1963



GEORGE W. BOURKE, F.I.A., F.S.A.
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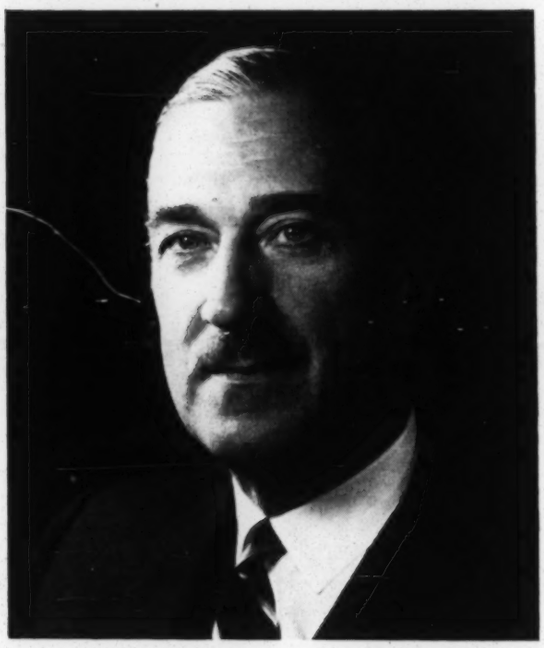


A. M. CAMPBELL, F.I.A., F.S.A.
PRESIDENT

SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY OF CANADA

A MUTUAL COMPANY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE CITY OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA

By IVAN ALLEN, Jr., Mayor of Atlanta

Another in a series of Review *articles on "Sun Life" cities around the world, this account of the spectacular growth and development of the capital city of the State of Georgia, U.S.A., comes from the pen of a prominent Sun Life policyholder who is untiringly continuing the efforts of his predecessors in making Atlanta a metropolis with an exciting and challenging future.*

THE AUTHOR

Forty-fourth mayor of Atlanta, Sun Life policyholder IVAN ALLEN, JR. is a fast thinking, direct acting native son who on January 2, 1962 began serving his first term as an elected public official, chosen for his city's highest office by two-thirds of the electors who cast their vote a month earlier.

Son of one of Atlanta's top business and civic leaders, "Young Ivan", as he was called to distinguish him from his father, entered Georgia Institute of Technology, majoring in commerce and business administration. He was president of his class, president of the Student Council, and president of his fraternity, Sigma Alpha Epsilon.

After graduating in 1933, he went into his father's office supply business, the Ivan Allen Company, learning the business from the ground up with earnestness and zeal. He moved up through the ranks to the vice presidency and, following war service, to the presidency. In 1957, he was named Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors.

Throughout his business career he was active in civic and church work. A deacon in the First Presbyterian Church, a former Boy Scout and Scoutmaster, he has been President of the Atlanta Area Council and served on the National Executive Board of the Boy Scouts of America, holding the highest honour in scouting — the Silver Buffalo. He has served as President of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce and on the State Board of Education, the State Board of Veterans Service, the Atlanta YMCA Board and the Fulton County Juvenile Advisory Board. He resigned as President of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce to run for mayor.

As chief executive of Atlanta's city government, Mayor Allen lives up to the description of him given by Mills B. Lane, Atlanta banker: "A man with an intense capacity to get things done."

ATLANTA, FIRST CITY of the Southeastern United States in size, trade and commerce, is a metropolis of more than a million founded on transportation, favored by climate and geography, fostered to its present greatness by the enthusiasm, enterprise and energy of its citizens.

Unlike older cities of the Southeastern and Southern states such as Charleston, South Carolina, Savannah or New Orleans, Atlanta did not develop because of a location on the seacoast or on a river navigable from the sea.

Instead, though some 300 miles from the Atlantic Ocean, Atlanta came into being as a natural crossroads for commerce; first, oddly, by water, then by trail and pioneer road, later and most importantly by railroad, now by air and superhighway.

Atlanta is fortunately located at the natural geographical centre of the region. Its altitude of 1,050 feet above sea level makes it the highest large city in the United States except mile-high Denver. This altitude gives Atlanta a stimulating climate the year round, free from the debilitating heat which afflicts many Southern cities during summer months.

Back in colonial days, long before Georgia became one of the original American states to break away from Mother England, the hilly land beside the circuitous Chattahoochee River which later was to become the site of the City of Atlanta was established as a trading post for pioneering whites and aboriginal Indians. It was at the Indian Village of Standing Peachtree, on the Chattahoochee, that white traders who wanted to do business with the powerful and wealthy Cherokee Indian nation, after they had made their way up from the Gulf of Mexico, had to check in before they entered the nation's lands.

As the pioneer State of Georgia began to grow and the descendants of Oglethorpe's colonists on the coast began to press westward to and through the precipitous mountains which range Georgia's westward border, the one-time Indian village became a crossroads of wagon trails. In those days it was a backwoods outpost compared with the thriving seaports of Charleston and Savannah to the north and east, Mobile and New Orleans to the south and west.

In 1837 occurred the incident which started the future city of Atlanta on its upward journey to become one of the great commercial crossroads on the North American continent. Some years earlier, the State of Georgia had chartered the building of the Western and Atlantic Railroad to the mighty, westward-flowing Tennessee River. Laying out the line for this early iron horse, a surveyor drove a stake in a forest clearing near where the Village of Standing Peachtree had stood and said that was to be the eastern terminus of the railroad. So the metropolis of 1963 started off in 1837 as Terminus. It soon became known as Marthasville. Then, in 1847, the city was incorporated as Atlanta which the builders of the Western and Atlantic considered to be the feminine of Atlantic. The town at once began to build its destiny as a railroad centre. From then on until the American Civil War broke out, Atlanta kept getting up steam as a distribution point, industrial centre and magnet for trade from the southeastern plantation country. Through Atlanta northward moved the products of farm and forest. Through Atlanta southward, westward and eastward spread the manufactured goods from north and east. It was the eye of the needle which sewed together the tapestry of trade and commerce between Southern and Western states.

Then, in 1861, in the neighbour state of South Carolina was ignited the searing conflict which was to lay waste the eleven states of the Confederacy and to devastate their commerce and industry. In the first months of the war, it

became apparent that Atlanta was the key supply point for the entire Southern Confederacy. It also became clear to the Northern Army commanders that to break the back of the Confederate armed strength, Atlanta had to be destroyed. That took a lot of doing. It was not until the autumn of 1864 that General William Tecumseh Sherman, flame-bearded commander of the United States Western forces, was able to drive the Confederate troops out of Atlanta. Then, as I have sometimes expressed it, he executed the first urban renewal project in the United States by applying the torch to our city. All who have seen the film made from "Gone with the Wind", the famed novel written by Atlanta's own Margaret Mitchell, have some mental image of what happened to Atlanta — the only major American city ever sacked and burned by a conquering army. Ironically, General Sherman directed the destruction of Atlanta from headquarters on the site of the present City Hall.

Down but far from out, Atlanta wasted no time about rebuilding not only its homes and stores but its trade and commerce as soon as the Civil War ended the following year. Adopting "Resurgens" as its motto, Atlanta began re-surging in industry, in trade, in transportation.

By the end of the 19th century, the one time Village of Standing Peachtree was winning wide acclaim as the outstanding business city of the Southeast. It took pride in being earnest and eager, in living up to its nickname as "Chicago of the South". All through the first third of the twentieth century, Atlanta kept growing in size and business importance. A tremendous boost was furnished by the development of a local industry, Coca-Cola, now known the world over. This beverage which quenches so much of the world's thirst grew out of experiments carried on by John S. Pemberton, an Atlanta druggist, and exploited by the merchandise skill of Asa Candler

With the added impetus, Atlanta accelerated its expansion pace. As one perceptive journalist expressed it, "For the blood, sweat and tears which it expended during the years following the Civil War, Atlanta has substituted guts, push and Coca-Cola." In the second quarter of the twentieth century, Atlanta came into full flower as one of the major commercial and transportation centres of the United States. The original one railroad line grew to 13 lines of seven railroads. The pioneer wagon trails became a network of interstate highways and expressways, over which thousands of trucks transport goods and hundreds of buses transport passengers. More than 80 fixed-route truck services now operate through Atlanta.

Today, in the new third dimension of transportation, Atlanta also is a predominant crossroads. A sparkling new $23,000,000 jet airport handles more than 400 flights daily, for six airlines. During the midday period Atlanta's airport is said to be the busiest in the world.

In 1963, as Atlanta approaches the middle of its twelfth decade of existence, it is riding the crest of a great wave of enterprise and achievement which began at the end of World War II and shows no signs of diminishing. The city keeps adding a vast complex of increasingly versatile and business developments which assure its present and future status as the Number One city of all of the South, east of Texas (an empire unto itself). This is dramatically illustrated by population figures. First city in the region to pass the one million mark for its metropolitan area, Atlanta now has within this area one out of every 25 persons in the seven states which constitute the Southeastern United States regional market.

Atlanta's claim to be a regional as well as a state capital also is borne out by the selection of the city as regional headquarters by national concerns. Latest figures compiled by the Chamber of Commerce show that 4,000 national corporations serve the region from Atlanta. Manufacturing plants are operated in Atlanta by 300 of these. Some 1,100 maintain Atlanta warehouses. The

THE SUN LIFE IN ATLANTA

While the Sun Life of Canada was transacting a life insurance business in Atlanta as long ago as 1899, under the managerial eye of John S. Cameron, Manager for the State of Georgia, it was not until the mid-1920's that real expansion throughout the state was undertaken. Today, under the leadership of Branch Manager Harlan Dahl, the Georgia Branch on Peachtree Street supervises the sales efforts of 15 representatives, while in the Group Insurance field, Group Sales Manager Thomas D. Joiner's Atlanta Group Branch serves as the regional office not only for Georgia but also for all, or a portion, of seven southeastern and southern states. At the present time, individual and group insurance in force with the Sun Life exceeds $50 million in Georgia alone.

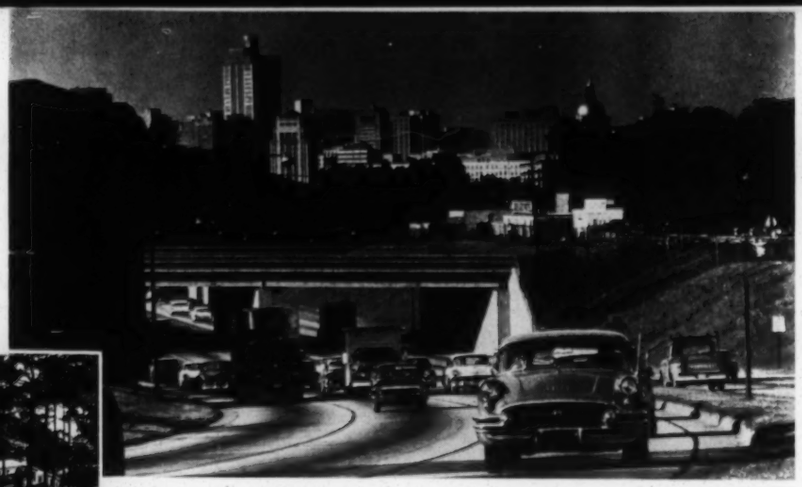
Golf is enjoyed every week of the year on tree-studded sun-bathed courses only a few minutes from downtown.

Downtown Atlanta hums with activity.

Stone Mountain, world's largest solid body of exposed granite, rises 800 feet above its surroundings 16 miles east of Atlanta. A famous landmark since pioneering days, the area is now a State Park.

The Atlanta skyline as seen from one of the city's busy expressways. Tallest structure is the 32-story Bank of Georgia Building, with the City Hall just below it to the right. Rising above the trees at right is the golden dome of the Georgia State Capitol.

All photos courtesy Leviton-Atlanta.



Atlanta's rolling terrain, combined with architectural design, has made the city's residential areas renowned for their charm.

others have regional headquarters for sales and service. The U.S. Department of Commerce in its "Commercial Survey of the Southeast" says: "Atlanta is generally recognized as the principal headquarters city of this region."

To fly over the 1,274 square miles of metropolitan Atlanta, an area which embraces parts of five counties, is to be impressed by the onward march of business and industry. Everywhere the observer looks, he sees buildings recently completed, well under way, or beginning to rise from freshly broken ground. No wonder that 1962 building permits had already passed the former all-time record a month before the year ended, with a total of over $115 millions. In the western distance gleams the largest airplane manufacturing plant in the world under one roof, 76 acres of floor space operated by Lockheed of Georgia.

Flying from the northwest toward the centre of downtown Atlanta, Five Points, where five main streets come to their milepost zero, the aerial observer will see near the Coca-Cola home plant the buildings and campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology whose football "Ramblin' Wrecks" for decades have made history on the gridiron as its graduates have made history in business and industry.

Zeroing in on Five Points, he will see the towering homes of two of the nation's top 100 banks, the First National Bank and the Citizens and Southern National Bank, as well as the home offices of such noted financial institutions as the Trust Company of Georgia, the Fulton National Bank, and tallest of all, the 32-story skyscraper of the Bank of Georgia.

Just south of Five Points the eye in the sky can see the bulk of Rich's, Inc., the South's number one department store which does more than one hundred million dollars a year in retail trade.

Circling toward the east and north, one will see the home plant of another world-wide Atlanta manufacturing industry, Scripto, Inc., makers of mechanical writing instruments; and off in the distance, the buildings of Agnes Scott College, institution of higher education for women, and the marble buildings on the campus of Emory University, internationally known for its liberal arts.

Completing the swing over the downtown area, one passes over the 22-story $15,000,000 merchandise mart and the new 21-story building of the Georgia Power Company, largest electric utility in the region. On this circle, the observer will get a glimpse of the miles of rolling residential districts, both white and Negro, which rim the city and often have been described as among the most attractive in the nation. Interspersed through the residential districts are parks, golf courses, tennis courts and other recreational facilities which do much to make the Atlanta way of life so enjoyable. One of these golf courses is East Lake, from where Bobby Jones, now a prominent Atlanta attorney, went forth to win his "Grand Slam" and to become one of the famous golfers of all time.

Atlanta, however, is much more than statistics and appearance. The image is succinctly summed up by my father, one of our city's businessmen who has contributed much to its growth over several decades: "Atlanta is a combination of altitude and attitude."

The altitude was furnished Atlanta by nature. But the city's attitude is of its own fashioning. Part of it is the combination of eagerness and enthusiasm. Another important facet is a combination of tolerance and a willingness to meet the changes in national and international attitudes. It was not by accident that Atlanta began the abolishment of segregation in its public schools without any of the violence or noise which accompanied similar attempts in some other Southern cities. It is not by accident that Atlanta has the largest centre of Negro higher education in the world. Nor is it by accident that Atlanta has one of the nation's most important and prosperous Negro business areas. Again it is not by accident that Atlanta is surrounded by handsome white and Negro residential districts.

Finally, it is not by accident that an eminent Negro educator serves on the Atlanta Board of Education and that last November, a Negro was elected as one of Atlanta's senators in the General Assembly of Georgia.

Now, as Atlanta approaches the middle of the 'nineteen-sixties', it looks forward to a future full of challenge and excitement. Where Atlanta now stands and where it is headed is ably expressed by Philip Hammer, urban economist of Washington, D.C. Wrote Hammer: "The future of Atlanta is one of the most exciting ever faced by an American city. It is not just growth, or bigness, or new landmarks over the countryside. It is Atlanta's future as capital of a region in profound change. It is its role as one of the dozen or so "national cities" that will light up America at strategic points.

"Behind this vision are the hard facts of economics. Atlanta's tomorrow is being clearly fashioned in new forms and new dimensions — bigger, bolder, different — by three sets of economic forces: 1. the rapid transformation of the Southeast from an agrarian to an industrial economy; 2. the sharp pace of technological change in the U.S. economy through the "second industrial revolution"; 3. the new patterns of locational mobility — in people, plant, *polis*, and postoffice — which are recasting the nation's economic structure over the landscape."

BOND PROGRAM

1963

SCHOOL	NEW CONSTRUCTION						RENOVATION									
	Class-rooms (No.)	Libr.	Cafe.	Phys. Ed.	Land	Total	Libr.	Cafe.	Fire Mar-shal's Recom.	Home-mkg.	Ltg.	Science	Voc. & I. A.	Total	LAND	GRAND TOTAL
Elementary																
Adair	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	$1,300	...	$1,300
Anderson Park	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Arkwright	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	500	...	500
Ben Hill	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	500	...	500
Bethune	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	6,200	...	6,200
Birney	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Blair Village	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bolton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	6,368	...	6,368
Brandon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Bryant	*	x	x	...	...	$65,175	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,100	...	66,275
Burgess	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	300	...	300
Butler	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,400	...	1,400
Campbell	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	600	...	600
Capitol Ave.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Capitol View	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	819	...	819
Carey	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	5,200	...	5,200
Carter	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	...	...	6,315	...	6,315
Cascade	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	13,059	...	13,059
Center Hill	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	x	...	...	11,735	...	11,735
Chattahoochee	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Clement	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Collier Hgts.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cook	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	486	...	486
Cooper Street	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	22,018	...	22,018
Couch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	19,350	...	19,350
Cox	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,400	...	1,400
Craddock	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	2,200	...	2,200
Crogman	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	x	...	...	37,061	...	37,061
Dobbs	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	5,200	...	5,200
East Lake	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	5,100	...	5,100
English Ave.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	x	...	...	55,298	...	55,298
Fain	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	800	...	800
Faith	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Forrest	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	2,550	...	2,550
Gideons	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goldsmith	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	12,022	...	12,022
Gordon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,800	...	1,800
Grant Park	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	x	...	...	17,612	...	17,612
Harris	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	27,007	...	27,007
Haygood	...	x	...	...	...	45,250	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	45,450
Herndon	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Highland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	2,000	...	2,000
Hill	...	...	x	...	...	40,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	300	...	40,300
Home Park	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	17,991	...	17,991
Hope, John	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hope, R. L.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,200	...	1,200
Howell, Clark	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	2,900	...	2,900
Howell, E. P.	...	...	x	...	...	32,500	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	10,872	...	43,372
Howell, Minnie	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Humphries	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	9,384	...	9,384
Hutchinson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	300	...	300
Inman	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	801	...	801
Inman Park	...	...	x	...	...	50,000	x	...	x	...	x	...	...	14,703	...	64,703
Johnson	...	x	...	...	...	41,565	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	650	...	42,215
Kimberly	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kirkwood	...	x	...	...	...	42,120	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	20,080	...	62,200
Lakewood	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	...	...	29,053	...	29,053
Lee Street	*	...	x	...	...	30,000	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	17,958	...	47,958

* See New Schools and Additions and/or New Sites.

SCHOOL	NEW CONSTRUCTION Classrooms (No.)	Libr.	Cafe.	Phys. Ed.	Land	Total	RENOVATION Libr.	Cafe.	Fire Marshal's Recom.	Homemkg.	Ltg.	Science	Voc. & I. A.	Total	LAND	GRAND TOTAL
Elementary																
Lin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	$ 200	...	$ 200
Luckie	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	5,800	...	5,800
Mayson	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	...	2,000	...	2,000
Milton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	x	...	...	16,097	...	16,097
Moreland	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,200	...	1,200
Morningside	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	350	...	350
Mount Vernon	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	...	...	2,154	...	2,154
North Avenue	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	6,100	...	6,100
Oliver	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Peeples	*	...	x	...	...	$30,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	2,250	...	32,250
Perkerson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Pitts	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pryor	*	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	...	...	...	65,370	...	65,370
Ragsdale	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	20,322	...	20,322
Reynolds	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rivers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Rockdale	*	x	...	...	...	41,197	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	41,397
Scott	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Slater	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	1,100	...	1,100
Slaton	...	x	...	...	...	41,255	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	41,255
Smith, S. R.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
Spring	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	14,924	...	14,924
Stanton, D. H.	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Stanton, F. L.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	633	...	633
Sylvan Hills	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	341	...	341
Tuxedo	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Venetian Hills	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	500	...	500
Walker	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	3,075	...	3,075
Ware	...	...	x	...	...	50,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	50,200
Waters	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wesley	*	...	x	...	...	25,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	375	...	25,375
West	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	...	...	3,305	...	3,305
Whitefoord	*	...	x	...	...	25,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	959	...	25,959
Wright	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	...	200	...	200
High Schools																
Archer	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	8,000	...	8,000
Bass	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	x	...	x	213,817	...	213,817
Brown	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	x	100,057	...	100,057
Carver	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	...	...	14,875	...	14,875
Dykes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	6,000	...	6,000
East Atlanta	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	6,000	...	6,000
Fulton	...	...	...	x	...	350,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	x	26,500	...	376,500
Grady	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	x	37,479	...	37,479
Harper	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Howard	*	...	x	...	...	55,000	x	...	x	x	x	x	x	181,438	$145,000	381,438
Murphy	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	x	6,600	...	6,600
North Fulton	...	x	...	x	...	185,000	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	95,391	...	280,391
Northside	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	...	...	x	6,449	...	6,449
O'Keefe	...	...	...	x	...	20,000	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	189,117	...	209,117
Price	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	25,000	...	25,000
Roosevelt	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	x	x	...	x	130,322	...	130,322
Smith	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	x	...	x	57,655	...	57,655
Southwest	...	x	...	x	...	396,199	...	...	x	...	...	...	x	2,306	...	398,505
Sylvan Hills	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	x	5,200	...	5,200
Therrell	*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	x	2,000	...	2,000
Turner	*	...	...	x	...	300,000	...	...	x	...	...	x	x	63,910	...	363,910
Washington	*	...	x	...	...	55,000	...	...	x	x	x	x	x	270,377	...	325,377
West Fulton	...	...	...	x	x	410,000	...	...	x	...	...	...	x	22,225	...	432,225

* See New Schools and Additions and/or New Sites.

SCHOOL	NEW CONSTRUCTION Classrooms (No.)	Libr.	Cafe.	Phys. Ed.	Land	Total	RENOVATION Libr.	Cafe.	Fire Marshal's Recom.	Home-mkg.	Ltg.	Science	Voc. & I. A.	Total	LAND	GRAND TOTAL
New Schools and Additions							...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Birney-Tuxedo El.	15	...	...	...	x	$639,500	(To relieve Birney and Tuxedo)									$639,500
Butler (U.R.) El.	16	...	...	...	x	829,904	(To relieve Butler and John Hope)									829,904
Field Rd. Elem.	22	...	...	...	x	738,100	(To relieve Collier Hgts. and Mayson)									738,100
Herndon Addn. El.	12	...	...	...	...	306,200	(To relieve Herndon, Clement, and English Ave.)									306,200
Howard High Relief	31	...	...	...	x	1,042,495	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,042,495
Pitts (new) Elem.	15	...	...	...	x	577,000	(To relieve Pitts and Rockdale)									577,000
Pryor-Gideons El.	30	...	...	...	x	1,178,500	(To relieve Pryor, Gideons, Bryant, D.H. Stanton, & Capitol Ave.)									1,178,500
Therrell High Relief	41	...	...	...	x	1,603,060	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,603,060
Thomasville (U.R.)El.	17	...	...	...	x	649,700	(To relieve Dobbs)									649,700
Vine City High	46	...	...	...	x	2,160,057	(To relieve Washington, Turner, and Archer)									2,160,057
Waters El. Addition	8	...	...	...	...	180,800	(To relieve Minnie Howell, Humphries, and Blair Village)									180,800
Wesley-Whitefoord El.	24	...	...	...	x	917,900	(To relieve Wesley, Whitefoord, and Reynolds)									917,900
New Sites																
Brentwood El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Ben Hill-Kimberly area)								$40,000	40,000
Cowart El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Ben Hill area)								45,000	45,000
Del Mar Lane El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Fain-Wright-Collier Hgts. area)								22,000	22,000
Field Rd. High	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Archer-Harper-Turner area)								60,000	60,000
Heritage El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Blair Village-Minnie Howell-Humphries area)								30,000	30,000
Lee El. Replacement	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Lee-Harris-Peeples area)								90,000	90,000
Myrtle Drive El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Venetian Hills-Cascade area)								35,000	35,000
Niskey Lake El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Ben Hill-Kimberly area)								45,000	45,000
Rockdale (U.R.) El.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42,000	42,000
Thomasville (U.R.) High	...	...	...	...	...	...	(To serve Price area)								150,000	150,000
Washington-Rawson Elem.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	177,471	177,471
Future Sites	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	508,137	508,137
Service Center	x	...	...	...	...	1,442,850	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,442,850
Grand Total	277	8	11	6	11	$14,596,327	8	18	93	8	25	5	21	$2,014,065	$1,389,608	$18,000,000

3/7/63

FORWARD ATLANTA

BOX 1740 / ATLANTA 1, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE JA. 1-0845

VOL. 1 NO. 6 May 1, 1963

GOVERNOR SANDERS TO BE GUEST OF NEW YORK FORWARD ATLANTA LUNCHEON

A FORWARD ATLANTA luncheon will be held in New York May 1st for approximately thirty top industrialists with whom representatives of FORWARD ATLANTA and Georgia Tech have been in contact. Governor Carl Sanders will be the honored guest. Mayor Allen is also expected to attend.

This is the second such luncheon held in New York by FORWARD ATLANTA. Mayor Allen addressed the first such gathering held last November.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVE NATIONAL RECOGNITION

National recognition was received by the FORWARD ATLANTA Program this month for three of its publications. The three awards were given by the American Industrial Development Council at its annual conference in San Diego.

The top award was received by the monograph series. In the area of general information publications, the "Greater Atlanta" brochure won the "Excellent" award in its class. The third honor gave recognition to the series of manufacturing opportunity studies prepared for FORWARD ATLANTA by Georgia Tech.

Atlanta received more awards than any other city.

ARTICLES ON ATLANTA

Stories on Atlanta in national publications continue. TOWN AND COUNTRY had two articles on Atlanta in their February issue, as was reported in the last newsletter. SATURDAY EVENING POST had a major article on Georgia in a February issue. Much of the story was devoted to Atlanta.

SHOW Magazine is planning a major treatment of Atlanta's cultural life in its June issue.

E. D. SMITH NAMED "SALESMAN OF YEAR" FOR FORWARD ATLANTA WORK

E. D. SMITH, Chairman of the FORWARD ATLANTA Program, was named Salesman of the Year by the Sales Marketing Executives of Atlanta at their annual banquet in April.

The gold trophy was awarded to him for his work as head of the FORWARD ATLANTA Program.

FORWARD ATLANTA MEETS WITH LOCAL DEVELOPERS

Gerald Horton, research director, and Dr. Kenneth Wagner and John Peterson of Georgia Tech met with thirty local and regional developers in early April to discuss ways that the FORWARD ATLANTA Program might assist local developers. The major portion of the program was devoted to a presentation of one of the Tech manufacturing opportunity studies. Mr. Peterson explained in some detail the contents of one of the studies.

Other meetings are planned to review the other Tech studies, the Chamber research materials and capabilities, and ways to better coordinate the FORWARD ATLANTA effort with local development programs.

ATLANTA SUPPLIERS RESPOND

Trans World Airlines co-sponsored with the Atlanta Chamber and Associated Industries of Georgia an all-day exhibit here on April 17 of thousands of materials, components, and finished products used by their carriers, personnel, and land installations in all parts of the world. Local and regional suppliers were invited to inspect the articles on display and talk to TWA purchasing managers on procedures for selling to the airline. The TWA officials attending were well pleased with the turnout of more than 375 manufacturers and suppliers who came by during the 7-hour period.

The offer to purchase from qualified local suppliers is a permanent one. Those who were unable to go by the exhibit April 17th can get descriptive material outlining the commodity ranges used by TWA by telephoning the Industrial Bureau, 521–0845.

ADVERTISING SCHEDULE

Below is listed the advertising schedule from the date of this newsletter until the end of August for the FORWARD ATLANTA Program.

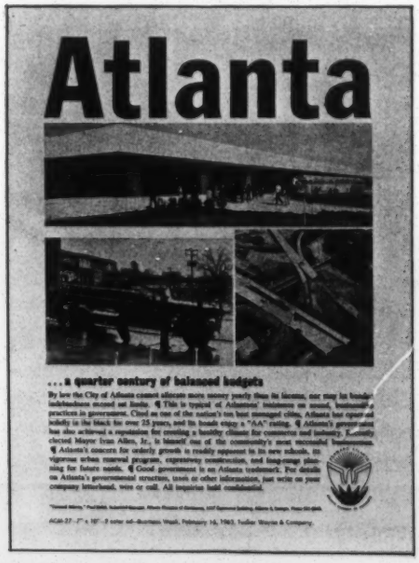
Publications	Insertion Date
Wall Street Journal	May 7, 21; June 4, 18
New York Times	April 17, May 2, August 14.
Business Week	June 15
Nation's Business	June
The New Yorker	May 18
Atlanta Magazine	May, June, July, August.
Dun's Review	May, June.
Industrial Development	May, June.
Factory	May, July.
Electronics	June
Show	June

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

An out-of-town business is interested in purchasing an existing food business, preferably one handling a new product. If you are interested, please contact William B. Williford (521–0845). All inquiries will be held in confidence.

ATLANTA JOURNAL SERIES ON FORWARD ATLANTA

Robert Joiner, business editor of the Atlanta Journal, wrote four articles on the FORWARD ATLANTA Program which ran in late February. Mr. Joiner carried out extensive research and interviewing for the articles. His interpretation of FORWARD ATLANTA's objectives and activities amounts to a substantial public service. Reprints of the articles are available at the Chamber.



WILLIFORD TRAVELS

Since the last newsletter, William B. Williford, FORWARD ATLANTA's front line salesman, has been in St. Louis, Kansas City, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago, calling on prospective industry for Atlanta. Williford's usual schedule is to be on the road every other week.

"RED CARPET" BREAKFAST

More than 30 visiting industrialists from all parts of the United States were entertained at a breakfast at the Hilton Inn as the kick-off of the State Chamber's Red Carpet Tour. The breakfast, at which FORWARD ATLANTA Chairman E. D. Smith presided and Mayor Allen spoke, was followed by a tour of industrial districts, local landmarks and Georgia Tech.

LISTINGS OF NEWCOMER FIRMS

One of the toughest record-keeping jobs the Industrial Bureau tries to keep up with is the matter of new and expanding firms in Metropolitan Atlanta. When the FORWARD ATLANTA fund made possible our expanded staff and a lot of new services, early consideration was given to tabulating literally all types of new businesses, and issuing periodic box scores on Greater Atlanta's gross or net gains. We soon found it an impossible task – and certainly not one within the range of practicability.

As an example, a periodic tabulation of business licenses would sound like a simple solution. However, at the last count Greater Atlanta was composed of 54 cities, towns and counties. Unfortunately, many important categories of our area businesses are not subject to licensing procedure, and the record-keeping methods of our various local governments are inadequate for our purposes.

Over the years the Industrial Bureau has maintained card files on several categories of firms in Metropolitan Atlanta: 1. Manufacturers or assemblers of a product; 2. Branch operations of firms which have their headquarters elsewhere; 3. Resident representatives (an individual working from his home who represents full-time a national concern); 4. Manufacturers' agents (a person or firm representing a variety of product lines).

From a record-keeping standpoint this is not, of course, representative of the Atlanta area's economy. Listings of retailers, services, transportation agencies, professional and engineering services, the vast complex of wholesale outlets and distributorships of local origin, etc. are not included – unless they fall in one of the four categories above.

At mid-year and the end of the calendar year we plan to compile a complete listing of all firms in the four categories of card files we now maintain. We'll be glad to furnish copies to those who request them. Meanwhile, all members are free to come by the Industrial Bureau office at their convenience to check the cards we have on file for the current year.

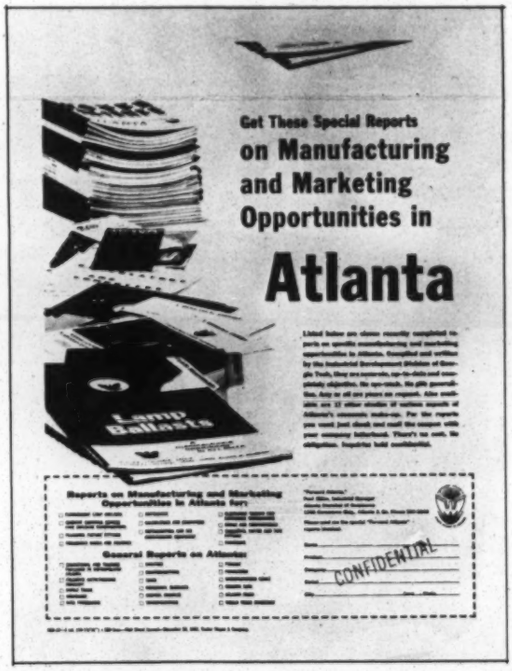
R & D ATLANTA MAGAZINE RECEIVES SPECIAL MAILING

The March issue of ATLANTA Magazine which was devoted to Research and Development and Atlanta's potentials in this expanding field was mailed to the top R&D firms in the nation. The covering letter told of the study on Atlanta's Potential in the Aero-Space Age that is now in production. A number of requests for that study have already been received from the firms to which the magazine was sent.

TWO MAJOR PUBLICATIONS EXPECTED IN JUNE

Two of the major publications of the FORWARD ATLANTA Program are presently in production and are expected to be ready for distribution by mid-June. "Atlanta's Potential In the Aero-Space Age" is a handsome four-color, 40 page presentation of the study by that title conducted for FORWARD ATLANTA by the Industrial Development Division of Georgia Tech.

The second study, "The Arts in Atlanta," has been scheduled and rescheduled a number of times due to various changes in organizations in the city. A 36 page presentation with many pictures, the study reflects the diversity and richness of Atlanta's artistic life.



ADVERTISEMENT REPLIES FOR 1963

More than 110 measurable replies have been received from the 1963 advertising schedule through March. The checklist ad pictured has been the most successful in drawing measurable responses. It has been run twice in the *Wall Street Journal* and is scheduled to run in the other media used by the FORWARD ATLANTA Program.

NEW AND REVISED MONOGRAPHS

A new study "Retail Merchandising" has been prepared for the monograph series and will be ready for distribution by June 1. The "Finance" monograph has been recently updated and will also be available in early June.

A study of the advertising industry is now underway to be presented in the June issue of ATLANTA and as a monograph in late summer.

The Armour Agricultural Chemical Company's new Atlanta Research Center.

METRO ATLANTA'S NEWEST RESEARCH CENTER

A fine example of FORWARD ATLANTA's qualitative as well as quantative efforts is the newest addition to Atlanta's research complex, Armour Agricultural Chemical Company's Atlanta Research Center which was dedicated Wednesday, April 24. The Center is equipped with the latest and most modern instruments available for use in research of chemicals for industrial and agricultural products.

Located in the Decatur area, the Center includes eight modern analytical laboratories, such as the one pictured above, a pilot plant and three greenhouses. Approximately 45 highly trained people, including chemists, chemical engineers, mechanical engineers, geologists, mining engineers and agronomists will man this modern facility. The single-level research laboratory has 17,500 square feet of floor space and is built on a five-acre site.

The establishment of this half-million dollar center by Armour Agricultural Chemical Company, a firm which has been headquartered in Atlanta since 1933, is part of a $60 million expansion program of the firm.

BOND ISSUE TALKS

Your Chamber office can arrange in-plant talks with slide presentations on the May 15 Atlanta-Fulton County Bond Referendum as it relates to industrial development.

For information call Jim King at 521–0845.

COOPERATIVE AD SERIES

We hope this additional reminder will prompt FORWARD ATLANTA subscribers to investigate the joint sponsorship of a future advertisement. This is an arrangement whereby FORWARD ATLANTA teams up with another firm or agency to sponsor a cooperative ad with an overall community theme. The first in this series appeared in January. Advertising chairman George Goodwin about that time wrote to all of you who appear to be logical prospects to tie in with this phase of our advertising program.

There are certain ground rules we have to observe in the content and make-up of the ads, and these joint efforts are presently confined to appearances in Wall Street Journal and the New York Times.

Bob Schaefer and Frank Grassett at Tucker Wayne & Co. (TR. 3–2021) would like to hear from those of you who are interested and they can furnish all the details.

Facts about PROGRESS BONDS

PB

for

Atlanta and Fulton County

PB

Facts about Progress Bonds for Atlanta and Fulton County

City of Atlanta		$21,000,000
Atlanta Public Schools		$18,000,000
Fulton County		$15,950,000
	TOTAL	$54,950,000

NO INCREASE IN TAXES will be needed to finance the entire program

VOTE MAY 15, 1963

"A Vote for Bonds is A Vote for Progress"

ATLANTA SCHOOLS

$18,000,000

THE ATLANTA SCHOOLS URGENTLY NEED $18,000,000 IN BONDS BECAUSE:

Over 6,000 students are attending school on double session for lack of classroom space.

Enrollment has increased 3,380 this year and is expected to increase by 4,000 yearly.

Many old schools lack adequate fire safety facilities.

Future school sites should be purchased now while land costs are lower.

THE BONDS WILL BUY:

10 new schools containing 257 new classrooms.

20 new classrooms in two existing schools.

8 new libraries where none now exist or replacement is necessary.

11 new cafeterias where inadequate facilities now exist.

6 new physical education facilities.

$13,153,477

11 sites for future new buildings.

$ 736,471

Additional sites for future schools.

$ 508,137

A new service center for maintenance and distribution of supplies to all schools, resulting in substantial savings.

$ 1,442,850

Additional property for Howard High School.

$ 145,000

AND renovations in 99 old schools including:

93 schools with poor fire safety features.

8 libraries.

18 cafeterias.

5 science departments.

8 homemaking departments.

21 vocational and industrial arts departments.

25 schools with sub-standard lighting.

$ 2,014,065

CITY OF ATLANTA

$21,000,000

STREET AND TRAFFIC IMPROVEMENTS

$ 6,000,000

1. Traffic signal equipment and school zone markers

   Provides signal equipment for approximately 80 of Atlanta's most congested and hazardous intersections. Also puts special emphasis on marking dangerous school zones with the latest school zone warning equipment.

   $ 400,000

2. Hunter Street Widening

   Widens Hunter Street to a uniform five lanes, Expressway to Forsyth Street, preventing bottleneck when Downtown Connector is opened to traffic.

   $ 2,000,000

3. North Avenue Widening

   Makes North Avenue six lanes from Argonne Avenue to Glen Iris Drive and four lanes to the proposed Stone Mountain Freeway, providing major East-West thruway in Uptown area.

   $ 2,000,000

4. Wall Street Extension

   Constructs 24-foot-wide extension from Peachtree Street to Techwood Drive, taking truck traffic off Marietta Street, routing it underneath the downtown viaduct area.

   $ 550,000

5. Stewart Avenue Widening

   Converts Stewart from three to four lanes from Dill Avenue to Glenn Street, improving traffic flow through South Atlanta.

   $ 300,000

6. Simpson Street Improvement

   Widens Simpson to 44 feet, providing four lanes from Northside Drive to Ashby Street on the West Side.

   $ 500,000

7. Planning and Engineering

   $ 250,000

SEWERS $3,500,000

Atlanta sewer needs are so critical that further construction in some city areas depends on passage of these emergency sewer bonds:

Outfall Sewers (Ben Hill, Adamsville, Wolfe Creek, Valley Road, Buckhead and Northside Drive areas)
$ 1,100,000

Intrenchment Creek Plant
$ 750,000

Peachtree Road Storm Sewer
$ 150,000

Miscellaneous Storm Sewers throughout the city
$ 250,000

Replacement of Culverts
$ 250,000

Open Channel Extensions
$ 250,000

Trunk Sewer Repairs
$ 500,000

Planning and Engineering
$ 250,000

AUDITORIUM FACILITIES $9,000,000

When constructed 50 years ago our auditorium was a real show place for the 155,000 who lived here. It is completely inadequate today to serve Atlanta's needs for religious, education and civic meetings, sports shows, musical presentations, and to attract large conventions and trade shows. The bond funds will purchase centrally located land, provide a 100,000 square foot convention and trade show exhibit area, and construct the modern and comfortable theater-type auditorium.

URBAN RENEWAL $1,750,000

Urban Renewal in Atlanta has cleaned up slums and already has added, on a city wide basis, $355,-000 annually in new city tax income. Officials feel $6,000,000 in new Urban Renewal funds is needed, but the bond figure has been cut to a bare minimum of $1,750,000. This money will make it possible for the city to move into new urban renewal projects as work on the present ones is completed—clearing away the worst slums, providing better living conditions, and adding to the value of important Atlanta land areas.

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS $ 500,000

A recent survey shows the need for $1,284,000 worth of neighborhood and community parks and playgrounds. The $500,000 in this issue will be used for obtaining sites throughout the city.

LIBRARIES $ 250,000

Construction of a West Fulton Library Branch will serve an area of 40,000 people in a section farthest removed from any present facility. Improvements are planned for the main public library downtown.

FULTON COUNTY
$15,950,000

STREETS AND HIGHWAYS $10,750,000

1. Southwest Connector
   Constructs new four-lane connector between Cascade Road-Gordon Road Area and four-lane Marietta Boulevard, including interchange with West Expressway, relieving serious traffic problem on Northside Drive and entire west side of Atlanta.
   $ 1,700,000

2. Peachtree Connector
   Provides further rights-of-way for extension of North Fulton Expressway from Peachtree south to Northeast Expressway, replacing inadequate Lenox Road interchange.
   $ 1,300,000

3. Norman Berry Drive
   Extends the Spring Avenue underpass project in East Point, providing extension of Norman Berry Drive to connect with Interstate Route 85 near Atlanta Airport.
   $ 200,000

4. North Fulton Expressway
   Provides right-of-way for new four-lane expressway to extend from Peachtree Road to Alpharetta area. While present expressways help develop adjoining counties, this one will serve Fulton County traffic needs and build Fulton's economy. Federal, State Governments to share construction costs.
   $ 1,400,000

5. Buckhead Street Improvements

Widens and extends important, heavily traveled streets, including Pharr Road, East Andrews Drive, North Fulton Drive, Slaton Drive, and other connecting streets, helping clear congestion in Buckhead area.

$ 1,250,000

6. South Camp Creek Parkway

Extends South Camp Creek Parkway from Connally Street to Washington Street, providing additional access to Atlanta Airport from fast-growing College Park area.

$ 1,200,000

7. Herschel V. Lee Underpass

Eliminates dangerous railroad crossing south of College Park on U.S. 29 at Old National Highway.

$ 700,000

8. Roswell Road Widening

Makes four-lane thoroughfare of Roswell Road from Abernathy Road north to Chattahoochee River, including river bridge, improving traffic flow throughout rapidly developing North Fulton areas.

$ 1,700,000

9. Chattahoochee River Bridges

Replaces unsafe McGinnis Ferry and Johnson's Ferry Road bridges in North Fulton County and provides new bridge at Hutchinson's Ferry in South Fulton.

$ 300,000

10. White Street Underpass and Connector Streets

Connects Cascade Road with Lee Street, including widening of roadway and construction of underpass at Lawton Street, aiding West End development.

$ 800,000

11. Other Street and Road Improvements

Improves County road network and relocates various dangerous intersections. Also includes street widening and resurfacing, in Fairburn, Palmetto, Union City and Alpharetta.

$ 200,000

SEWERS **$ 3,700,000**

New sanitary sewer facilities are an absolute must in these areas:

Utoy Creek Outfalls (Southwest Atlanta)

$ 137,000

Long Island Creek Outfalls (North Fulton)

$ 129,000

Nancy Creek Outfalls (North Fulton)

$ 125,000

Camp Creek Outfalls (South Fulton)

$ 450,000

Mt. Aire Outfalls (North Fulton)

$ 57,000

Marsh Creek Outfalls (North Fulton)

$ 397,000

Morning Creek Outfalls, Trunk and Disposal Plant (South Fulton)

$ 838,000

Big Creek Trunk and Disposal Plant and Outfalls (North Fulton North of River)

$ 1,367,000

Sewer Extensions (North and South Fulton)

$ 200,000

HEALTH AND WELFARE BUILDINGS **$ 500,000**

County growth makes building of these facilities urgent:

Addition to South Fulton Health Center, 1225 Capitol Avenue, S.W.

$ 41,000

Addition to Adamsville Health Center, 31 Brownlee Road, S.W.

$ 27,000

Replacement of Roswell Health Center, 816½ Atlanta Street.

$ 35,000

Remodeling of Ben Hill Health Center, 3704 Campbellton Road, S.W.

$ 22,000

Modernization of heating and air conditioning systems at following health centers: Alpharetta, Buckhead, Center Hill, College Park, Collins, Fairburn, Hapeville, Howell Mill, Jere Wells, Palmetto and Red Oak

$ 25,000

Additions to nursing homes

(a) High View, 2800 Springdale Road, S.W.

$ 100,000

(b) Happy Haven, 1821 W. Anderson Avenue, S.W.

$ 250,000

OPEN LAND AREAS AND LANDFILLS **$ 400,000**

These areas will be used as sanitary areas for disposal of rubbish and as future park sites. Two in North Fulton, two in South Fulton.

WATER **$ 500,000**

Unincorporated areas of North and South Fulton require increase in water pressure. Two new water tanks and related facilities, one in North Fulton at Pitts Road, one in South Fulton at Stonewall Camp.

LIBRARY **$ 100,000**

New library at Sandy Springs to serve North Fulton area

Federal and State funds totaling $27 million will be forthcoming to our area as a result of these bonds. In effect, this enhances the value of the Progress Bonds tremendously — an opportunity we can't afford to miss.

"A Vote for Bonds is A Vote for Progress"

NO INCREASE IN TAXES will be needed to finance the entire program

VOTE MAY 15

FOR

PROGRESS BONDS

Atlanta—Fulton County

CITIZENS BOND INFORMATION COMMITTEE

2nd Floor City Hall
Atlanta 3, Georgia

522-4463 Ext. 233

CITIZENS BOND INFORMATION COMMITTEE

Joint Atlanta-Fulton County Bond Program

May 15, 1963

NO TAX INCREASE will be needed to finance this Bond Program:

AMOUNTS:

City of Atlanta	$21,000,000
Atlanta Public Schools	$18,000,000
Fulton County	$15,950,000
TOTAL	$54,950,000

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11 sites for future new buildings.	$ 736,471
Additional sites for future schools.	$ 508,137
A new service center for maintenance and distribution of supplies to all schools, resulting in substantial savings.	$ 1,442,850
Additional property for Howard High School.	$ 145,000

AND renovations in 99 old schools including:

93 schools with poor fire safety features. 8 libraries. 18 cafeterias. 5 science departments. 8 homemaking departments. 21 vocational and industrial arts departments, 25 schools with sub-standard lighting.	$ 2,014,065

ONLY WITH the bonds can children now in the Atlanta schools receive adequate educational opportunity.

ONLY WITH the bonds can emergency needs be met and the growing educational program continue to improve.

CITY OF ATLANTA		$21,000,000
STREET AND TRAFFIC IMPROVEMENTS		$ 6,000,000
1. Traffic signal equipment and school zone markers Provides signal equipment for approximately 80 of Atlanta's most congested and hazardous intersections. Also puts special emphasis on marking dangerous school zones with the latest school zone warning equipment.	$ 400,000	
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Construction of a West Fulton Library Branch will serve an area of 40,000 people in a section farthest removed from any present facility. Improvements also are planned for the main public library downtown.

FULTON COUNTY BONDS $15,950,000

STREETS AND HIGHWAYS $10,750,000

1. Roswell Road Widening $ 1,700,000
   Makes four-lane thoroughfare of Roswell Road from Abernathy Road north to Chattahoochee River, including river bridge, improving traffic flow throughout rapidly developing North Fulton areas.

2. Buckhead Street Improvements $ 1,250,000
   Widens and extends important, heavily traveled streets, including Pharr Road, East Andrews Drive, North Fulton Drive, Slaton Drive, and other connecting streets, helping clear congestion in Buckhead area.

3. North Fulton Expressway $ 1,400,000
   Provides right-of-way for new four-lane expressway to extend from Peachtree Road to Alpharetta area. While present expressways help develop adjoining counties, this one will serve Fulton County traffic needs and build Fulton's economy. Federal, State Governments to share construction costs.

4. Peachtree Connector $ 1,300,000
   Provides further rights-of-way for extension of North Fulton Expressway from Peachtree south to Northeast Expressway, replacing inadequate Lenox Road interchange.

5. Southwest Connector $ 1,700,000
   Constructs new four-lane connector between Cascade Road-Gordon Road Area and four-lane Marietta Boulevard, including interchange with West Expressway, relieving serious traffic problem on Northside Drive and entire west side of Atlanta.

6. White Street Underpass and Connector Streets — $ 800,000
   Connects Cascade Road with Lee Street, including widening of roadway and construction of underpass at Lawton Street, aiding West End development.

7. South Camp Creek Parkway — $ 1,200,000
   Extends South Camp Creek Parkway from Connally Street to Washington Street, providing additional access to Atlanta Airport from fast-growing College Park area.

8. Norman Berry Drive — $ 200,000
   Extends the Spring Avenue Underpass project in East Point, providing extension of Norman Berry Drive to connect with Interstate Route 85 near Atlanta Airport.

9. Herschel V. Lee Underpass — $ 700,000
   Eliminates dangerous railroad crossing south of College Park on U.S. 29 at Old National Highway.

10. Chattahoochee River Bridges — $ 300,000
    Replaces unsafe McGinnis Ferry and Johnson's Ferry Road bridges in North Fulton County and provides new bridge at Hutchinson's Ferry in South Fulton.

11. Other Street and Road Improvements — $ 200,000
    Improves County road network and relocates various dangerous intersections. Also includes street widening and resurfacing, and construction of sidewalks in Fairburn, Palmetto, Union City, Roswell and Alpharetta.

SEWERS — $ 3,700,000

New sanitary sewer facilities are an absolute must in these areas:

Utoy Creek Outfalls (Southwest Atlanta)	$ 137,000
Long Island Creek Outfalls (North Fulton)	$ 129,000

Nancy Creek Outfalls (North Fulton)	$ 125,000
Camp Creek Outfalls (South Fulton)	$ 450,000
Mt. Aire Outfalls (North Fulton)	$ 57,000
Marsh Creek Outfalls (North Fulton)	$ 397,000
Morning Creek Outfalls, Trunk and Disposal Plant (South Fulton)	$ 838,000
Big Creek Trunk and Disposal Plant and Outfalls (North Fulton North of River)	$ 1,367,000
Sewer Extensions (North and South Fulton)	$ 200,000

HEALTH AND WELFARE BUILDINGS $ 500,000

County growth makes building of these facilities urgent:

Addition to South Fulton Health Center, 1225 Capitol Avenue, S. W.	$ 41,000
Addition to Adamsville Health Center, 31 Brownlee Road, S. W.	$ 27,000
Replacement of Roswell Health Center, 816 1/2 Atlanta Street	$ 35,000
Remodeling of Ben Hill Health Center, 3704 Campbellton Road, S. W.	$ 22,000
Modernization of heating and air conditioning systems at following health centers: Alpharetta, Buckhead, Center Hill, College Park, Collins, Fairburn, Hapeville, Howell Mill, Jere Wells, Palmetto and Red Oak	$ 25,000
Additions to nursing homes	
(a) High View, 2800 Springdale Road, S. W.	$ 100,000
(b) Happy Haven, 1821 W. Anderson Avenue, S. W.	$ 250,000

OPEN LAND AREAS AND LANDFILLS $ 400,000

These areas will be used as sanitary areas for disposal of rubbish and as future park sites. Two in North Fulton, two in South Fulton.

WATER $ 500,000

Unincorporated areas of North and South Fulton require increase in water pressure. Two new water tanks and related facilities, one in North Fulton at Pitts Road, one in South Fulton at Stonewall Camp.

LIBRARY $ 100,000

New library at Sandy Springs to serve North Fulton area.

WHAT THE 1963 BONDS WILL DO FOR ATLANTA

Local government and civic leaders, working together, have recommended a minimum essential Atlanta-Fulton County Bond Issue of $54,950,000, which can be financed with NO TAX INCREASE.

Following is a boiled down digest of each of the 13 items to be voted in the May 15 referendum. Keep it, study it, and be familiar with expansion requirements of your great city.

For detailed information on any project call your Atlanta Chamber office, JA. 1–0845.

Here is the breakdown:

ATLANTA SCHOOLS $18,000,000

Atlanta Schools urgently need $18,000,000 because:

—Over 6,000 students are attending double sessions.

—Enrollment is increasing 4,000 per year.

1. THE BONDS WILL BUY:

—10 new schools with 257 classrooms, 20 new classrooms in existing schools, 8 libraries, 11 cafeterias, 6 physical education facilities — $13,153,477.

—11 building sites, additional future school sites, additional property for Howard High School — $1,389,608.

—A badly needed new service center for maintenance and supply distribution—$1,442,850.

—Renovations in 99 buildings, including 93 fire safety features, 8 libraries, 18 cafeterias, 5 science, 8 homemaking and 21 vocational and industrial art departments, and 25 schools with sub-standard lighting — $2,014,065.

CITY OF ATLANTA $21,000,000

2. STREET, TRAFFIC IMPROVEMENTS *$6,000,000*

Future traffic flow vitally depends upon these improvements:

—Traffic signal equipment and school zone markers — $400,000.

—Hunter Street widening, Expressway to Forsyth — $2,000,000.

—North Avenue widening, Argonne to Stone Mountain Freeway — $2,000,000.

—Wall Street Extension, Peachtree to Techwood — $550,000.

—Stewart Avenue widening, Dill Avenue to Glenn — $300,000.

—Simpson Street widening, Northside Drive to Ashby — $500,000.

—Planning and Engineering — $250,000.

3. SEWERS *$3,500,000*

Atlanta sewer needs are so critical that further construction in some city areas actually hinges on passage of these emergency bonds:

—Outfall Sewers $1,100,000.

—Intrenchment Creek Plant $750,000.

—Peachtree Road Storm Sewer $150,000.

—Miscellaneous Storm Sewers throughout the city $250,000.

—Replacement of Culverts $250,000.

—Open Channel Extensions $250,000.

—Trunk Sewer Repairs $500,000.

—Planning and Engineering $250,000.

4. AUDITORIUM FACILITIES *$9,000,000*

Present 50-year-old structure is inadequate. Modern facility would serve expanding Atlanta's needs for religious, educational and civic meetings, sports shows and musical presentations, and would attract more conventions and trade shows. Funds will go for a centrally located site, auditorium, and a minimum of 100,000 square feet of exhibition space.

5. URBAN RENEWAL *$1,750,000*

Urban Renewal in Atlanta already has added $355,000 annually in City tax income. More slum areas need renovation. Officials see need for $6,000,000 but are asking what is considered a bare minimum.

6. PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS *$500,000*

A survey shows need for $1,284,000 worth of neighborhood and community parks and playgrounds. This $500,000 will obtain sites located throughout the city.

7. LIBRARIES *$250,000*

Construction of a new West Fulton Library Branch will serve an area of 40,000 people who have no library facility at present. Improvements also are planned for the main branch.

FULTON COUNTY $15,950,000

8. STREETS AND HIGHWAYS *$10,750,000*

The following essential projects will complement City projects and our rapidly developing Expressway system:

—Southwest Connector, new four-lane road between Cascade-Gordon Road area and Marietta Boulevard — $1,700,000.

—White Street Underpass and widening in West End — $800,000.

—Roswell Road widening, Abernathy Road to Chattahoochee — $1,700,000.

—South Camp Creek Parkway extension from Connally to Washington Street in College Park area — $1,200,000.

—Norman Berry Drive extension to connect with Interstate 85 near Airport — $200,000.

—Peachtree Connector right-of-way for new road linking Peachtree to Northeast Expressway, replacing inadequate Lenox Road interchange — $1,300,000.

—North Fulton Expressway right-of-way, extension of Peachtree Connector north toward Alpharetta area — $1,400,000.

—Buckhead Street widening and improvements, including Pharr Road, East Andrews Drive, North Fulton Drive, Slaton Drive and others — $1,250,000.

—Herschel V. Lee Underpass, eliminating railroad crossing near College Park— $700,000.

—3 Chattahoochee River bridges, replacing 2 unsafe ones and providing 1 new one — $300,000.

—Other improvements in many county areas— $200,000.

9. SEWERS *$3,700,000*

New sanitary sewer facilities are an absolute must in these areas:

—Utoy Creek Outfalls (Southwest Atlanta) — $137,000.

—Long Island Creek Outfalls (North Fulton) $129,000.

—Nancy Creek Outfalls (North Fulton) — $125,000.

—Camp Creek Outfalls (South Fulton) — $450,000.

—Mt. Airy Outfalls (North Fulton) — $57,000.

—Marsh Creek Outfalls (North Fulton) — $397,000.

—Morning Creek Outfalls, Trunk and Disposal Plant (South Fulton) — $838,000.

—Big Creek Trunk and Disposal Plant and Outfalls (North Fulton North of River) — $1,367,000.

—Sewer Extensions (North and South Fulton) $200,000.

10. HEALTH AND WELFARE BUILDINGS *$500,000*

County growth calls for these imperative improvements:

—Additions to South Fulton and Adamsville Health Centers and High View and Happy Haven nursing homes.

—Replacement of Roswell Center and remodeling of Ben Hill Center.

—Modernization of heating and air conditioning at Alpharetta, Buckhead, Center Hill, College Park, Collins, Fairburn, Hapeville, Howell Mill, Jere Wells, Palmetto and Red Oak centers.

11. OPEN LAND AREAS AND LANDFILLS *$400,000*

Rubbish disposal and future park sites will be obtained, two in North Fulton, two in South Fulton.

12. WATER *$500,000*

Two new water tanks and related facilities, at Pitts Road, North Fulton, and Stonewall Camp, South Fulton.

13. LIBRARY *$100,000*

New library at Sandy Springs.

DON'T FORGET VOTE FOR PROGRESS BONDS MAY 15

STATEMENT

by

IVAN ALLEN, JR.

MAYOR OF ATLANTA, GA.

BEFORE

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE

REGARDING

S. 1732

BILL TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC

ACCOMMODATIONS AFFECTING

INTERSTATE COMMERCE

July 26, 1963

STATEMENT BY IVAN ALLEN, JR.
MAYOR OF ATLANTA

July 26, 1963

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Senate Commerce Committee:

I am honored to appear before your Committee.

At the beginning I would like to make it clear that I feel qualified to speak on the subject under discussion which is the elimination of racial discrimination, on what I have learned from personal experience and observation in my home city of Atlanta, Georgia. As perceptive men of wide experience I feel confident that you will agree with me that this is as serious a basic problem in the North, East and West as it is in the South.

It must be defined as an all-American problem, which requires an all-American solution based on local thought, local action and local cooperation.

The 500,000 people who live within our city limits consist of 300,000 white citizens and slightly more than 200,000 Negro citizens. That makes the population of Atlanta 60 percent white, 40 percent Negro.

That 60 - 40 percentage emphasizes how essential it is for the people of Atlanta, on their local level, to solve the problem of racial discrimination in order to make Atlanta a better place in which to live.

Elimination of racial discrimination is no far off philosophical theory to the more than one million people who live in and around Atlanta.

The problem is part and parcel of our daily lives. Its solution must be studied and worked out on our homefront.

As the mayor of the Southeast's largest city, I can say to you out of first hand experience and first hand knowledge that nowhere does the problem of eliminating discrimination between the races strike so closely home as it does to the local elected public official. He is the man who cannot pass the buck.

From this viewpoint, I speak of the problem as having been brought into sharp focus by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and then generally ignored by the Presidents and Congresses of the United States. Like a foundling baby, this awesome problem has been left on the doorsteps of local governments throughout the nation.

Now to take up specifics. You gentlemen invited me to tell you how Atlanta has achieved a considerable measure of comparative success in dealing with racial discrimination.

It is true that Atlanta has achieved success in eliminating discrimination in areas where some other cities have failed, but we do not boast of our success. Instead of boasting, we say with the humility of those who believe in reality that we have achieved our measure of success only because we looked facts in the face and accepted the Supreme Court's decisions as inevitable and as the law of our land. Having embraced realism in general, we then set out to solve specific problems by local

cooperation between people of good will and good sense representing both races.

In attacking the specific problems, we accepted the basic truth that the solutions which we sought to achieve in every instance granted to our Negro citizens rights which white American citizens and businesses previously had reserved to themselves as special privileges.

These special privileges long had been propped up by a multitude of local ordinances and statewide laws which had upheld racial segregation in almost every conceivable form.

In Atlanta we had plenty of these props of prejudice to contend with when we set out to solve our specific problems of discrimination. In attacking these problems, I want to emphasize that in not one single instance have we retained or enhanced the privileges of segregation.

It has been a long, exhausting and often discouraging process and the end is far from being in sight.

In the 1950's Atlanta made a significant start with a series of reasonable eliminations of discrimination such as on golf courses and public transportation. We began to become somewhat conditioned for more extensive and definitive action, which has been taking place in the 1960's.

During the past two and a half years, Atlanta has taken the following major steps to eliminate racial discrimination:

1. In September, 1961, we began removing discrimination in public schools in response to a court order.

2. In October, 1961, lunch counters in department and variety stores abolished discrimination by voluntary action.

3. On January 1, 1962 Atlanta city facilities were freed from discrimination by voluntary action of municipal officials.

4. In March, 1962 downtown and arts theaters, of their own volition, abolished discrimination in seating.

5. On January 1, 1963, the city voluntarily abolished separate employment listings for whites and Negroes.

6. In March, 1963 the city employed Negro firemen. It long ago employed Negro policemen.

7. In May of 1963 the Atlanta Real Estate Board (white) and the Empire Real Estate Board (Negro) issued a Statement of Purposes, calling for ethical handling of real estate transactions in controversial areas.

8. In June 1963, the city government opened all municipal swimming pools on a desegregated basis. This was voluntary action to comply with a court order.

9. Also in June, 1963, 18 hotels and motels, representing the leading places of public accommodations in the city, voluntarily removed all segregation for conventions.

10. Again in June, 1963 more than 30 of the city's leading restaurants, of their own volition, abolished segregation in their facilities.

You can readily see that Atlanta's steps have been taken in some instances in compliance with court decisions, and in other instances the steps have been voluntary prior to any court action. In each instance the action has resulted in white citizens relinquishing special privileges which they had enjoyed under the practices of racial discrimination. Each action also has resulted in the Negro citizen being given rights which all others previously had enjoyed and which he has been denied.

As I mentioned at the beginning, Atlanta has achieved only a measure of success. I think it would assist you in understanding this if I explained how limited so far has been this transition from the old segregated society of generations past, and also how limited so far has been the participation of the Negro citizens.

Significant as is the voluntary elimination of discrimination in our leading restaurants, it affects so far only a small percentage of the hundreds of eating places in our city.

And participation by Negroes so far has been very slight. For example, one of Atlanta's topmost restaurants served only 16 out of

Atlanta's 200,000 Negro citizens during the first week of freedom from discrimination.

The plan for eliminating discrimination in hotels as yet takes care only of convention delegates. Although prominent Negroes have been accepted as guests in several Atlanta hotels, the Negro citizens, as a whole, seldom appear at Atlanta hotels.

Underlying all the emotions of the situation, is the matter of economics. It should be remembered that the right to use a facility does not mean that it will be used or misused by any group, especially the groups in the lower economic status.

The statements I have given you cover the actual progress made by Atlanta toward total elimination of discrimination.

Now I would like to submit my personal reasons why I think Atlanta has resolved some of these problems while in other cities, solutions have seemed impossible and strife and conflict have resulted.

As an illustration, I would like to describe a recent visit of an official delegation from a great Eastern city which has a Negro population of over 600,000 consisting of in excess of 20% of its whole population.

The members of this delegation at first simply did not understand and would hardly believe that the business, civic and political interests

of Atlanta had intently concerned themselves with the Negro population, I still do not believe that they are convinced that all of our civic bodies backed by the public interest and supported by the City Government have daily concerned themselves with an effort to solve our gravest problem -- which is relations between our races. Gentlemen, Atlanta has not swept this question under the rug at any point. Step by step - sometimes under Court order - sometimes voluntarily moving ahead of pressures - sometimes adroitly - and many times clumsily - we have tried to find a solution to each specific problem through an agreement between the affected white ownership and the Negro leadership.

To do this we have not appointed a huge general bi-racial committee which too often merely becomes a burial place for unsolved problems. By contrast, each time a specific problem has come into focus, we have appointed the people involved to work out the solution . . . . Theatre owners to work with the top Negro leaders . . . . or hotel owners to work with the top leadership . . . . or certain restaurant owners who of their own volition dealt with the top Negro leadership. By developing the lines of communication and respectability, we have been able to reach amicable solutions.

Atlanta is the world's center of Negro higher education. There are six great Negro universities and colleges located inside our city limits. Because of this, a great number of intelligent, well-educated Negro

citizens have chosen to remain in our city. As a result of their education, they have had the ability to develop a prosperous Negro business community. In Atlanta it consists of financial institutions like banks - building and loan associations - life insurance companies - chain drug stores - real estate dealers. In fact, they have developed business organizations, I believe, in almost every line of acknowledged American business. There are also many Negro professional men.

Then there is another powerful factor working in the behalf of good racial relations in our city. We have news media, both white and Negro, whose leaders strongly believe and put into practice the great truth that responsibility of the press (and by this I mean radio and television as well as the written press) is inseparable from freedom of the press.

The leadership of our written, spoken and televised news media join with the business and government leadership, both white and Negro, in working to solve our problems.

We are fortunate that we have one of the world famous editorial spokesmen for reason and moderation on one of our white newspapers, along with other editors and many reporters who stress significance rather than sensation in the reporting and interpretation of what happens in our city.

And we are fortunate in having a strong Negro daily newspaper - The Atlanta Daily World - and a vigorous Negro weekly, The Atlanta Inquirer.

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And we are fortunate in having a strong Negro daily newspaper - The Atlanta Daily World - and a vigorous Negro weekly, The Atlanta Inquirer.

The Atlanta Daily World is owned by a prominent Negro family - the Scott family - which owns and operates a number of other newspapers.

The sturdy voices of the Atlanta Daily World and the Atlanta Inquirer, backed by the support of the educational, business and religious community, reach out to our Negro citizens. They speak to them with factual information upon which they can rely. They express opinions and interpretations in which they can have faith.

As I see it, our Negro leadership in Atlanta is responsible and constructive. I am sure that our Negro leadership is as desirous of obtaining additional civic and economic and personal rights as is any American citizen. But by constructive I mean to define Atlanta's Negro leadership as being realistic - as recognizing that it is more important to obtain the rights they seek than it is to stir up demonstrations. So it is to the constructive means by which these rights can be obtained that our Negro leaders constantly address themselves. They are interested in results instead of rhetoric. They reach for lasting goals instead of grabbing for momentary publicity. They are realists, not rabble rousers. Along with integration they want integrity.

I do not believe that any sincere American citizen desires to see the rights of private business restricted by the Federal Government unless such restriction is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the people of this country.

On the other hand, following the line of thought of the decisions of the Federal Courts in the past 15 years, I am not convinced that current rulings of the Courts would grant to American business the privilege of discrimination by race in the selection of its customers.

Here again we get into the area of what is right and what is best for the people of this country. If the privilege of selection based on race and color should be granted then would we be giving to business the right to set up a segregated economy? . . . And if so, how fast would this right be utilized by the Nation's people? . . . And how soon would we again be going through the old turmoil of riots, strife, demonstrations, boycotts, picketing?

Are we going to say that it is all right for the Negro citizen to go into the bank on Main street and to deposit his earnings or borrow money, then to go to department stores to buy what he needs, to go to the supermarket to purchase food for his family, and so on along Main street until he comes to a restaurant or a hotel --- In all these other business places he is treated just like any other customer --- But when he comes to the restaurant or the hotel, are we going to say that it is right and legal for the operators of these businesses, merely as a matter of convenience, to insist that the Negro's citizenship be changed and that, as a second class citizen, he is to be refused service? I submit that it is not right to allow an American's citizenship to be changed merely as a matter of convenience.

If the Congress should fail to clarify the issue at the present time, then by inference it would be saying that you could begin discrimination under the guise of private business. I do not believe that this is what the Supreme Court has intended with its decisions. I do not believe that this is the intent of Congress or the people of this country.

I am not a lawyer, Senators. I am not sure I clearly understand all of the testimony involving various amendments to the Constitution and the Commerce clause which has been given to this committee. I have a fundamental respect for the Constitution of the United States. Under this Constitution we have always been able to do what is best for all of the people of this country. I beg of you not to let this issue of discrimination drown in legalistic waters. I am firmly convinced that the Supreme Court insists that the same fundamental rights must be held by every American citizen.

Atlanta is a case that proves that the problem of discrimination can be solved to some extent . . . and I use this "some extent" cautiously . . . as we certainly have not solved all of the problems; but we have met them in a number of areas. This can be done locally, voluntarily, and by private business itself!

On the other hand, there are hundreds of communities and cities, certainly throughout the nation that have not ever addressed themselves to the issue. Whereas, others have flagrantly ignored the demand, and today, stand in all defiance to any change.

The Congress of the United States is now confronted with a grave decision. Shall you pass a public accommodation bill that forces this issue? Or, shall you create another round of disputes over segregation by refusing to pass such legislation?

Surely, the Congress realizes that after having failed to take any definite action on this subject in the last ten years, to fail to pass this bill would amount to an endorsement of private business setting up an entirely new status of discrimination throughout the nation. Cities like Atlanta might slip backwards. Hotels and restaurants that have already taken this issue upon themselves and opened their doors might find it convenient to go back to the old status. Failure by Congress to take definite action at this time is by inference an endorsement of the right of private business to practice racial discrimination and, in my opinion, would start the same old round of squabbles and demonstrations that we have had in the past.

Gentlemen, if I had your problem armed with the local experience I have had, I would pass a public accommodation bill. Such a bill, however, should provide an opportunity for each local government first to meet this problem and attempt to solve it on a local, voluntary basis, with each business making its own decision. I realize that it is quite easy to ask you to give an opportunity to each businessman in each city to make his decision and accomplish such an objective . . . but it is extremely difficult to legislate such a problem.

What I am trying to say is that the pupil placement plan, which has been widely used in the South, provided a time table approved by the Federal courts which helped in getting over the troubled water of elimination of discrimination in public schools. It seems to me that cities working with private business institutions could now move into the same area and that the federal government legislation should be based on the idea that those businesses have a reasonable time to accomplish such an act.

I think a public accommodation law now should stand only as the last resort to assure that discrimination is eliminated, but that such a law would grant a reasonable time for cities and businesses to carry out this function before federal intervention.

It might even be necessary that the time factor be made more lenient in favor of smaller cities and communities, for we all know that large metropolitan areas have the capability of adjusting to changes more rapidly than smaller communities.

Perhaps this, too, should be given consideration in your legislation. But the point I want to emphasize again is that now is the time for legislative action. We cannot dodge the issue. We cannot look back over our shoulders or turn the clock back to the 1860's. We must take action now to assure a greater future for our citizens and our country.

A hundred years ago the abolishment of slavery won the United States the acclaim of the whole world when it made every American free in theory.

Now the elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free in fact as well as in theory - and again to establish our nation as the true champion of the free world.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I want to thank you for the opportunity of telling you about Atlanta's efforts to provide equality of citizenship to all within its borders.

November 21, 1963

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Allen:

Thank you for your kind words on my new job, and for your many courtesies in the past on my old one.

If I can be of service to you where I am now, please call on me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

SEA FOAM BOND

CITY OF ATLANTA

IVAN ALLEN, JR.
MAYOR

October 29, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters
The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

May I extend to you my best wishes in your new job as Information Director for the Southern Regional Council.

I know you will bring a wealth of experience and fine leadership to this organization.

With highest personal regards, I am

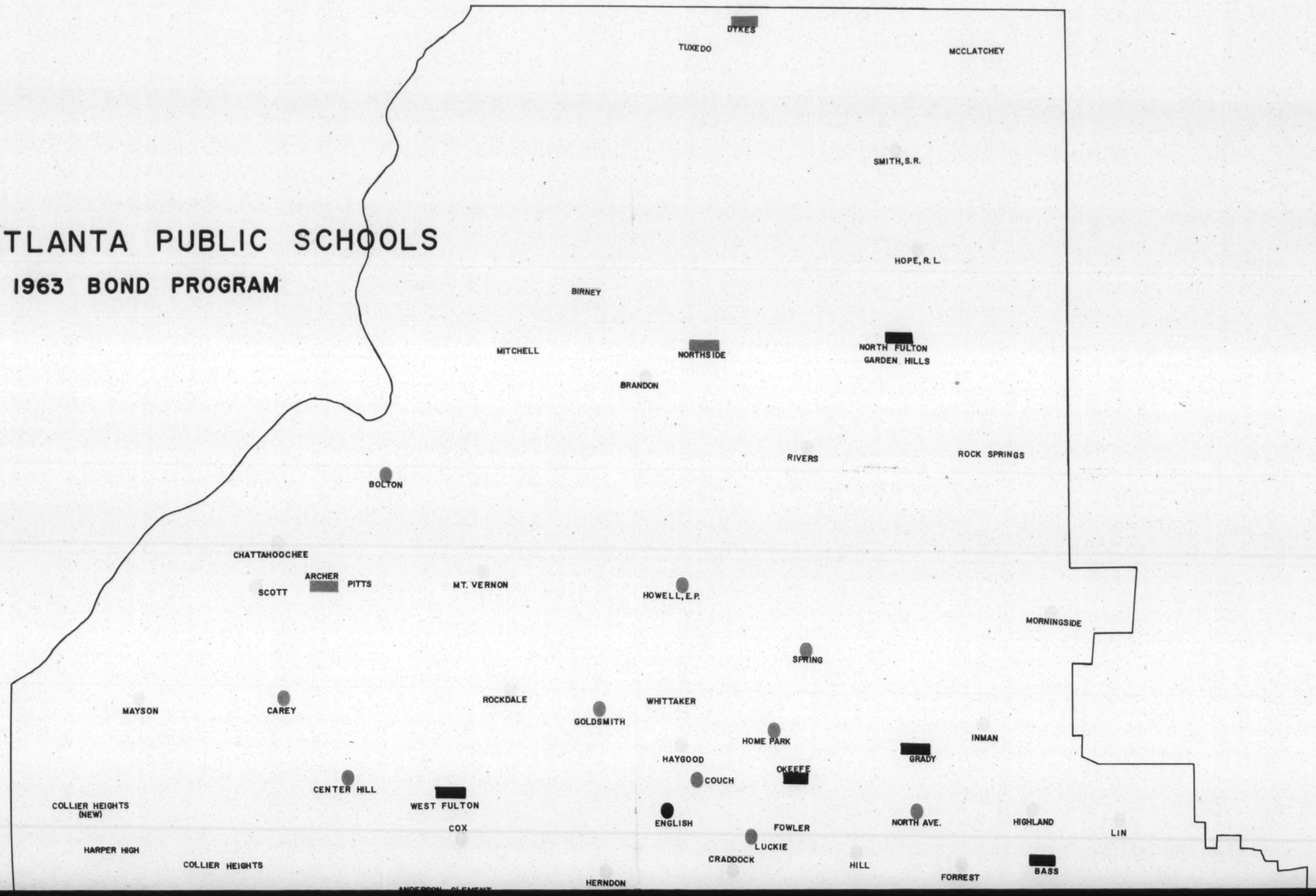
Sincerely yours,

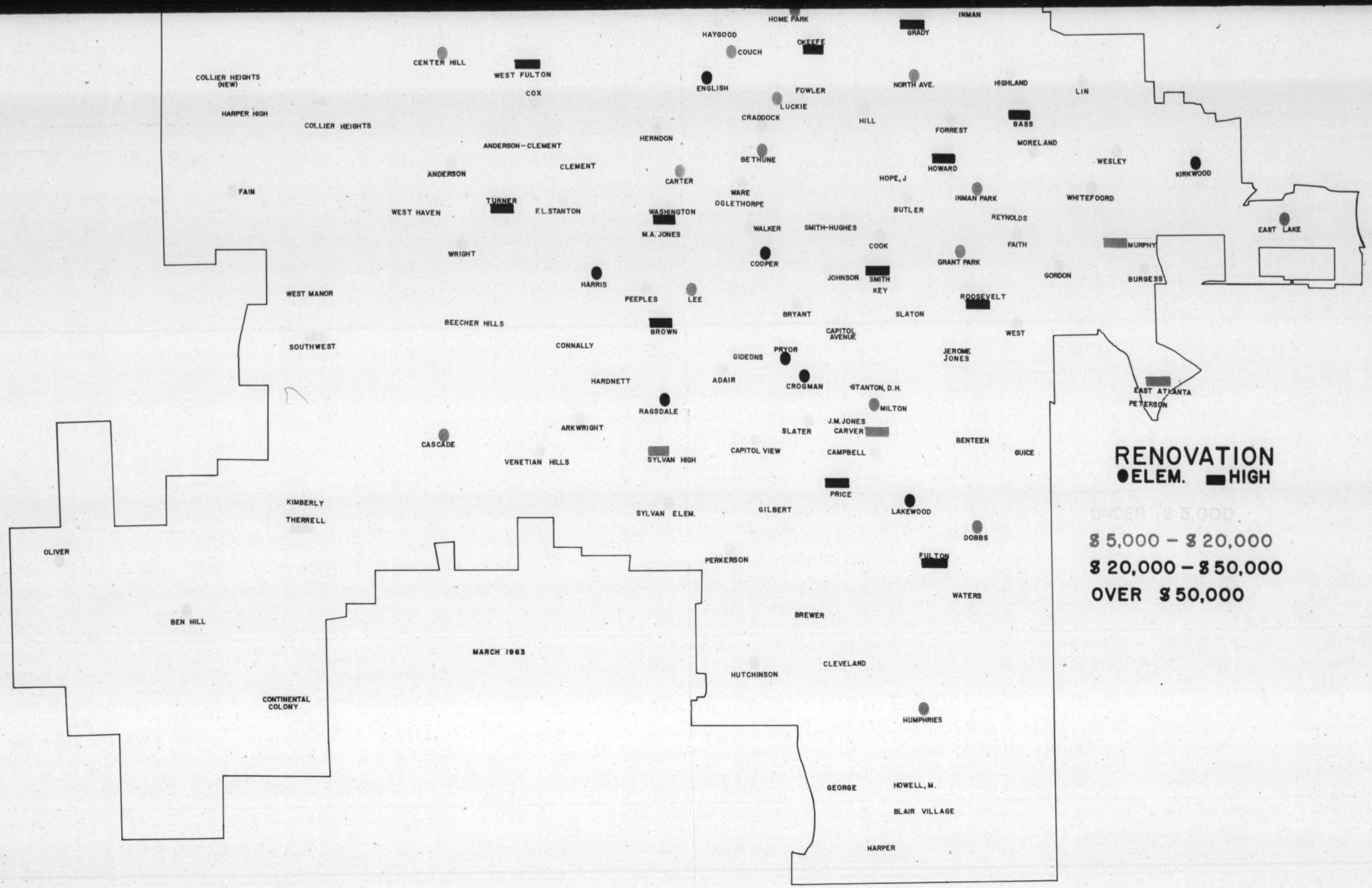
Ivan Allen, Jr.,
Mayor

IAJr/br

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1963 BOND PROGRAM




HOME PARK
INMAN
HAYGOOD
GRADY
OKEEFE
COUCH
CENTER HILL
WEST FULTON
COLLIER HEIGHTS (NEW)
ENGLISH
NORTH AVE.
HIGHLAND
LIN
COX
FOWLER
LUCKIE
HARPER HIGH
CRADDOCK
HILL
BASS
COLLIER HEIGHTS
FORREST
HERNDON
MORELAND
ANDERSON-CLEMENT
BETHUNE
WESLEY
CLEMENT
HOWARD
KIRKWOOD
ANDERSON
CARTER
HOPE, J
FAIN
WARE
INMAN PARK
WHITEFOORD
TURNER
OGLETHORPE
WEST HAVEN
F.L.STANTON
WASHINGTON
BUTLER
REYNOLDS
M.A. JONES
WALKER
SMITH-HUGHES
EAST LAKE
COOK
FAITH
MURPHY
WRIGHT
COOPER
GRANT PARK
HARRIS
JOHNSON
SMITH
GORDON
BURGESS
KEY
WEST MANOR
PEEPLES
LEE
ROOSEVELT
BRYANT
SLATON
BEECHER HILLS
BROWN
CAPITOL AVENUE
WEST
SOUTHWEST
CONNALLY
PRYOR
JEROME JONES
GIDEONS
HARDNETT
ADAIR
CROGMAN
STANTON, D.H.
EAST ATLANTA
PETERSON
RAGSDALE
MILTON
J.M. JONES
ARKWRIGHT
SLATER
CARVER
CASCADE
BENTEEN
CAPITOL VIEW
CAMPBELL
GUICE
VENETIAN HILLS
SYLVAN HIGH
PRICE
KIMBERLY
SYLVAN ELEM.
GILBERT
LAKEWOOD
THERRELL
DOBBS
OLIVER
PERKERSON
FULTON
WATERS
BREWER
BEN HILL
MARCH 1963
CLEVELAND
HUTCHINSON
CONTINENTAL COLONY
HUMPHRIES
GEORGE
HOWELL, M.
BLAIR VILLAGE
HARPER
RENOVATION
ELEM.
HIGH
UNDER $5,000
$5,000 – $20,000
$20,000 – $50,000
OVER $50,000

CITY OF ATLANTA
PROPOSED 1963 BOND FUND PROJECTS

Traffic

1.	Traffic signal equipment and school zone markings	$ 400,000
2.	Hunter Street widening, Forsyth Street to Expressway	2,000,000
3.	North Avenue widening and improvement, Argonne to Stone Mountain Freeway	2,000,000
4.	Wall Street extension - Peachtree to Techwood	550,000
5.	Stewart Avenue widening - Dill Avenue to Glenn Street	300,000
6.	Widening and improving Simpson Street from Northside Drive to Ashby Street	500,000
7.	Engineering and contingencies	250,000
		$6,000,000

Sewers

1.	Outfall Sewers	$1,100,000
2.	Intrenchment Creek Plant	750,000
3.	Peachtree Road Storm Sewer	150,000
4.	Miscellaneous Storm Sewers	250,000
5.	Replacement of Culverts	250,000
6.	Open Channels	250,000
7.	Trunk Sewer Repairs	500,000
8.	Engineering and Contingencies	250,000
		$3,500,000

Parks

Purchase of land for park sites - various sections	$ 500,000

Library

1.	Branch library in vicinity of West Fulton High School	$ 150,000
2.	Additions and improvements to existing buildings	100,000
		$ 250,000

Schools	$18,000,000
Auditorium	$ 9,000,000
Urban Renewal	$ 1,750,000
TOTAL CITY ISSUE	$39,000,000

PROPOSED 1963 FULTON COUNTY BOND ISSUE

1.	TRAFFIC	$ 10,750,000.00
2.	SEWERS	$ 3,700,000.00
3.	HEALTH AND WELFARE	$ 500,000.00
4.	WATER	$ 500,000.00
5.	LANDFILLS & SANITATION	$ 400,000.00
6.	LIBRARY	$ 100,000.00
	TOTAL	$ 15,950,000.00

Man
allen

~~Sinxxvitinxtxvisxgxxxxxitiyv~~

9/00

Atlanta, Ga. The mayor who has guided this city through its most accelerated era of desegreation is an almost classic representative figure of the moderate businessman leadership of the South.

Ivan Allen Jr. ~~He~~ comes from one of the ~~xxxxxx~~ most prominet families in the city's business and social life. He had been a success in just about everything before turning to politics two years age at the age of 50.

He started at the traditional bottom in the office supply firm founded by his father, Ivan Allen Sr., in 1900. The ~~xxx~~ elder Allen, a noted civic ~~xxx~~ leader, is retired now at 85. ~~Xx~~

Mayor ~~Xxx~~ Allen became president of the firm in 1946. In the next five years, sales moved from $1.3 ~~xxxx~~ million to $8 million.

"I think one of the most oustanding things about him is the e ase with which he makes firends and money," his father once said.

He began his successes at Georgia Tech where he was an A student and president among others of the student body and his social fraternity, Sigma Alpha Epsilon. ~~Thexvixtxxxfxhisxxxxixxxxxxxxxxxv~~

The list of his ~~xxxxxx~~ life's social and civic activities is long even for one of his background. Typical is his association with the Boy~~x~~ Scouts; he holds the highest award-- the Silver Buffalo. He is a deacon of Atlanta 's First Presbyterian Church.

"He knows what he wants and he goes after it," is one of the things ~~x~~ friends say about him. Another is that ~~he will listen to advice, but seldom take it.~~ no one can tell him what to do. He makes up his own mind about ~~xx~~ what he will go so hard after, and, in politics as in business, goes fast.

"I have a standing question for him when he comes by here to talk to me," said Jack Spalding, editor of The Atlanta Journal and from the same general age and social background as Mr. Allen. "It's what have you already made up your mind about that you want my advice on today?"

Desegregation and the civil rights revolution have hanted his just-beginning political career.

After World War II service (dischargedas an Army major), he was executive secretary in 1945 and 1946 to liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall. He didn't consider politics again until 1957 when he thought he might run for governor. But he decided not to, he said at the time, because federal troops in Little Rock had made it impossible for a city man to win in Georgia.

The 1961 mayor's race centered on desegregation. Mr. Allen didn't choose that race as the one to begin his political career. It was just the year that William B. Hartsfield decided not to run for re-election after 21 years as mayor. Mr. Allen wouldn't run against him, and so the office hadn't been possible before.

Public schools were to be desegregated in the last half-year of retiring Mayor Wm. Hartsifield's term. As president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Allen himself was meidating a long-broiling sit-in compagin that was desegregating store lunch counters.

Mr. Allen had to defeat an arch segregationist and a man vying for the old Hartsfield coalition of Negro and moderate white voters.

Politics turned out to be not a total success story for him. His two major setbacks in office were connected with segregation. In the sumemer of 1962, an $80,000,000 bond issue to carry out his campaign promises was defeated —

Characteristically, the
at least partially by complicated segregation issues. ~~The~~ mayor
announced publicly he was taking full reponsibility for the defeat.

In December, 1962, aldermen authorized construction of a wooden barrier to block a road in a racially disputed housing area. The mayor was an acknowledged participant in planning this. ~~Characteristically~~ He seemed genuinely surprised at the ~~having lifted back down in the face of~~ considerable Negro and liberal criticism here and over the nation. ~~Unexpectedly genuinely surprised~~ But, again characteristically, he wouldn't back down. It was finally removed this ~~ye~~ spring by court order.

He came back ~~this year~~ with leadership of an effort to establish ~~ground rules~~ on housing, and a code of ethics for Negro and white relators. He also came back with a bond issue whittled down to $15.5 million. ~~This one~~ It passed this spring, and he called it a vindication.

pick up

He came back this year with a leadership in an effort to establish ground rules and a code of ethics among white and Negro realtors for transitional housing areas. He also came back with a bond issue, whittled down to . It passed.

During his first two years in office, there was either by court order or voluntary action, desegregation of all city facilities; theaters; city jobs; fire departments; swimming ppols; some hotels and motels; some restaurants.

He was the only politician of any stature in the state to ednrose the Kennedy bill on public accomodations. He said one of the main reasons for his support and decision to testify was his conviction that the job was too much for city officials alone. He had been through it, he said, and thought it was high time congress provided guidelines and support in the "greatest social upheaval of my lifetime."

~~During his first two years,~~ ~~Meanwhile~~, Atlanta continued a boom in building and business development ~~begun immediately after~~ under him has unstopping since World War II. Reform, with his support, began on aldermanic board procedural policies, and on liquor licensing.

The 1962 Paris air crash which killed 200 Atlanta cultural leaders ~~struck~~ came during his first year in office. ~~the mayor hard.~~ "This was my generation," he said when told the news. "My friends..." He flew to Paris and helped with identification of bodies, and reported to concerned kin back home.

HOME

Characteristically, he was on his farm in Franklin, Ga., when news of the tragedy came. He ~~farms~~ grows crops there, has 90 head of cattle, hunts, fishes and boats in nearby lakes. He hunts quail on horseback, and as for his fishing, a friend said, "I'd rather fish with the devil... He really works at it... But he comes back with some fish..."

A trim, athletic 52, ~~Mr. Allen~~ he has a year-around tan.

~~Incidentally~~ His political fighting is much like his fishing. When a small-county legislator ~~[illegible]~~ described him as "smacking his gum" and not knowing what he was doing, Mr. Allen presented him with a

Mayor and Mrs. Allen have three sons. They live on all's fashionalbe northside, and their home has a pool.

His political fighting stance is much like his fishing. When a small county legislator described him as "smacking his gum" and not knowing what he was doing, Mayor Allen presented him with a carton (He likes to chew gum and professes to enjoy eating turnip greens.) of gum./ When a local hotel man publicized a letter the mayor considered confidential, and also harmful to his bond issue, he confronted the man in his hotel and called him a "dirty little punk" before witnesses. He hasn't been too vocal about his convictions in the desegregation struggle so constantly concerning him. Challenged during the campaign to explain statements in the 1950's favorable to segregation, he said his social consciousness, like that of many Southerners, had developed since then.

His statement on the public accomdoations bill contained perhaps his strongest statement on abstracts of the situation: "Now the elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free in fact as well as in theory..."

Those who know him say he doesn't say anything he doesn't believe. And a reputation for honesty and sincerety of conviction in Georgia is about the most valuable thing a politican can have.

1963
1911
52

900

~~Atlanta, Ga.-- The mayor who has guided this city through its most accelerated era of desegregation is an almost classic example of the Southern moderate business leadership.~~

Atlanta, Ga.-- The mayor who has guided this city through its most accelerated era of desegregation is ~~no with ayed radicals~~ an almost classic representative figure of the moderate business leadership of the South.

He comes from one of the city's most prominent families in business and society. He had been a just about success in everything before turning to politics at the age of 50. His first campaign was for mayor, and he was successful at that, too.

Mayor and Mrs. Allen live in ~~the fashionable Northside. Their home with swimming pool~~ a home with a swimming pool in the fashionalbe Atlanta Northside. They have three sons.

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(He likes to chew ~~gumxxxxx~~ gum, and ~~xxxx~~ likes to eat turnip greens.)

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Most of his political troubles and achievements have come from the desegregation struggle. ~~How he feels about it has~~ ~~Xixxxxx

(He likes to chew ~~gumpoodum~~ gum, and ~~also~~ likes to eat turnip greens.)

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Most of his troubles and achievements have come from the desegregation struggle. ~~His position~~ How he feels about it has been ambiguous. He was challenged during the campaign ~~with~~ to explain his statements in the 50's favoring segregation. His explanation was that, like others, his social consciousness had developed in the intervening years.

The record of action in his administration has been impressive. His ~~most~~ statement on the public accomodations bill contained perhaps his strongest words: "Now the elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free in fact as well as in theory..." And once he makes up his mind about something, he goes after it.

##

Atlanta, Ga.-- The mayor who has guided this city through its most accelerated era of desegregation is a 50-year-old businessman of a prominent Atlanta family who just about succeeded in everything else. He had already started at the tradiditional bottom in 1900 in the office supply firm founded by his father, retired now at 85. He became president in 1946. In the next five years, sales moved from $1.3 million to $8 million.

"I think one of the most outstanding things about him is the ease with which he makes friends and money," his fafter once said.

He began success at Georgia Tech where he was an A student & among others president of the student body and his social fraternity, Sigma Alpha Epsilon. The list of his social and civic activities is long even for one of his background. Typical is the Boy Scouts. He hold s its highest honor-- the silver buffalo. He is a deacon of Atlanta's First Presbyterian Church.

"He knows what he wants," a friend said, when he announced for mayor. "And he goes after it." Another trait reported by many is a general inclination to listen to many but take advice from no one. He makes up his own mind about what he will go so hard after.

"He came by here and asked my advice about whether to testify in favor of the Kennedy public accomodation bill," said Jack Spalding, editor of The Atlanta Journal and out of the same general Atlanta background. "I advised him against it. He said he was going to anyhow."

Desegregation and the civil rights revolution have haunted his just-beginning political career. Although he served in 1945 and

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1946 as executive secretary to liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall, he was out of politics until 1957. (He had served in World War II, discharged as a major, and had been busy in business in the first post-war decade.)

In 1957, he considered running for governor, stumped the state several times, but did not run. He said at the time use of federal troops in Little Rock had shifted emphasis of the campaign to segregation-- making it hopeless for a city candidate.

He announced for mayor in 1961 when it became certain that William B. Hartsfield, in the office for years, would not run. No one knew Mr. Allen's background would have run against Hartsfield.

The campaign that year centered on segregation. Public Schools, in the last half year of Mr. Hartsfield's term, were to be desegregated. So was Georgia Tech. As preisdent of the Atla Ch of Commerce, Mr. Allen himself had mediated a long-broiling sit-in campaign that ended in desegregation of store lunch counters.

His first two years in office weren't all successful. The setbacks were connected with segregation. In the summer of 1962, an $80,000,000 bond issue to carry out his campaign promises was defeated-- at least partially by complicated segregation issues. Mayor Allen said publicly the vote was repudiation of his leadership.

He defeated in the primary election a strong contender for the liberal-moderate coalition of Atlanta middle class and Negro voters. He defeated in the run-off an arch segregationist.

A few months later he was bragging about Atlanta finding racial peace. Then in December, 1962, aldermen authorized construction of a wooden barrier to block a road in a radially disputed housing area. The mayor was an acknowledged participant in the planning.

Characteristically, he never backed down in the face of great Negro and liberal criticism here, and from over the nation. He seemed genuinely surprised at it. Such barriers had been used in the past. A state court finally declared the barrier illegal. Mayor Allen had it torn down the same day.

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In 1957, he considered running for governor, stumped the state several times, but did not run. He said at the time use of federal troops in Little Rock had shifted emphasis of the campaign to segregation-- and ~~xxxxxxxx xxxx~~ a big-city candidate, never popular, had no chance.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ He announced for mayor in 1960 when it became ~~xxxxxx~~ certain that William B. Hartsfield, in the office for years, would not run. Mr. Allen would not have run against Hartsfield.

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Source of Data
Page 11, Item D

Intermediate • GRADES 7 to 10 • form **AA**

California Test of Personality

1953 Revision

Devised by

WILLIS W. CLARK, ERNEST W. TIEGS, AND LOUIS P. THORPE

Do not write or mark on this booklet unless told to do so by the examiner.

Name.....Grade.....Sex M-F
Last First Middle

School.....City.....Date of Test.....
Month Day Year

Examiner.....(.....) Student's Age.....Date of Birth.....
Month Day Year

I

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS:

This booklet contains some questions which can be answered YES or NO. Your answers will show what you usually think, how you usually feel, or what you usually do about things. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes.

DO NOT TURN THIS PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO.

PUBLISHED BY CALIFORNIA TEST BUREAU, DEL MONTE RESEARCH PARK, MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA
BRANCH OFFICES: NEW CUMBERLAND, PA.; MADISON, WIS.; DALLAS, TEXAS

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INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS

DO NOT WRITE OR MARK ON THIS TEST BOOKLET UNLESS TOLD TO DO SO BY THE EXAMINER.

You are to decide for each question whether the answer is YES or NO and mark it as you are told. The following are two sample questions:

SAMPLES

A. Do you have a dog at home? **YES NO**

B. Can you drive a car? **YES NO**

DIRECTIONS FOR MARKING ANSWERS

ON ANSWER SHEETS

Make a heavy black mark under the word YES or NO, whichever shows your answer. If you have a dog at home but cannot drive a car, you would mark the answer sheet this way:

	YES	NO
A	▌	⁞
B	⁞	▌

Mark under the word that shows your answer. Find answer row number 1 on your answer sheet. Now wait until the examiner tells you to begin.

ON TEST BOOKLETS

Draw a circle around the word YES or NO, whichever shows your answer. If you have a dog at home, draw a circle around the word YES in Sample A above; if not, draw a circle around the word NO. Do it now.

If you can drive a car, draw a circle around the word YES in Sample B above; if not, draw a circle around the word NO. Do it now.

Now wait until the examiner tells you to begin.

After the examiner tells you to begin, go right on from one page to another until you have finished the test or are told to stop. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes. Now look at item 1 on page 3.

SECTION 1 A

1. Do you keep on working even if the job is hard? YES NO
2. Do you usually finish the things that you start out to do? YES NO
3. Does it usually bother you when people do not agree with you? YES NO
4. Do your friends often cheat you in games? YES NO
5. Is it hard for you to admit when you are wrong? YES NO
6. Do you usually get back the things that you have loaned? YES NO
7. Do you have to be reminded often to finish your work? YES NO
8. Do you find that most people try to boss you? YES NO
9. Is it easy for you to meet or introduce people? YES NO
10. Do you usually help in planning things at social affairs? YES NO
11. Is it easy for you to talk to strangers of the opposite sex? YES NO
12. Do you usually feel sorry for yourself when you get hurt? YES NO
13. Is it easy for you to talk to important people? YES NO
14. Have you found it easy to influence other people? YES NO
15. When you are around strange people do you usually feel uneasy? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 A
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 B

16. Do people seem to think you are going to do well when you grow up? YES NO
17. Do you find that a good many people are mean? YES NO
18. Are the other students glad that you are in their classes? YES NO
19. Do both boys and girls seem to like you? YES NO
20. Do people seem to think that you have good ideas? YES NO
21. Are your friends usually interested in what you are doing? YES NO
22. Are people often unfair to you? YES NO
23. Is it hard for you to get people interested in your problems? YES NO
24. Do you have a hard time doing most of the things you try? YES NO
25. Do you feel that people do not treat you as well as they should? YES NO
26. Do most of your friends seem to think that you are brave or strong? YES NO
27. Are you often asked to help plan parties? YES NO
28. Do many of the people you know seem to dislike you? YES NO
29. Are you often invited to parties where both boys and girls are present? YES NO
30. Do you often feel that you are not as bright as most of your friends? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 B
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 C

31. Are you allowed to choose your own friends? YES NO

32. Do you often have to give up your own plans because of other people? YES NO

33. Are you allowed to do many of the things you want to do? YES NO

34. Do you have enough spending money? YES NO

35. Do you feel that you are punished for too many little things? YES NO

36. Are you usually allowed to go to socials where both boys and girls are present? YES NO

37. Do your folks usually let you help them decide about things? YES NO

38. Are you scolded for things that do not matter much? YES NO

39. Do too many people try to tell you what to do? YES NO

40. Do your folks let you go around with your friends? YES NO

41. Do other people decide what you shall do most of the time? YES NO

42. Do you help pick out your own clothes? YES NO

43. Do you feel that your friends can do what they want to more than you can? YES NO

44. Do you feel that you are not allowed enough freedom? YES NO

45. Do you like to do things that old-fashioned people say you shouldn't? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 C
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 D

46. Do you find it hard to get acquainted with new students? YES NO

47. Are you considered as strong and healthy as your friends? YES NO

48. Do you feel that you are liked by both boys and girls? YES NO

49. Have you found that people often fail to notice you? YES NO

50. Do you feel that you fit well into the school you attend? YES NO

51. Do you have enough good friends? YES NO

52. Do your friends seem to think that your folks are as successful as theirs? YES NO

53. Do you often feel that teachers would rather not have you in their classes? YES NO

54. Are you usually invited to school and neighborhood parties? YES NO

55. Is it hard for you to make friends? YES NO

56. Do you feel that your classmates are glad to have you in school? YES NO

57. Do members of the opposite sex seem to like you as well as they do your friends? YES NO

58. Do the other boys and girls seem to have better times at home than you do? YES NO

59. Do people at school usually pay attention to your ideas? YES NO

60. Do your friends seem to want you with them? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 D
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 E

61. Is it hard for you to talk to classmates of the opposite sex? YES NO

62. Do you often feel bad because you are not doing well? YES NO

63. Do too many people try to take advantage of you? YES NO

64. Do you feel that most people can do things better than you can? YES NO

65. Have you found that many people do not mind hurting your feelings? YES NO

66. Would you rather stay away from parties and social affairs? YES NO

67. Have you often felt that older people "had it in for" you? YES NO

68. Do you have more problems to worry about than most boys or girls? YES NO

69. Do you often feel lonesome even with people around you? YES NO

70. Have you often noticed that people do not treat you as fairly as they should? YES NO

71. Do you worry a lot because you have so many problems? YES NO

72. Have you noticed that many people do and say mean things? YES NO

73. Have you often thought that younger boys and girls have a better time than you do? YES NO

74. Do people often say things that hurt your feelings? YES NO

75. Have you made some bad mistakes that are hard to forget? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 1 E
(number right) .....

SECTION 1 F

76. Do you frequently have sneezing spells? YES NO

77. Are you troubled because of having many colds? YES NO

78. Are you often bothered by headaches? YES NO

79. Are you often not hungry even at meal time? YES NO

80. Do you sometimes have stomach trouble without any apparent reason? YES NO

81. Do your eyes hurt often? YES NO

82. Do you often have to ask people to repeat what they just said? YES NO

83. Are you often troubled by nightmares or bad dreams? YES NO

84. Are you sometimes troubled because your muscles twitch? YES NO

85. Do you find that many people do not speak clearly enough for you to hear them well? YES NO

86. Do you sometimes stutter when you get excited? YES NO

87. Do most people consider you restless? YES NO

88. Do you usually find it hard to go to sleep? YES NO

89. Are you tired much of the time? YES NO

90. Do you often forget what you have just read? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 1 F
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 A

91. Is it wrong for one to avoid work that he does not have to do? YES NO

92. Is it always necessary to keep promises and appointments? YES NO

93. Is it all right to make fun of people who have peculiar ideas? YES NO

94. Is it necessary to be kind to people you do not like? YES NO

95. Is it necessary to be courteous to disagreeable persons? YES NO

96. Should people have the right to put up "keep off the grass" signs? YES NO

97. Does a student have the right to keep the things that he finds? YES NO

98. Should a person always thank others for small favors even though they do not help any? YES NO

99. Is it all right to take things that you really need if you have no money? YES NO

100. Should rich boys and girls be treated better than poor ones? YES NO

101. Is it all right to laugh at people who are in trouble if they look funny enough? YES NO

102. If you know you will not be caught is it ever all right to cheat? YES NO

103. When people have foolish beliefs is it all right to laugh at them? YES NO

104. Is it important that one be friendly to all new students? YES NO

105. Is it all right to make a fuss when your folks refuse to let you go to a movie or party? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 A
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 B

106. When people annoy you do you usually keep it to yourself? YES NO

107. Is it hard for you to say nice things to people when they have done well? YES NO

108. Is it easy for you to remember the names of the people you meet? YES NO

109. Are you usually willing to play games at socials even if you haven't played them before? YES NO

110. Do you usually enjoy talking to people you have just met? YES NO

111. Do you often find that it pays to help people? YES NO

112. Is it hard for you to pep up a party when it is getting dull? YES NO

113. Can you lose games without letting people see that it bothers you? YES NO

114. Do you often find that you can't be bothered by other people's feelings? YES NO

115. Do you find it hard to help plan parties and other socials? YES NO

116. Do you find it easy to make new friends? YES NO

117. Do you prefer to have parties at your own home? YES NO

118. Have you found that most people talk so much that you have to interrupt them to get a word in edgewise? YES NO

119. Do you find it easy to help your classmates have a good time at parties? YES NO

120. Do you usually talk to new boys and girls when you meet them? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 2 B
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 C

121. Is it all right to take things when people are unreasonable in denying them? YES NO

122. Do you often have to push younger children out of the way to get rid of them? YES NO

123. Do you disobey your teachers or parents when they are unfair to you? YES NO

124. Do your classmates often force you to fight for things that are yours? YES NO

125. Have you found that telling lies is one of the easiest ways for people to get out of trouble? YES NO

126. Do you often have to fight for your rights? YES NO

127. Do your classmates often try to blame you for the quarrels they start? YES NO

128. Do children often get so "fresh" that you have to "crack down" on them? YES NO

129. Do people at school sometimes treat you so badly that you feel it would serve them right if you broke some things? YES NO

130. Do you find some people so unfair that it is all right to be mean to them? YES NO

131. Is it all right to take things away from people who are unfair? YES NO

132. Are some people so mean that you call them names? YES NO

133. Do you sometimes need to show anger to get what you deserve? YES NO

134. Do you feel that some people deserve to be hurt? YES NO

135. Do you find that you are happier when you can treat unfair people as they really deserve? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 C
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 D

136. Are your folks fair about it when they make you do things? YES NO

137. Do members of your family start quarrels with you often? YES NO

138. Do you have good reasons for liking one of your folks better than the other? YES NO

139. Do your folks seem to think that you will be a success? YES NO

140. Do your folks seem to think you do your share at home? YES NO

141. Do your folks seem to feel that you are interested in the wrong things? YES NO

142. Have you often felt as though you would rather not live at home? YES NO

143. Do you often have good times at home with your family? YES NO

144. Do you prefer to keep your friends away from your home because it is not attractive? YES NO

145. Are you often accused of not being as nice to your folks as you should be? YES NO

146. Do you have some of your fun when you are at home? YES NO

147. Do you find it difficult to please your folks? YES NO

148. Do you and your folks agree about things you like? YES NO

149. Do you sometimes feel that no one at home cares about you? YES NO

150. Are the people in your home too quarrelsome? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Section 2 D
(number right) .....

SECTION 2 E

151. Have you found that your teachers understand you? YES NO

152. Is some of your school work so hard that you are in danger of failing? YES NO

153. Do you like to go to school affairs with members of the opposite sex? YES NO

154. Would you stay away from school more often if you dared? YES NO

155. Do some of the boys and girls seem to think that you do not play as fair as they do? YES NO

156. Are some of the teachers so strict that it makes school work too hard? YES NO

157. Do you enjoy talking with students of the opposite sex? YES NO

158. Have you often thought that some of the teachers are unfair? YES NO

159. Are you asked to join in school games as much as you should be? YES NO

160. Would you be happier in school if the teachers were kinder? YES NO

161. Do your classmates seem to like the way you treat them? YES NO

162. Do you have better times alone than when you are with other boys and girls? YES NO

163. Do you think the teachers want boys and girls to enjoy each other's company? YES NO

164. Do you have to keep away from some of your classmates because of the way they treat you? YES NO

165. Have you often thought that some teachers care little about their students? YES NO

SECTION 2 F

166. Do you often visit at the homes of your boy and girl friends in your neighborhood? YES NO

167. Do you have a habit of speaking to most of the boys and girls in your neighborhood? YES NO

168. Do most of the boys and girls near your home disobey the law? YES NO

169. Do you play games with friends in your neighborhood? YES NO

170. Do any nice students of the opposite sex live near you? YES NO

171. Are most of the people near your home the kind you can like? YES NO

172. Are there boys or girls of other races near your home whom you try to avoid? YES NO

173. Do you sometimes go to neighborhood parties where both boys and girls are present? YES NO

174. Is it necessary to be nice to persons of every race? YES NO

175. Do you have good times with the boys and girls near your home? YES NO

176. Are there several people living near you whom you would not care to visit? YES NO

177. Are there people in your neighborhood whom you find hard to like? YES NO

178. Are there any people in your neighborhood so annoying that you would like to do something mean to them? YES NO

179. Do you like most of the boys and girls in your neighborhood? YES NO

180. Do some people in your neighborhood think you are odd because you go to church? YES NO

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT COLUMN

Section 2 E
(number right) .....

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Section 2 F
(number right) .....

California Test of Personality

intermediate • GRADES 7 to 10 • form [ ]

DEVISED BY WILLIS W. CLARK, ERNEST W. TIEGS, AND LOUIS P. THORPE

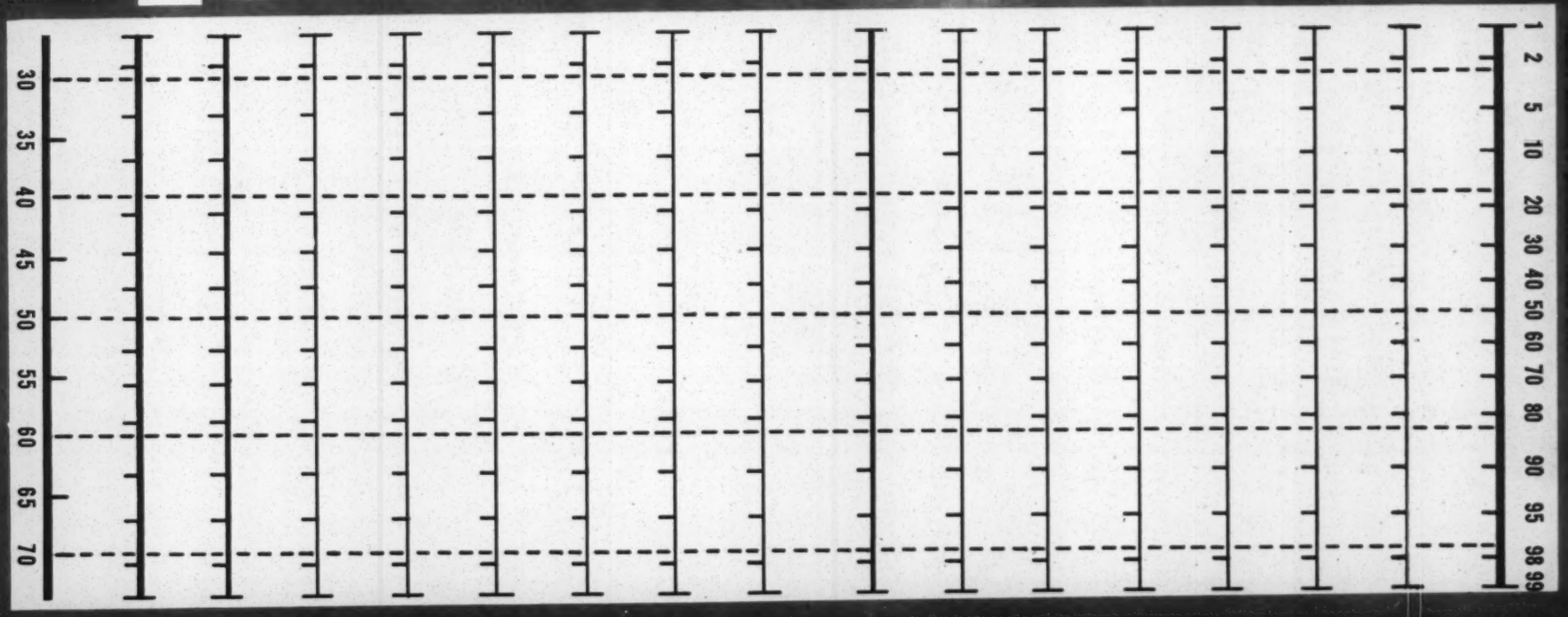
Name ..... (Last / First / Middle) Grade ..... Sex M-F

School ..... City ..... Date of Test ..... (Month / Day / Year)

Examiner ..... (.....) Student's Age ..... Date of Birth ..... (Month / Day / Year)

	Test	Component	Possible Score	Student's Score	Percentile Rank
1. PER. ADJ.					
A. S-rel.			15		
B. Per. With.			15		
C. Per. Fdm.			15		
D. Belg.			15		
E. Wd. Td. (Nbr. from)			15		
F. Ne. S. (Nbr. from)			15		
TOTAL (A-F)			90		
2. SOC. ADJ.					
A. Soc. Sk.			15		
B. Soc. Sk.			15		
C. A-c. Td. (Nbr. from)			15		
D. Fm. Rel.			15		
E. Sc. Rel.			15		
F. Cm. Rel.			15		
TOTAL (A-F)			90		
TOTAL ADJ.			180		

See Manual for Instructions.



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First look at each thing to do in this test. Make a mark under the L for each thing that you like or would very much like to do. Then make a mark under the D for things you really do. Sometimes you may mark both the L and the D, and sometimes, neither of them.

INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

L D
1. Play the radio
L D
2. Read stories
L D
3. Go to movies
L D
4. Read comic strips
L D
5. Work problems
L D
6. Study history
L D
7. Study science
L D
8. Study literature
L D
9. Do cross-word puzzles
L D
10. Study trees
L D
11. Study birds
L D
12. Study animals
L D
13. Study butterflies
L D
14. Draw or paint
L D
15. Work in laboratory
L D
16. Model or design
L D
17. Do housework
L D
18. Sing
L D
19. Play piano
L D
20. Make a scrapbook
L D
21. Keep a diary
L D
22. Write poems
L D
23. Speak pieces
L D
24. Play instrument
L D
25. Visit museums
L D
26. Collect stamps

L D
27. Collect coins
L D
28. Collect autographs
L D
29. Collect pictures
L D
30. Use a camera
L D
31. Sew or knit
L D
32. Repair things
L D
33. Make boats
L D
34. Make airplanes
L D
35. Make radio
L D
36. Work with tools
L D
37. Have a garden
L D
38. Drive automobile
L D
39. Play with pets
L D
40. Raise animals
L D
41. Go fishing
L D
42. Climb or hike
L D
43. Skate
L D
44. Ride a bicycle
L D
45. Ride a horse
L D
46. Practice first aid

L D
47. Play cards
L D
48. Play dominoes
L D
49. Play checkers
L D
50. Play chess

L D
51. Go to church
L D
52. Go to Sunday School
L D
53. Belong to a club
L D
54. Belong to YMCA or YWCA
L D
55. Go to parks
L D
56. Engage in sports
L D
57. Go to a circus
L D
58. Sing in a chorus
L D
59. Sing in a glee club
L D
60. Belong to a gang
L D
61. Play ping pong
L D
62. Play croquet
L D
63. Play ball
L D
64. Play tennis
L D
65. Go hunting
L D
66. Go riding with others
L D
67. Play in a band
L D
68. Play in an orchestra
L D
69. Go to church socials
L D
70. Go to parties
L D
71. Go to dances
L D
72. Be officer of a club
L D
73. Be a class officer
L D
74. Go camping

Source of Data
Item III Page 9

Junior High Level • GRADES 7 - 8 - 9 • Form W

California Reading Test

W X Y Z SERIES

DEVISED BY ERNEST W. TIEGS AND WILLIS W. CLARK

J
H
W

INSTRUCTIONS TO STUDENTS:

This is a reading test. In taking it you will show how many words you know and how well you understand what you read. No one is expected to do the whole test correctly, but you should answer as many items as you can. Work as fast as you can without making mistakes.

DO NOT WRITE OR MARK ON THIS TEST BOOKLET UNLESS TOLD TO DO SO BY THE EXAMINER.

1957 EDITION

5th Printing

PUBLISHED BY CALIFORNIA TEST BUREAU — 5916 HOLLYWOOD BOULEVARD — LOS ANGELES 28, CALIFORNIA
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DIRECTIONS: Mark as you are told the number of the word that means the opposite or about the opposite of the first word.

SAMPLE: A. large [1] rich [2] small [3] gone [4] away

Correct Test Booklet Mark: 2 A

Correct Answer Sheet Mark: A 1 2 3 4

TEST 1—SECTION A

1. **reduce** [1] diet [2] subtract [3] change [4] increase ____ 1
2. **curve** [1] passage [2] straight [3] relate [4] temper ____ 2
3. **latitude** [1] name [2] exist [3] connective [4] longitude ____ 3
4. **wholesale** [1] discordant [2] retail [3] clever [4] pleasant ____ 4
5. **minimum** [1] maximum [2] small [3] separate [4] stanza ____ 5
6. **purchase** [1] spoke [2] sale [3] market [4] cloud ____ 6
7. **surface** [1] interior [2] lodge [3] distant [4] action ____ 7
8. **simplify** [1] divide [2] reduce [3] complicate [4] sanction ____ 8
9. **measure** [1] estimate [2] length [3] proceed [4] succeed ____ 9
10. **concave** [1] flaw [2] caramel [3] discretion [4] convex ____ 10
11. **annex** [1] separate [2] casket [3] balloon [4] adult ____ 11
12. **irregular** [1] ashore [2] hymn [3] systematic [4] countenance ____ 12
13. **cancel** [1] retreat [2] record [3] edge [4] zero ____ 13
14. **coincide** [1] enter [2] ignore [3] diverge [4] proclaim ____ 14
15. **assessment** [1] reduction [2] efface [3] dividend [4] loom ____ 15

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT SECTION

Test 1 — Sec. A Score (number right) .....

TEST 1—SECTION B

16. **solid** [1] old [2] fluid [3] wise [4] square ____ 16
17. **external** [1] element [2] sterile [3] accidental [4] internal ____ 17
18. **root** [1] stem [2] food [3] ground [4] green ____ 18
19. **increase** [1] ascend [2] refer [3] reduce [4] produce ____ 19
20. **muscular** [1] modish [2] brine [3] punctual [4] weak ____ 20
21. **positive** [1] external [2] rafter [3] negative [4] separate ____ 21
22. **brittle** [1] unsocial [2] flexible [3] homely [4] profound ____ 22
23. **constant** [1] attack [2] variable [3] grade [4] stuff ____ 23
24. **partial** [1] complicate [2] preserve [3] decrease [4] complete ____ 24
25. **diverge** [1] shorten [2] converge [3] stabilize [4] permit ____ 25
26. **confine** [1] charge [2] hold [3] free [4] slight ____ 26
27. **repel** [1] attract [2] poisonous [3] motto [4] staple ____ 27
28. **discard** [1] dedicate [2] consume [3] obtain [4] obligate ____ 28
29. **transparent** [1] shawl [2] studied [3] inclination [4] opaque ____ 29
30. **extract** [1] inject [2] pollute [3] retract [4] interrupt ____ 30

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Test 1 — Sec. B Score (number right) .....

TEST 2—SECTION E

DIRECTIONS: Read the following directions. Mark as you are told the number or letter of each correct answer.

61. Read these letters of the alphabet:

o p q r s t u v w x y z

Select the letter of the alphabet which appears three letters before **w.** Mark the number which shows the correct letter.

1 **t**
2 **u**
3 **r**
4 **y** ____61

62. Read the following names:

Mary Louis Roger Elizabeth

Mark the number which shows the first letters of the boys' names.

1 **ML**
2 **RE**
3 **LR**
4 **ME** ____62

63. Nouns ending in **y,** when the **y** is preceded by a vowel, form the plural regularly by adding **s,** such as **monkey, monkeys.** Mark the number of the word which indicates the correct plural of the noun **donkey.**

1 **donkeys**
2 **donkey**
3 **donkies**
4 **donkey's** ____63

64. Read these numbers:

5 1 0 6 7 4 5 9 8 0

Mark the letter of the third number after 6.

a **1**
b **5**
c **7**
d **9** ____64

65. Latitude is the measure of distance north or south from the equator. Mark the letter of the following ship's reading which indicates latitude.

a **8° 2′ 20″ W**
b **2° 48′ 10″ N**
c **10° 19′ 30″ E** ____65

66. **American** is the proper adjective derived from the proper noun **America.** Mark the number of the word which is the proper adjective of the proper noun **Arabia.**

1 **Arabia's**
2 **Arabia**
3 **Araban**
4 **Arabian** ____66

67. The suffix **al** added to a noun is used to form some adjectives, such as **accident, accidental.** Mark the number of the adjective correctly formed from the noun **monument.**

1 **monument**
2 **monumentally**
3 **monuments**
4 **monumental** ____67

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

68. Four words are listed below. Select the one word that would be listed last in a dictionary. Mark the number of the correct word.

1 **reliance**
2 **religious**
3 **relinquish**
4 **reliable** ____68

69. The stem word is that part of the word which is present in all variations of the word, such as the stem word **neat** in **neater** and **neatest.** Mark the number of the word which is the stem in the following words.

1 **faction**
2 **fact**
3 **factor**
4 **facts** ____69

✓ **Look at the following recipe and find the answers to questions 70 and 71.**

2 cups flour
$\frac{1}{2}$ cup shortening
1 teaspoon salt
$\frac{3}{4}$ cup milk
2 teaspoons baking powder

Take the flour, salt, and baking powder and sift together; mix in the shortening thoroughly; add the milk; roll the dough out about one-half inch thick and cut with a biscuit cutter. Bake in a hot oven about twelve minutes.

70. In the recipe you have just read, select the process that was used to cook the biscuits. Mark the number of the correct word listed below.

1 **boil**
2 **mix**
3 **roast**
4 **bake** ____70

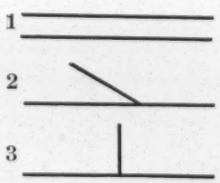
71. Mark the number of the item which is the fourth ingredient to be used in mixing the above recipe.

1 **milk**
2 **shortening**
3 **salt**
4 **baking powder** ____71

72. The area of a triangle is found by multiplying $\frac{1}{2}$ the base by the altitude. Mark the letter of the number of square feet in a triangle whose base is 4 feet and whose altitude is 3 feet.

a **6**
b **12**
c **4**
d **2** ____72

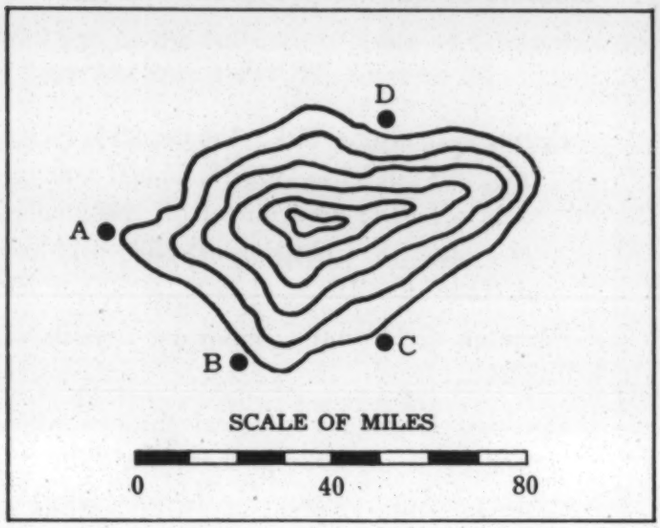
73. Two lines drawn so that they form right angles are said to be perpendicular to each other. Two lines drawn so they cannot meet are said to be parallel lines. Diagonal lines are lines drawn at any angle except right angles to each other. Determine which one of the following pairs of lines is perpendicular and mark its number.



____73

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION E (Continued)



74. The scale of miles shown in the above drawing is forty miles to one inch. Determine the distance from point A to C. Mark the number which shows the correct mileage below.

[1] **twenty miles**
[2] **forty miles**
[3] **eighty miles**
[4] **sixty miles**

_____74

75. To find the length of the diagonal line in a rectangle, add the square of the base to the square of the altitude and then extract the square root of this sum. Mark the letter which indicates the length in inches of the diagonal of a rectangle whose base is 8 inches and whose altitude is 6 inches. (Eight squared is 64, 6 squared is 36, and 10 squared is 100.)

[a] **6**
[b] **8**
[c] **10**
[d] **36**

_____75

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Test 2 — Sec. E Score
(number right) .....

TEST 2—SECTION F

DIRECTIONS: Mark as you have been told the number or letter of each correct answer.

76. The introduction is found in what part of a book?

1 **beginning**
2 **middle**
3 **end** ____76

77. In what part of a book would the author's name appear?

1 **glossary**
2 **title page**
3 **index**
4 **appendix** ____77

78. A preface is found in what part of a book?

1 **before the table of contents**
2 **immediately after the table of contents**
3 **in the first chapter**
4 **in the summary** ____78

79. Mark the number of the following article or section in a newspaper which is presented primarily to state an opinion.

1 **the weather chart**
2 **the lead news story**
3 **the editorial**
4 **the stock market report** ____79

80. The guide words **portray** and **possible** appear at the top of the page in one dictionary. Mark the number of the word that would *not* be found on this page.

1 **portrait**
2 **positive**
3 **position**
4 **possessive** ____80

✓ **Look at this partial index and find the answers to questions 81, 82, and 83.**

INDEX

Egypt: agriculture, 261; climate, 254; education, 291; defense, 302; financial management of, 314; government of, 347; industries of, 284; irrigation in, 258; problems of trade in, 321.

Egyptian architecture, important periods of, 380.

Egyptian language: classical dialects, 393; consonants in, 392; pictographs, 390.

Egyptian temples: plans of, 401; relation to religious beliefs, 413; rites conducted, 415.

Egyptian tombs, 422.

81. Mark the letter of the page on which information concerning rites conducted in connection with Egyptian temples will be found.

a **401**
b **413**
c **415**
d **422** ____81

82. Mark the letter of the page on which information concerning the government of Egypt will be found.

a **291**
b **302**
c **321**
d **347** ____82

83. Information concerning the value of the Nile River in Egypt will be found on what page? Mark the letter of the page.

a **254**
b **258**
c **268**
d **284** ____83

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION F (Continued)

✓ **Look at the following Table of Contents and answer questions 84, 85, and 86.**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
1. The Demand for Coffee	1
2. Coffee Plantations	6
3. Growth of Coffee	19
4. Preparation for the Market	35
5. Coffee Ports	57
6. World's Trade in Coffee	65

84. Mark the letter of the page on which "Preparation for the Market" begins.

a **6**
b **35**
c **57**
d **19** ____84

85. Mark the letter of the chapter in which the material on page 59 will be found.

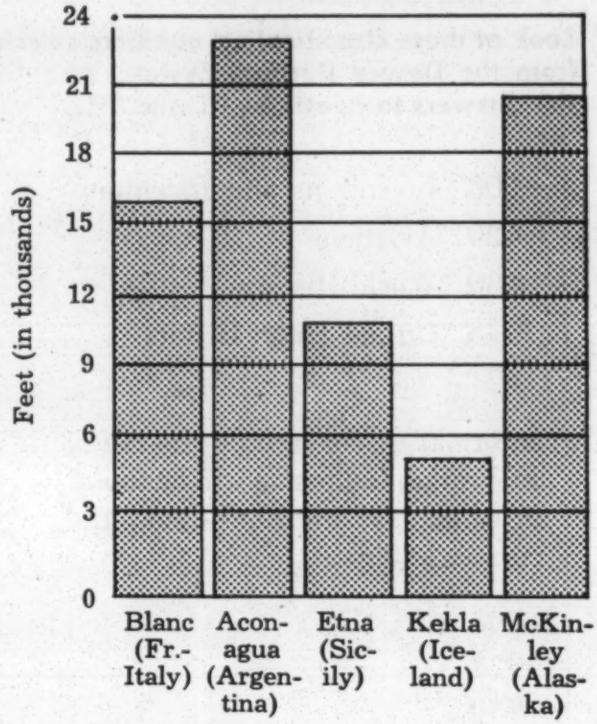
a **Coffee Ports**
b **Preparation for the Market**
c **Growth of Coffee**
d **Coffee Plantations** ____85

86. In which chapter will the best account concerning the supply of coffee from South America be found?

a **Chapter 1**
b **Chapter 3**
c **Chapter 4**
d **Chapter 6** ____86

✓ **Look at the graph at the top of the next column and indicate the correct answers to questions 87 through 90.**

ALTITUDE IN FEET OF FIVE MOUNTAINS



87. In which country is the lowest of the five peaks located?

1 **Argentina**
2 **Sicily**
3 **Iceland**
4 **Alaska** ____87

88. Mt. Etna is lower than Mt. Blanc but it is higher than

1 **Mt. McKinley.**
2 **Mt. Kekla.**
3 **Mt. Aconagua.**
4 **the others.** ____88

89. The elevation of Mt. McKinley is closest to

a **20,000 ft.**
b **20 ft.**
c **5000 ft.**
d **16,000 ft.** ____89

90. The combined height of the three highest peaks is approximately

a **49,000 ft.**
b **53,000 ft.**
c **63,000 ft.**
d **59,000 ft.** ____90

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION F (Continued)

✓ **Look at these classification numbers selected from the Dewey Decimal System, and find the answers to questions 91 and 92.**

608 Inventions and Inventors
629 Aviation
930 World History
973 United States History

91. Information concerning the Santa Fe Trail to California will be found in which classification? Mark the correct letter.

a **608**
b **973**
c **930**
d **629** ____91

92. A nonfiction book concerning Eli Whitney will be found in which classification? Mark the correct letter.

a **973**
b **930**
c **629**
d **608** ____92

✓ **Decide which are the TWO best topics to look up in an encyclopedia or reference book for information on the following subjects. Mark the numbers of these two topics.**

SAMPLE C: Skating in Holland

1 **Skating**
2 **Wrestling**
3 **Baseball**
4 **Football**
5 **Recreation in Holland**

Answers to Sample C:

Correct Test Booklet Mark	Correct Answer Sheet Mark
1-5 C	C: 1-2, 1-3, 1-4, 1-5, 2-3, 2-4, 2-5, 3-4, 3-5, 4-5

93. Cotton Growing in Louisiana

1 **Spinning**
2 **Weaving**
3 **Cotton**
4 **Louisiana**
5 **The Cotton Gin** ____93

94. Cattle Raising in Texas

1 **Texas**
2 **Animals**
3 **Cattle**
4 **Farming**
5 **Meat** ____94

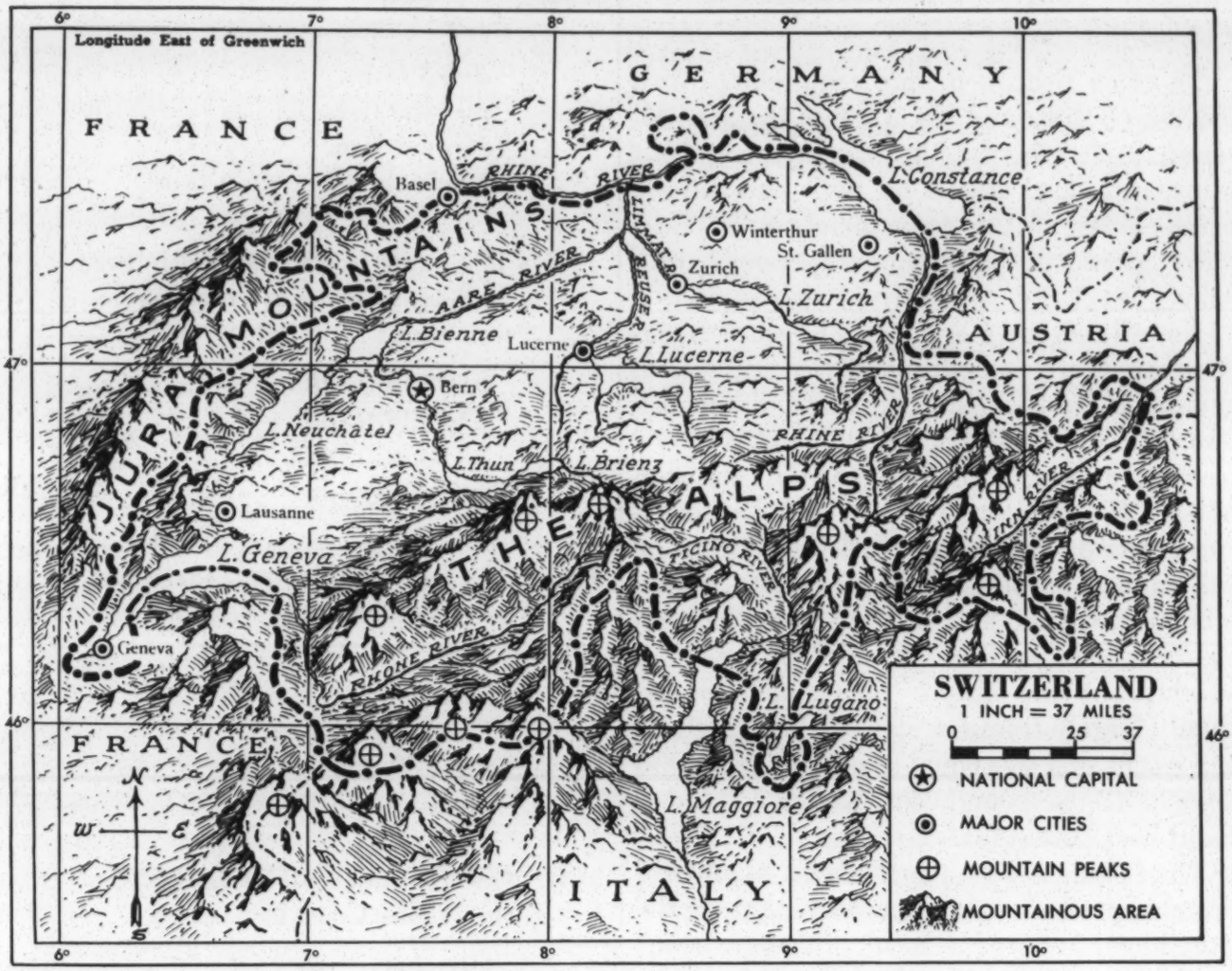
95. The Football Game in America

1 **Schools**
2 **Leagues**
3 **Football**
4 **Games**
5 **America** ____95

96. Destructive Insects in the Cotton Industry

1 **Agriculture**
2 **Industry**
3 **Cotton**
4 **Destruction**
5 **Pests** ____96

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE



✓ **Look at the map and indicate the correct answers to questions 97 through 101.**

97. One of the following rivers flows through Lake Constance. Which one is it?
   1 **Rhine**
   2 **Aare**
   3 **Rhone**
   4 **Limmat** ____97

98. The west end of Lake Constance is located near what degree of longitude?
   a **9° E**
   b **10° E**
   c **47° E**
   d **48° E** ____98

99. Which of the following regions is *not* to be found in Switzerland?
   1 **central plateau**
   2 **coastal plain**
   3 **mountain range**
   4 **lake region** ____99

100. One of the rivers draining the central plateau is the
   1 **Rhone.**
   2 **Inn.**
   3 **Ticino.**
   4 **Aare.** ____100

101. The Rhine and the Rhone Rivers have their sources in one of the following areas. Mark the number of the correct area.
   1 **Lake Constance**
   2 **Lake Geneva**
   3 **Jura Mountains**
   4 **The Alps** ____101

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Test 2 — Sec. F Score (number right).....

TEST 2—SECTION G

✓ **Read this story:**

To catch fish, men were required to learn the use of ships and the ways of the sea. All countries that border the sea have merchant ships, and naval vessels for their national defense. Many of the crew members of these ships gained training and experience with fishing fleets.

Not all fish are marketed to be eaten fresh. Some kinds are canned, some dried and salted, and some are pickled. The value of the fish canned in the United States and Alaska in one recent year was $339,000,000. Of this sum Alaska, Washington, Oregon, and California are credited with over $139,000,000. The fish canned on the Pacific Coast are mostly salmon, sardines, and tuna fish or albacore. Salmon are packed in cans of varying weight, but the output of canned salmon alone (largely from the state of Washington) in a recent year was equal to nearly 5,525,000 cases of 48 one-pound cans, having a value of about $103,000,000.

The fishing industry furnishes a number of valuable products other than food. Among the more important are fish meal, oil, amino acids, pearls, glue, fertilizer, and leather. During the same year the value of these by-products was more than $115,000,000.

For years the United States exported only small quantities of fish because our cost of production was greater than that of European countries. However, during and after World War II, the value of exports increased and they exceeded $34,000,000 in a recent year. Canned salmon and sardines make up a very large part of our fish exports.

✓ **Mark as you have been told the letter or number of each correct answer. You may look back to find the answers.**

102. Besides providing food, fish furnish
   - [a] **perfume.**
   - [b] **oils.**
   - [c] **metals.**
   - [d] **nothing.** ____102

103. By-products of the fishing industry means
   - [1] **dried fish.**
   - [2] **pickled fish.**
   - [3] **canned fish.**
   - [4] **products other than food.** ____103

104. The value of fish canned in the U. S. and Alaska in a recent year was about
   - [1] **$100,000,000.**
   - [2] **$140,000,000.**
   - [3] **$340,000,000.**
   - [4] **$34,000,000.** ____104

105. The fishing industry contributes to national defense by helping to train men for the
   - [1] **Army.**
   - [2] **Navy.**
   - [3] **Air Force.**
   - [4] **Marines.** ____105

106. One fish not usually canned on the Pacific Coast is
   - [1] **albacore.**
   - [2] **tuna.**
   - [3] **the sardine.**
   - [4] **haddock.** ____106

107. Salmon is packed in cans weighing
   - [1] **different amounts.**
   - [2] **48 pounds.**
   - [3] **one-half pound.**
   - [4] **one pound.** ____107

108. Compared with the value of all other fish canned on the West Coast, salmon ranks
   - [1] **low.**
   - [2] **average.**
   - [3] **first.**
   - [4] **second.** ____108

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

109. Compared with the wages of fishermen in the United States, the wages of European fishermen have been

[1] **higher.**
[2] **about the same.**
[3] **lower.**
[4] **extravagant.** ____109

✓ **Read this story:**

Cotton consists of the fibers attached to the seeds of the cotton plant. After the cotton is picked it is separated from the seeds in a cotton gin and then pressed into bales. Fibers are twisted into thread, and the thread or cotton yarn is then used for making cloth.

Cotton has been made into cloth for thousands of years. Indeed, no one knows when or where it was first used. The plant was growing in America at the time of the voyages of Columbus, but it was known and used in Asia and Africa thousands of years earlier. It was probably first grown and woven into cloth in India.

Records for one year show that the number of bales of cotton produced in different states of the United States was as follows:

States	Number of Bales	Per Cent
Texas	4,317,000	26.2
Mississippi	2,129,000	12.9
California	1,768,000	10.8
Arkansas	1,548,000	9.4
Alabama	963,000	5.8
Georgia	752,000	4.6
Others	4,988,000	30.3
Total	16,465,000	100.0

Cotton provides us with many useful products. The oil obtained from the seed is used in lard compounds, oleomargarine, salad oils, packing fish, making soap, and for many other purposes. The cake which remains after the oil has been pressed from the seed makes excellent cattle feed and fertilizer. While the value of the seed is less than that of the fiber, it nevertheless constitutes a considerable portion of the farmer's income.

✓ **Mark the number or letter of each correct answer. You may look back to find the answers.**

110. Present day uses of the cotton plant have increased the farmer's income because

[1] **more parts are salable.**
[2] **cotton is now in short supply.**
[3] **of the need for nylon.**
[4] **fibers are better.** ____110

111. One of the most important products of cotton is

[1] **wood.**
[2] **cotton candy.**
[3] **gun cotton.**
[4] **cottonseed oil.** ____111

112. The annual production of cotton in places listed as "Others" is about what per cent of the total yield?

[a] **6%**
[b] **7%**
[c] **13%**
[d] **30%** ____112

113. In one year, about 9 per cent of the cotton was produced in

[1] **Arkansas.**
[2] **Alabama.**
[3] **Oklahoma.**
[4] **Georgia.** ____113

114. The best title for this story is

[1] **"Origin of Cotton."**
[2] **"By-products of Cotton."**
[3] **"Records."**
[4] **"Cotton."** ____114

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

115. Compared with the money value of cottonseed oil, cotton fiber is worth

[1] **about the same.**
[2] **more.**
[3] **less.**
[4] **very little.** ____115

116. About what per cent of the total number of bales was produced in the two leading states? Mark the letter of the correct number.

[a] **24%**
[b] **36%**
[c] **39%**
[d] **56%** ____116

✓ **Read this story:**

SWEDEN

Sweden, located in northwestern Europe, occupies the eastern and larger part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. It is bordered on the west by Norway, on the northeast by Finland, on the east by the Gulf of Bothnia, on the east and south by the Baltic Sea, and on the southwest by the Kattegat. Sweden extends for about 970 miles from north to south and about 200 miles from east to west, being 300 miles at its widest point. The largest of its numerous islands, which border the coastline, are the two Baltic islands of Gotland and Öland.

Much of Sweden is a tableland sloping from the Kjölen Range on the west to the Baltic. This mountainous western frontier reaches 6,965 feet in its highest peak, the Kebnekaise. The hilly central plateau slopes down to the eastern coast to form a narrow coastal plain along the Gulf of Bothnia. The many rivers, such as the Lule, the Dal, and the Ångerman, run in a southeasterly direction. The southern part of Sweden is generally low and level, rising to a low plateau. In this region, Sweden's largest lakes, Väner and Vätter, several smaller lakes, the Göta and other rivers, and short canal sections form the Göta Canal System. This is the major east-west waterway of Sweden. No less than 8 per cent of the surface of Sweden is water, the immense number of lakes covering almost 15,000 square miles.

The country is divided into three large regions. The southern tip of the peninsula is called Götaland. To the north of Götaland, but still in the southern third of Sweden, is Svealand. The major population centers of Sweden are located in Svealand and Götaland. Norrland occupies the northern two thirds of the country. This section is drained by numerous large rivers which provide hydroelectric power on a large scale and are useful as major logging routes in this beautiful land of forests.

Due to the length of Sweden, the temperature from north to south varies considerably. The North, part of which lies above the Arctic Circle, has long, cold winters and short summers. The climate of southern Sweden is much like that of the state of Maine. The average rainfall for the country is about 20 inches a year. It is heaviest in the South and lightest in the North.

Sweden's sylvan slopes cover 55 per cent of the country's surface. This gives rise to its most important industries, which include lumbering, woodworking, paper, and pulp milling. On the other hand, cultivated land makes up only 9 per cent of the total area, and this is concentrated in the South where the topography encourages farming. However, intensive modern methods have resulted in high yields of crops, even though the growing season is very short due to the long winters. Sweden is world famous for its fine steel products. The enormous hydroelectric power generated in Norrland, as well as in the South, has given an impetus to manufacturing industries. Chief products, in addition to those already mentioned, include textiles, chemicals, munitions, and matches. Sweden's merchant marine carries cargo to all parts of the world. The major cities of Sweden are its capital, Stockholm, its chief seaport, Göteborg, and the southern metropolis, Malmö.

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION G (Continued)

✓ **Mark the letter or number of each correct answer. You may look back to find the answers.**

117. The highest peaks of the Kjölen Range reach a height of about

a **7,000 feet above sea level.**
b **5,000 feet above sea level.**
c **4,000 feet above sea level.**
d **2,000 feet above sea level.** ____117

118. The rivers of northern Sweden are able to supply power because

1 **they are long.**
2 **they are calm.**
3 **they are free from ice.**
4 **they are swift moving.** ____118

119. Sweden's chief source of income is

1 **lumber products.**
2 **tourist trade.**
3 **agriculture.**
4 **mining.** ____119

120. The area receiving the greatest rainfall in Sweden is

1 **the North.**
2 **the South.**
3 **the mountain area.**
4 **the Bothnian coastline.** ____120

121. A region is best described as a

1 **border.**
2 **section.**
3 **country.**
4 **peninsula.** ____121

122. Farmers in Sweden have increased their incomes by

1 **planting oftener.**
2 **scientific methods.**
3 **working harder.**
4 **using greater varieties of crops.** ____122

123. Most of Sweden's forests are found in

1 **Norrland.**
2 **Götaland.**
3 **the lake region.**
4 **Svealand.** ____123

124. What fraction of Sweden's area is *not* under cultivation?

1 **one fourth**
2 **one half**
3 **three fourths**
4 **nine tenths** ____124

125. The word "sylvan" is best described as meaning

1 **gentle.**
2 **beautiful.**
3 **wooded.**
4 **silvery.** ____125

✓ **Read this story:**

The Mayflower, in which the Pilgrims came to America, was the typical sailing vessel of its time. It was a three-masted ship, one hundred feet long and twenty-five feet wide. As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century the ships owned by merchants, lumbermen, and fishermen were of the same type as the colonial Mayflower.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, England began using steamships and iron vessels which soon outclassed the colonial-type sailing vessel. In order to maintain a place in the competitive shipping industry, it was necessary for the Americans to build some sort of ship that was faster and easier to handle. This resulted in the American "clipper ship," which for a time was able to compete successfully with the English ships. With the further development of steamships, however, this type of vessel was also hopelessly outclassed.

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION G (Continued)

In the succeeding years, ships increased in size as well as in luxury. The Mauretania, launched in 1908, was considered a marvel because it weighed nearly 30,700 tons. It held the transatlantic speed record of five and one-half days for twenty years. Each year, however, brought changes in ships, with increased weight and speed, until the Bremen was built and crossed the Atlantic in nine hours less time than the previous record holder. Later the Queen Mary and the Normandie exceeded that record by about 24 hours. The present record is held by the S. S. United States.

✓ **Mark the number or letter of each correct answer. You may look back to find the answers.**

126. In the 19th century the Americans built the

1 **clipper ships.**
2 **Mayflower.**
3 **Bremen.**
4 **Mauretania.** ____126

127. American shipping was stimulated through competition with

a **Italy.**
b **Germany.**
c **Japan.**
d **England.** ____127

128. Commercial vessels superior to the colonial-type sailing ship were first introduced by

1 **the English.**
2 **the Pilgrims.**
3 **fishermen.**
4 **the Americans.** ____128

129. The Mauretania held the Atlantic crossing record until a new record was established by the

a **Queen Mary.**
b **Bremen.**
c **Normandie.**
d **Ile de France.** ____129

130. The "clipper ship" was able to compete successfully because it was

1 **a steamship.**
2 **a passenger ship.**
3 **easier to handle.**
4 **a sailing vessel.** ____130

131. The Bremen crossed the Atlantic in about

a **9 days.**
b **7 days.**
c **6 days.**
d **5 days.** ____131

132. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the typical commercial ship used was

a **a clipper ship.**
b **three-masted.**
c **an iron ship.**
d **a steamship.** ____132

133. The improved size and speed of the modern steamship has had many effects on the world. Which of the following changes has *not* occurred due to this improvement?

1 **travel time shortened**
2 **shipping and trade increased**
3 **fares and rates lowered**
4 **cargo spoilage increased** ____133

✓ **Read this story:**

THE TELEGRAPH

For eleven years Samuel Morse had been trying to interest someone in his invention of the telegraph and endured great poverty in attempting to carry out his experiments. Finally, in 1843, Congress appropriated $30,000 for this purpose, and Morse was then able to make rapid progress in the development of telegraphy.

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION G (Continued)

In the spring of 1844, while the political parties were holding their conventions, the telegraph finally became ready for a practical tryout. Morse was able to notify the candidates and the people in Washington of the results of the conventions before they could secure this information by any other means. This aroused much public interest, and there was a general recognition of his remarkable accomplishment. From that time forward, the telegraphic system grew with astounding rapidity and covered the entire world within thirty years.

At first the telegraph was mechanically complicated, but with constant research the instruments themselves became simpler. During recent years, however, due to the complexities of modern life, the system as a whole has become somewhat involved. Every city has an intricate system of telegraph wires below the surface of the streets, and even the continents are connected by cables laid on ocean floors.

The development of the telegraph brought the world closer together by providing a method of bringing ideas and messages from the entire world within the reach of all in a minimum of time. This process has been greatly accelerated by recent improvements in wireless telegraphy, radio, and television.

✓ **Mark the letter or number of each correct answer. You may look back to find the answers.**

134. Bringing the world closer together means

[a] **fewer time zones.**
[b] **maps must be redrawn.**
[c] **better communications.**
[d] **crowded conditions.** ____134

135. An appropriation consists of

[1] **congratulations.**
[2] **money.**
[3] **inventions.**
[4] **patents.** ____135

136. The telegraph became world wide in its coverage

[1] **by 1875.**
[2] **by 1912.**
[3] **after the development of wireless telegraphy.**
[4] **by 1844.** ____136

137. An intricate system is

[1] **complicated.**
[2] **antique.**
[3] **radical.**
[4] **unique.** ____137

138. Telegraph poles in cities

[1] **are similar to telephone poles.**
[2] **are taller than telephone poles.**
[3] **are used for electric power also.**
[4] **don't exist.** ____138

✓ **Read the eight statements below. You are to select the one that would make the best title for each of the four paragraphs of the story. You may look back to find the answers.**

STATEMENTS

1. Wide use of telegraphy
2. Communication of words
3. The inventor's struggle
4. Congress and elections
5. Effects of telegraphy
6. Ideas and messages
7. The practical demonstration
8. Necessity

139. The best title for the first paragraph is statement

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. ____139

140. The best title for the second paragraph is statement

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. ____140

GO RIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TEST 2—SECTION G (Continued)

141. The best title for the third paragraph is statement

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. ____141

142. The best title for the fourth paragraph is statement

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. ____142

The following things are mentioned in the story:

Complex system
Mechanically complicated instruments
Wireless telegraphy
Simpler instruments

The order in which these things are mentioned in the story is as follows:

143. Complex system was

1st. 2nd. 3rd. 4th. ____143

144. Mechanically complicated instruments was

1st. 2nd. 3rd. 4th. ____144

145. Wireless telegraphy was

1st. 2nd. 3rd. 4th. ____145

146. Simpler instruments was

1st. 2nd. 3rd. 4th. ____146

STOP NOW WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Test 2 — Sec. G Score
(number right).....

California Reading Test

Junior High Level · GRADES 7 · 8 · 9 · Form W

DEVISED BY ERNEST W. TIEGS AND WILLIS W. CLARK

Name ..... Last ..... First ..... Middle ..... Grade ..... SEX M F

School ..... City ..... Date of Test ..... Month Day Year

Teacher or Examiner ..... (.....) Student's Age ..... Date of Birth ..... Month Day Year

See MANUAL for Instructions.

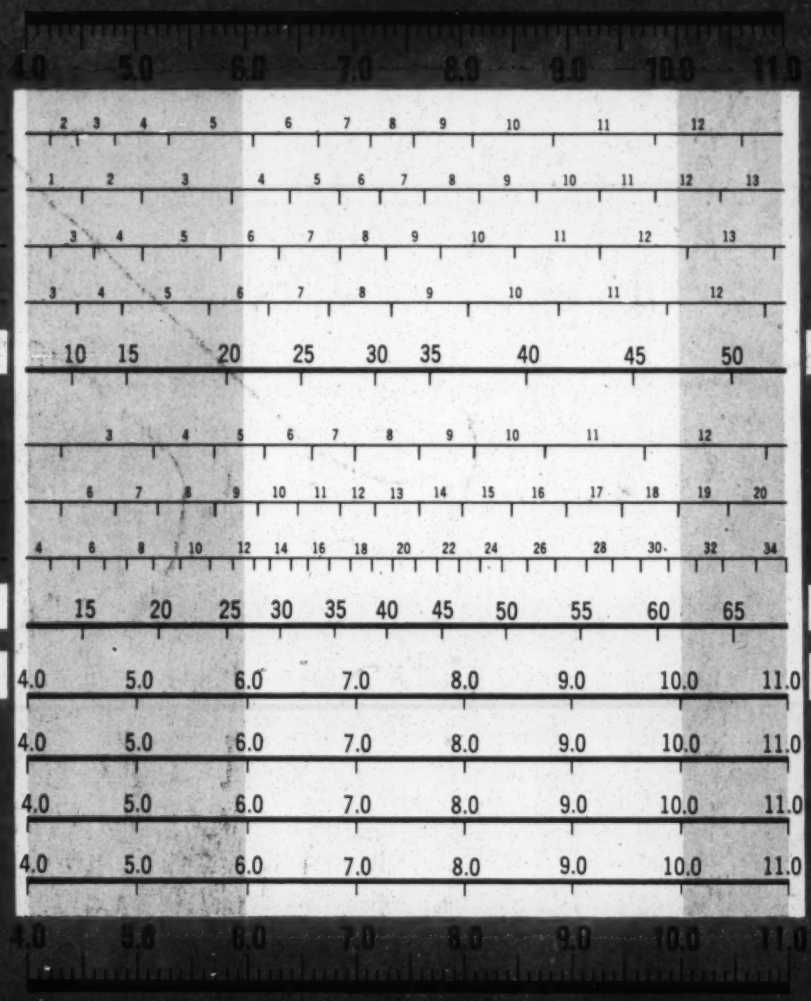
TEST	SECTION	POSSIBLE SCORE	STUDENT'S SCORE
1. READING VOCABULARY	A. Mathematics	15	
	B. Science	15	
	C. Social Science	15	
	D. General	15	
	TOTAL (A + B + C + D)	60	
2. READING COMPREHENSION	E. Following Directions	15	
	F. Reference Skills	26	
	G. Interpretation of Material	45	
	TOTAL (E + F + G)	86	
	READING GRADE PLACEMENT		
	CHRONOLOGICAL AGE GRADE PLACEMENT		
	ACTUAL GRADE PLACEMENT		
	INTELLIGENCE (M.A.) GRADE PLACEMENT		

Grade Placement

Percentile Rank

DIAGNOSTIC PROFILE* (Chart Student's Scores Here)

Grade Placement



DIAGNOSTIC ANALYSIS OF LEARNING DIFFICULTIES

1. Reading Vocabulary

A. MATHEMATICS:
1-15 ..... Basic Vocabulary

B. SCIENCE:
16-30 ..... Basic Vocabulary

C. SOCIAL SCIENCE:
31-45 ..... Basic Vocabulary

D. GENERAL:
46-60 ..... Basic Vocabulary

2. Reading Comprehension

E. FOLLOWING DIRECTIONS:
61, 62, 64, 66 ..... Simple choice
63, 65, 68, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73 ..... Definitions and directions
72, 75 ..... Math. directions
74 ..... Map direction

F. REFERENCE SKILLS:
76, 77, 78, 79 ..... Parts of book or newspaper
80 ..... Use of dictionary
81, 82, 83 ..... Use of index
84, 85, 86 ..... Table of contents
87, 88, 89, 90 ..... Reading a graph
91, 92 ..... Library classifications
93, 94, 95, 96 ..... Selecting references
97, 98, 99, 100, 101 ..... Reading a map

G. INTERPRETATION OF MATERIAL:
102, 104, 105, 107, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 120, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130 ..... Directly stated facts
103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 116, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138 ..... Inferences
114 ..... Topic or central idea
139, 140, 141, 142 ..... Organization of topics
143, 144, 145, 146 ..... Sequence of events

*For an interpretation of green area within Profile, see discussion on Articulation in Part 4 of Manual.

†Column designed for recording Expected Grade Placements, Anticipated Grade Placements, School or Class Averages, etc. See Part 2 of Manual.

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January 27, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative
of Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jean:

I heard today from Miss Thelma How, and the prospects sound interesting indeed. I hope we may be able to take advantage of them. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 27, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

I think it is almost sure that you have the enclosed two clippings, of which the originals are available if you want them, but I don't seem to be able to find much else.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: Washington Post clip, Burnesville
N. Y. Times clip, The Long, Long Ride

February 1, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
1818 South Main Street
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

The clippings you requested are enclosed; we are glad to lend them to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures:
10 newsclips on Burnsville school situation

October 3, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative, Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean:

Could you give me any information about the survey of the Negro community in Prince Edward County which we understand the AFSC conducted? I am especially interested in when the report may be available. We have just sent up Mary Ellen Goodman, whom perhaps you know, to Virginia to do a short study of the private schools operating there. I would like to have as much background for her as there may be.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 3, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

The quoted price for School Desegregation: the first six years is .35 for single and .30 each for quantity orders; .30 is just about cost. However, because I imagine the distribution you have in mind would be the kind in which we are interested, we'll let you have the 100 for $25.00; if you order 500 we'll make it .15 per copy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Chairman: BYRON A. HAWORTH Executive Secretary: WILTON E. HARTZLER Treasurer: W. EVAN CECIL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 2-4025

MA

October 6, 1960

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Pursuant to your letter of October 3, please send us 100 copies of School Desegregation: the first six years, and bill the order to our office. We will distribute the copies primarily in North Carolina to key school and community leaders, lawyers and members of our advisory committees.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William Bagwell

WB:mh

Sent 10-8-60
M.A.
100 - $25.00

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 7, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
So. Forsyth Street, No. West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Irene Osborne's report of the survey she conducted this summer is not ready yet. She has promised a preliminary report by Monday. If this is in any form which would be helpful to you, we will share it. It may, however, take some time before a complete report is ready.

We were delighted to learn that Mary Ellen Goodman is doing the study of the private schools in Virginia. When will she be there? We have appointed a worker for Prince Edward County who will probably be on hand around October 15. Also, WE ARE considering a study of the placement project. As you know, we were able to place 47 children in 10 communities in 6 states for the school year. This project has involved in a very exciting way the co-operation of many community groups. Juanita Morisey, who helped get the placement project underway, is designing a study project which we hope to sponsor during the coming months, provided, of course, that we can find the money for it. We will send you the study proposal. Mary Ellen's findings may be very helpful in several specific areas that we are concerned about.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:mt

October 11, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jean:

Thank you for your letter of October 7. I suppose I did not mention in my inquiry that Mrs. Goodman is already in Virginia. She went up last Monday and was in Prince Edward the latter part of last week. She should be finishing up in Charlottesville and Front Royal late this week. We want to get her report out as quickly as she can get it written, and I hope you find it as valuable as we expect it to be.

You are doing meretorious service in Prince Edward.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: M. E. Goodman

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 20, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Under Irene Osborne's direction an educational census and survey was conducted in Prince Edward County during the summer. When it indicated an urgent desire on the part of some parents for help in getting their children in school, we undertook an Emergency Placement Project. Although we worked under a time handicap, we were able with the cooperation of several AFSC regional offices to find ten communities which would accept groups of these children and placed about fifty.

Because of the many unique features of this placement project we have been urged to study it during the school year. Juanita Morisey, who did a study of in-migrant children from the South in the Philadelphia area, and who helped to organize the placement project, is now drafting a proposal for a study. By the end of this month if we feel encouraged about the possibility of getting funds, the study will be underway.

I am enclosing the preliminary draft of the study (some features of which have already been altered) and would appreciate your quick reactions and suggestions. Could you look it over and send me your comments by next Thursday? We have an advisory committee which will be meeting Friday, October 28 to make some decisions about the final draft.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

JF:lw

encls.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 24, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your "Reflections on the Latest Reform of the South" has just been sent to me. I hope someone is planning to distribute it widely. If you have extra copies, could you send me twenty-five?

It is an excellent, incisive analysis of the sit-in movement. What I particularly appreciate is the way you raised some of the more difficult to discuss aspects of it to a level where fruitful interchange of opinion can take place.

What was the occasion for the address? I know you must have received an appreciative response.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs

October 26, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
~~20 South 12th Street~~ 160 N. 15th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jean:

You asked for my "quick reactions" to the proposed study of the Prince Edward County placement program. These I am a little reluctant to offer, because the amount of time I have given to consideration of it cannot be more than a small fraction of the time you and your associates have put into it. I am suspicious of quick reactions, even my own. But, and at the risk of being not only misguided but a curmudgeon to boot, here they are.

I have examined the study questions and procedures and they look sound. I would want to know more about the people who will do the work, but I am sure you have that well planned. I am a strong believer in finding people in whom one has confidence, and leaving methodological questions to them. I am biased in favor of leaving methods and procedures to the workmen themselves; so except to say that the ones suggested seem generally sound I would not comment in detail.

Gratuitously, I would offer another comment. Like you, I work for an agency, and we both have the problem of delineating our function from that of academic researchers. This is in part a question of what has practical value and in part a question of resources. I believe there would be great usefulness in a study of the results of AFSC's excellent program in Prince Edward. I would approach it somewhat differently than does your memorandum, however, and on a much narrower basis. I would begin with two assumptions: (a) that under

the circumstances relocation of some students was desirable; (b) similar circumstances might elsewhere occur. Then I would proceed to evaluate the program: did the criteria for selection of students prove out? are there lessons to be learned from the experience regarding the sorts of locales which should be chosen to accept relocated students? what of the families who took them in, and did any sort prove better or worse prepared for the role? etc. The questions are implicit in your much broader scheme.

I suspect that these comments are not, and will not be regarded as, very helpful. If you do launch the study, I hope, notwithstanding my remarks here, you will call upon me for any assistance you think I or SRC can give. My "quick reaction" is, simply that what you have outlined is a most ambitious undertaking, and, though I am sure you are cognizant of that, it makes me very cautious. I recommend to you that you give the cost and time factors the hardest kind of prior consideration. You could not, for example, undertake the structured interviews indicated under D III of your "Procedure and Methodology" outline without both ample time and money for staff and expenses. And, to take another example, it is likely that the staff who administered these interviews might not be the people who could collect and interpret the economic and political data called for under A I and A II.

But I repeat: I see nothing unsound in the proposal provided you can support it adequately. I would also think it has much scientific merit.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Airmail, special delivery

October 27, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
Nat'l Representative
for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th St.
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean:

Thank you for your generous comments about my paper. It was prepared for and read to the Society for the Study of Social Problems, meeting in New York in August.

I am interested that a copy strayed your way. After I delivered it, the ADL office in New York volunteered to mimeograph it, but if they did I have never seen a copy or heard from anyone who did.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

PR ✓
HF ✓
LD

160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
October 29, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We had a meeting yesterday with two of the advisers of the study project which we are contemplating. We were very grateful to have the comments which you, Mary Ellen Goodman and C.H. Parrish had sent.

As we reviewed the proposal which Juanita Morisey had drafted, we agreed that we had to narrow it somehow, yet we found that we came up with more and more questions which could be fruitfully explored. Actually, we are primarily interested in the forty-seven children and what will happen to them this year. This is the object of greatest interest to us because we will want to evaluate this project carefully at the end of the year. However, in order to understand what is happening to the children, we need to know more about the background out of which they have come. We know that it is not enough to report that a certain child had a father who is a cook at the local college or a farmer; this county has been in conflict over education for Negroes for twenty or thirty years and we are curious to find out the unique factors which differentiate it from other southern rural counties.

This leads to a question to you: would the Southern Regional Council consider doing one of your community studies on Prince Edward County? We think it could be a very interesting one in itself but are particularly aware of its usefulness to us as a companion study to our present effort. If you could consider doing such a study sometime during the next four-six months, we could go ahead with our attempt to study the children who volunteered for our project without the need to do a background study of their home environment, which I do not feel we could do well anyway. If you can consider sponsoring a study, we would have some ideas of some questions which could be explored. We are interested in knowing how parents plan for emergencies created by the closing of schools: families have left, some have made private arrangements and others turned to us. What are the factors involved? We are interested in knowing how Negroes feel about white people and whether these feelings enter into their decisions about planning for their families. We are extremely interested, of course, in how the white people regard the present situation and the efforts of the Negro community to meet the emergency.

You would have ideas, I am sure, concerning how Mary Ellen's study could fit into this larger effort. By the way, is it possible to see her unexpurgated report, either in Philadelphia or in Atlanta? We plan to have a meeting in Washington next Saturday on the Prince Edward situation. We are trying to find out what resources are available from national agencies for our PEC program. It would be helpful to know what Mary Ellen discovered. We would not quote from it or mention names. Let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

with the Report coming I think we have done our part. What do you think? Would Lawrence or Va Council want to take on?

Typed by me! Sorry!

October 31, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jean:

I'll write to you later about your suggestion of a study of Prince Edward County, after we have had a chance to think about it and discuss it here. I would want, however, to reply at once regarding your query about Mary Ellen Goodman's report. You are more than welcome to read it unexpurgated and unedited, but the fact is we don't have it yet and do not expect it by Saturday. When Mary Ellen came back from Virginia on October 16, we agreed that she would have a month in which to write her paper.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 22, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jean:

I suppose this reply to your letter of October 29 is by now moot. We did, however, give your suggestion of an SRC study of Prince Edward County serious consideration and this included discussing it with Dan Bowers, the director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. I think we shall have to pass on this one, at least in the specific form which you suggested. We are pushing right up to the limit of our research and publications budget and we have already commitments which we have to carry through on. Also, we have undertaken a study of Virginia private schools (by Mary Ellen Goodman) and this may be all that we can justifiably devote to Virginia at this time.

Dan Bowers is in touch with the Prince Edward situation and, I understand, is working along with your effort in the county. Why don't we say that you and your co-workers will take up with him any thoughts you may have for ways in which SRC might be helpful? We could come into the picture after such discussions. Dan and Paul Rilling have been talking about some analysis of and counsel for the centers; this I suppose you know about.

Best wishes, and I hope you have a very happy Christmas and New Year's.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Dan Bowers

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

February 13, 1961

Dr. L. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Ga.

RE: Elizabeth Waters

DearFriend:

The above named person is applying for a position with the American Friends Service Committee, and has given your name as a reference. It is our understanding that you are acquainted with the applicant and therefore, we would appreciate having your evaluation.

The form enclosed may be used as a guide to your thinking and any additional comments you care to make will be helpful. If, instead of using the form, you prefer to write a letter, the form suggests the type of information which we find helpful.

We hope that you will give us a frank statement of the applicant's strengths and weaknesses. Every effort is made to keep all reference materials confidential. While we would like to acknowledge all references received, the volume of our work prohibits this. On behalf of the applicant we would like at this time to thank you for this reference and to assure you of our appreciation of the time and thought devoted to writing us in regard to this person.

Sincerely yours,

Marthalyn Dickson (rc)

Marthalyn Dickson
Personnel Department

Encl.

February 28, 1961

Miss Marthalyn Dickson
Personnel Department
American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Dickson:

I am very glad to respond to your letter of February 13 by recommending Miss Elizabeth Waters as a candidate for Community Service abroad. She would, I believe, be an excellent representative of her countyy and an able contributor to the program of your organization.

Miss Waters has worked under my supervision since October, 1959. Her duties, while not exciting, are inestimably important to us, and she has discharged them well and, I believe, has derived from them much instruction for herself. She is in charge of our files, which means that she reads a number of newspapers and magazines, decides what is to be clipped and in which category filed, and similarly classifies and files the mass of reports and other current material which comes through. She usually has a part-time assistant. Her judgment in her work is good. She is also one of the most cooperative and responsible of office members. To recount the details would not be rewarding, but I would like to note, for what it indicates of her qualities, that Miss Waters has made a special contribution to our office by her ability to cope with a most trying personality situation.

Miss Waters is a person deeply motivated toward putting her life to good use for others. She is a faithful Catholic, but also a willing worker now and in times past with the Friends. She is active in various concerns of Atlanta's Negroes. She is an inveterate hobbyist (stamps, coins) and also--unusual for a girl--fond of fishing and hunting.

Her principal handicap is her speech. Not only is she characteristically quiet, but she is not easy to understand when she does speak. I have, however, had occasion to hear her speak before a group, and was pleased to find that the hesitancy which she exhibits in conversation seemed to disappear, and that she spoke confidently and clearly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

STUDY PROPOSAL

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY EMERGENCY PLACEMENT PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

Brief Description of Placement Project

Prince Edward County in Virginia is the only county in the United States that has entered a second school year without public schools for any of its pupils. Schools have remained closed since the fall of 1959 in resistance to a court order to desegregate. Private schools have been provided for most of the white students in the county. Negroes, however, believe these schools to be an unconstitutional evasion of the law and have refused to accept any substitute plan for public schools. Therefore, some 1700 Negro children in Prince Edward County are facing their second year without education available to them.

The American Friends Service Committee has been concerned with this problem because of the threat to American public education implied in this situation and because of the individual and group frustrations that are bred when a community has no public schools. Therefore it has undertaken a community relations program in the county designed to relieve some of the frustrations this crisis imposes on the community and to stimulate and reinforce community groups who are seeking a positive solution.

The first phase of AFSC's community relations program included a survey of the educational needs of the Negro community conducted in cooperation with the Prince Edward County Christian Association. The survey indicated that most students in Prince Edward County had no plans for schooling if the public schools did not reopen this year.

In mid July it became apparent that pending legal suits would not be settled in time to have the schools reopened this fall. AFSC felt, therefore, that a plan should be made to provide schooling for some students during the school year 1960-61. Therefore it organized an Emergency Placement Program.

AFSC realized that the number of students who could be processed and relocated in the short time before the beginning of the school year would be limited. Even more important, AFSC was concerned that any plan for relocation should not be interpreted as relieving Prince Edward County of its responsibility to its young people. Therefore, it decided to limit its placement program to approximately 50 students, giving preference to the older children who might become overage or lose interest before public schools in the county were reopened.

The Emergency Placement Program resulted in school enrollment of 47 Junior and Senior High School students in ten northern communities in the states of Ohio, Michigan, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Iowa. Under AFSC auspices, sponsoring groups were organized in all communities where the Prince Edward County students were located to insure that the year's experience would be enriched by interracial and cultural opportunities.

Invitations to participate in the project were extended to parents of most Junior and Senior High School Negro students who had been enrolled in the public schools of Prince Edward County the year prior to their closing. All students were considered eligible for placement who, in the opinion of reliable resources, had no prior record of severe social or academic maladjustment. Placements were considered for all students who, with their parents, voluntarily responded to this invitation if they met this minimal criteria. The only exceptions made by AFSC involved those students whose families could make some school arrangements unassisted. Some students and parents who responded initially eliminated themselves by failure to follow through on subsequent interviews or by failure to comply with the signing of legal forms granting temporary custody to host families in receiving communities.

Several northern communities were invited by AFSC regional and national office staff to participate in the project. The selection of such communities was based primarily on AFSC staff judgment as to the ability of local contacts to organize an interracial sponsoring group quickly and efficiently. Communities finally chosen were those which responded early with a well organized plan for undertaking to place a group of students. Sponsoring committees were committed to secure suitable home and school

placements for the students, to provide broad extracurricular interracial and cultural opportunities, and to undertake as much as possible of the financial responsibility the project incurred in their community. The number sponsored by the various communities ranges from three to ten students.

The communities which have accepted Prince Edward County students range in size and type from metropolitan areas of half a million people to small towns of less than 5000. Families in these communities were asked to accept students without payment and essentially as "family members". Nothing was expected of the students other than the normal responsibilities required of members of the household. The basic criteria in family selection was that there should be a wholesome, comfortable atmosphere. Families who responded and with whom students were placed ranged from persons of limited education to university professors, from middle-aged, childless couples to couples with as many as six children of their own. Students were placed in both white and Negro families.

The size and type of schools in which students have been placed vary from large junior and senior public high schools of more than 1000 students to small schools of less than 250 students. A private boarding school and a private day school also have accepted students.

There are unique aspects of this placement. Although there is some similarity between this and exchange student programs, this is the first time an agency has attempted to relocate a group of Negro children in northern communities. The program is also unique because interracial sponsoring groups in each community have undertaken the oversight and planning for this group of students. Moreover this is an unusual way to try to relieve some of the individual stress caused by the closing of public schools. Because of the highly experimental nature of this program, AFSC feels that a systematic study and evaluation of this effort would be of great value to the fields of education, child placement, and intergroup relations.

Some very practical purposes could be served by the careful evaluation of the project. Some of these are as follows:

1. Various social conditions can create circumstances that make relocation of groups of young people advisable. A thorough study and analysis of the mechanical conduct of this project which incorporates a description of the problems that developed and how they were handled could prove valuable to groups who were relocating young people for any reason.

2. A comparison of the problems faced by students who left Prince Edward County unassisted with those who remained or were placed by us could contribute to our insight of the migrant generally. By isolating some factors that seemed consistent to the group who migrated unassisted - we can make important inferences about what groups in a particular community are likely to migrate and why.

3. The population of the United States is very mobile. One of the big social problems in any community is how to absorb the newcomer without disrupting and straining community facilities. We can make constructive suggestions in this area by the study and observation of the kinds of problems these young people created by their presence and the way concerned community groups dealt with these problems.

4. By identifying the most meaningful elements within this experience we can make suggestions to educators and intergroup relations agencies who are concerned with the improvement of opportunity in local communities. We need to discover from this experience what practical programs could be developed by concerned intergroup relations agencies without moving young people from one community to the other.

5. An evaluation of this experience could suggest program possibilities for improving the culturally handicapped, developing leadership potential and raising the level of aspiration of young people through planned exposure and contact.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The proper evaluation of this project requires definitive answers to certain basic questions. These questions have broad significance to intergroup agencies in the area of future program planning as well as to educators who are seeking creative approaches for dealing with the educationally and culturally handicapped. Some of these questions are as follows:

I. Who are the students who sought participation in this project? What characteristics (personal, academic, economic and familial), if any, differentiate them from students who remained in the county or who sought schooling elsewhere independent of agency assistance?

II. What is the nature of the social, interracial, cultural and educational experiences of these students as a result of their participation in this project as contrasted to students who remain in the county or who sought schooling elsewhere without agency assistance?

III. What significant changes, if any can be noted in the social, emotional and academic growth of these pupils as a result of this experience?

IV. What kind of communities volunteered to accept these children in terms of such criteria as percent and growth of minority group population, racial housing, school and employment patterns, economic indexes, interracial organizations, etc.?

V. What is the nature of the membership of various sponsoring committees in terms of race, occupation, previous community leadership, interracial experience, and religious affiliation? How did the committee function in the conduct of the project?

VI. What kind of families volunteered to accept these children in terms of racial identification, occupation, income, community status, previous interracial experience, etc?

VII. What are the elements most meaningful in terms of affecting change in these students and how can they be practically translated to the home environment?

VIII. Finally what are the broad intergroup education implications of this program and what can we learn about the effectiveness of planned experience in facilitating positive changes in groups and individuals?

Some of the preliminary data upon which comparisons and analysis can be based has already been collected by AFSC staff. This includes:

1. A survey of 1400 families in Prince Edward County who have children of school age.

2. Family background information and individual profiles on most students placed by AFSC.

3. Some standard tests to measure the social attitudes and academic achievement of students placed by AFSC.

In order for a thorough study and evaluation of the project to be made similar information must be secured from:

1. A group of students of junior and senior high school age who remained in Prince Edward County.

2. A group of students of junior and senior high school age who went away unassisted.

This data must also be amplified by a continous supplement of the nature of the experience of students in AFSC's program as contrasted to those who remained in Prince Edward County or who went away unassisted.

An outstanding advisory committee has participated in the planning of the proposed study. They have also agreed to serve continuously in an advisory capacity during the conduct of the study. These persons are: Dr. Ira Reid, Chairman of the Sociology Department of Haverford College; Dr. Charlotte Epstein, Assistant Professor of Human Relations of the University of Pennsylvania; and Dr. Perry Ottenberg of the Department of Psychiatry, University of Pennsylvania. Through Dr. Reid's cooperation, we will also have the assistance of students in the Sociology Department of Haverford College in the tabulation and analysis of data.

In addition to the stated benefits that will accrue from the proposed research, information would be available constantly to AFSC program staff on the project as it is functioning in various communities. This will enable AFSC to give the kind of oversight and guidance necessary to this program.

The AFSC feels that it has a responsibility to do more than administer temporary relief in a crisis situation. It feels that it must translate and communicate the important elements within each experience to concerned people who are able to effectuate positive social change. This can only be done by systematic investigation, and documentation of various aspects of this experience. We would like therefore to be able to measure and evaluate this project in order that AFSC and other concerned groups can reap maximum benefits from the time and money that has been invested in the conduct of this program.

STUDY PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

A. COMMUNITY DESCRIPTION OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

I. Economic Factors

a. Per capita income white-Negro

b. Size and type of industries

c. Real estate values white-Negro

II. Social and political organization

a. Voting records white-Negro

b. Racial housing and employment patterns

c. Influential political and social organizations white-Negro

d. Leadership structure white-Negro

III. Community Cultural Facilities

a. Library and recreational facilities white-Negro

b. Influence of private educational institutions

IV. Description of interracial contact

a. Individual

b. Organizational

V. Effects on Community of School closing

a. Effects on education

1. Number of Negro students who attended school elsewhere - classification according to age, grade, sex and destination

2. Percentage of Negro and white students admitted to college before and after school closing

3. Description of private school in terms of physical facilities school day, curriculum changes

VI. Community Attitudes toward Education

Source of data on description of Prince Edward County Community

A survey of the Negro school population in Prince Edward County was conducted by a full time staff person who was located in the county from June 1960 to September 1960. The data from the questionaires, together with staff reports will be used for pertinent items in the outline.

This data will be supplemented from the following sources;

(1) Census tracts

(2) County economic and political statistics

(3) School records

(4) Reliable community informants

This phase of the research will be purely descriptive and any statistical analysis will be expressed in terms of percentages. The purpose of this material will be to establish the former community background of students in the project.

B. THE PUPILS WHO LEFT PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

I. Age, grade and sex distribution

II. Family background characteristics

III. Location after leaving Prince Edward County

IV. School attending, if any - location, segregated, unsegregated

V. Living with relatives, friends, etc. in new community

VI. Previous experience outside Prince Edward County

VII. Ambitions on leaving school

VIII. Leisure time activities

Source of Data: Items II, III, IV and V can be compiled from attached questionaire used in AFSC summer survey and AFSC files on school placement program. A recheck will be made on all families who indicated they would make school arrangements for this year for their children. In the case of high school students, request for transcripts to local office of the county school superintendent are also source of information.

Item II. The attached family background information sheet has been filled for all students in the Emergency Placement Program. Similar information will be secured for all students who secured schooling without AFSC assistance. This information will also be obtained from a random sample of families who have children of junior and senior high school age who have had no schooling since schools were closed.

Items VI, VII and VIII. This data was obtained on all students who participated in the AFSC Emergency Placement Project. Similar data will be obtained from the sample of families with children of school age who are not in school. This sample of parents and students will be used consistently for purposes of analysis throughout the study.

A comparable number of students who are attending school in other northern communities unassisted by AFSC will be located. The data on all of the above items will be obtained on these students.

The findings will be expressed in terms of percentages. Any significant patterns will be noted.

C. <u>EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES</u>

I. School adjustment

a. Academic adjustment

b. Social adjustment

c. Participation in special activities

II. Out of school activities

a. Special trips, civic activity, etc.

b. Interracial contact outside of school

c. Leisure time activities

Source and use of data:

Each sponsoring committee in communities where Prince Edward County students are placed has appointed a trained social worker to serve in a voluntary capacity as counselor to students located there. Community counselors and school counselors have agreed to cooperate in a periodic reporting system on the progress of each child in the areas suggested above. The attached form itemizes the type of infor-

mation to be secured. The same type of information will be secured for students located in other areas who are a part of the sample population. Comparisons will be made between the experiences of the two groups in the areas suggested above. The two groups who have found school placements will be compared with the control group in Prince Edward County in areas listed under item II.

D. EVALUATION OF EXPERIENCE

I. Areas of attitude change

a. Images of self

b. Images of peers

c. Images of teachers

d. Images of future

e. Images of whites

f. Images of heroes

g. Images of world affairs

II. Academic Progress

III. Personal and Social adjustment

Collection and Use of Data:

a. Structured interviews will be administered to each of the following groups at the beginning and at the end of the school year to determine differences in attitudes in each of the areas under item one.

1. Pupils in AFSC project

2. Selected sample who went to school without agency assistance

3. Pupils who remained in Prince Edward County

Before and after comparisons will be made between the responses of these three groups.

IV. Academic Progress

The California Reading Test Form W (copy attached) will be administered to each of the following groups at the beginning and end of the school year.

a. Pupils in AFSC project

b. Selected sample who went to school without agency assistance

c. Pupils who remained in Prince Edward County

V. The California Test of Personality will be administered to each of the following groups at the beginning and end of the school year.

a. Pupils in AFSC project

b. Selected sample who went to school without agency assistance

c. Control group in Prince Edward County

E. SPONSORING COMMITTEE

I. Racial population ratios

a. Percent of increase of Negro population in last 10 years

II. Schools

a. Number of integrated schools - high schools - elementary schools - total

III. Average percapita income white-Negro

IV. Major industries

V. Major cultural facilities

Private schools, museums, recreational centers, civic, music or little theatre groups. Are all facilities open to all racial groups?

VI. Major interracial organizations

VII. Outstanding examples of interracial cooperation or conflict in past five years

VIII. Racial housing and employment patterns

Collection and use of data:

The data for items I, III, IV, V and VIII can be secured from census reports and local chambers of commerce.

Data for item II can be obtained from local boards of education.

Data for items VI and VII can be obtained from reliable community informants.

This data will be used for descriptive purposes. Any significant comparisons such as percent of Negro population, number of interracial organizations, etc. will be noted.

F. SPONSORING COMMITTEES

I. Names, occupations and community interest of sponsoring committees.

II. Programs planned and conducted by sponsoring committees for students.

a. Fund raising campaigns

b. Cultural or recreational projects

Method of collection and use of data:

Information from the attached form will be tabulated and between community comparisons made.

G. HOST FAMILY PARTICIPATION

I. Personal characteristics

a. Occupation

b. Education

c. Major civic and cultural interest

d. Previous interracial activity

Collection and use of data:

Data will be tabulated from attached host family information blanks. A description of host family participation will be written.

H. SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

Source of Data
~~G Page 11~~
Item II, Page 7

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

EMERGENCY PLACEMENT PROGRAM FOR PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY, VIRGINIA CHILDREN

Family Background Fact Sheet

Name of Pupil _____

Prince Edward County Address _____

Birthdate _____

Name of Parents or guardians

Father _____ Mother _____

App. weekly income _____ App. Weekly income _____

Occupation of Parents

Father _____ Mother _____

Address of parents if other than pupils

Father _____

Mother _____

Marital status of parents Married _____ Separated _____

Divorced _____ Unmarried _____

Did child live with one parent _____ both parents _____ other relatives ____

non-relatives _____ specify _____

If child lives with other than natural parents specify reason if known _____

_____

If child has lived with other than natural parents specify dates _____

With whom was child living when placed in Prince Edward County Project _____

_____

Last school grade completed of parents or guardians

Elementary	High School	College	Graduate School
12345678	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

Name and address of person to be contacted in emergency _____

_____

Nearest telephone number _____

Name in which telephone is listed _____

Other people who share same dwelling with child

Adults name Relationship to pupil

Children name Relationship to pupil

Are other children in school _____ If AFSC project specify _____

Name School attending

Number of rooms in house _____
Owned _____ Approximate Value _____ Rented _____ Weekly Rent _____

Does dwelling have following facilities:

running water inside _____ outside _____

inside toilet _____

electricity _____ television _____ radio _____

Number of periodicals taken regularly Newspapers _____ Magazines _____

Do you think this family could contribute to financial support of child _____

Other comments _____

_____

September 1960

Source of Data
Items VI, VII, VIII
Page 7

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

EMERGENCY PLACEMENT PROGRAM FOR PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY, VIRGINIA CHILDREN

Form for Developing Profiles of Students
Interested in School Placement in Other Cities

Name _____ Birth date _____

Address _____

Birthplace _____

How long have you lived in Prince Edward County _____

Name and location (county or state) of any other community in which you've

lived _____

visited _____

Last school grade completed _____

Name and location of last school attended _____

What subjects do you make your highest marks in _____

Average mark _____

What subjects do you make your lowest marks in _____

Average mark _____

Do you plan to go to college? _____

What sort of job would you like when you finish school? _____

_____

How do you spend most of your spare time? _____

_____

What are some of the things you would like to do in your spare time if you had the opportunity? _____

_____

INFORMATION FROM PARENTS

Occupation _____

Approximate weekly income _____

If your child was placed in a school in another city, how much financial help could you give him:

Transportation to and from city Yes _____ No _____

Supply clothing needs during the year Yes _____ No _____

Provide lunch money and bus fare up to $50. _____ $100. _____

Pay tuition fees up to $100. _____ $200. _____ $300. _____

Please fill out in duplicate and send one copy to each of the following addresses:

National Office
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Penna.

American Friends Service Committee
421 Ely Street
Farmville, Virginia

Source of Data
G Page 11

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

EMERGENCY PLACEMENT PROGRAM FOR PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY, VIRGINIA CHILDREN

Host Family Record Sheet

Host Family: White _____ Negro _____

Name of Father _____ Occupation _____

Name of Mother _____ Occupation _____

Address _____

_____

Telephone _____

Names of other persons living in the home. (Please give relationship and indicate ages of children)

_____

_____

Will any of the children attend the same school as the guest student? _____

If so, which ones? _____

Will the student share a room? _____ If so, with whom? _____

What religious affiliation has the family? _____

Can you give any special details of the family and its interests? _____

_____

_____

_____

What financial responsibility can you assume?

Room and Board _____

Supplementary clothing needs _____

Lunch money and bus fare _____

Please fill out in duplicate and send one copy to each of the following addresses:

National Office
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

American Friends Service Committee
421 Ely Street
Farmville, Virginia

Source of Data
Items I and II
Page 8

COMMUNITY ACTIVITY RECORD

Information blank on Prince Edward County students to be filled in by community and school counselors.

Name_____Address_____

Name of school attended_____Elementary_____

Junior High_____Senior High School_____Total school enrollment_____

Negro enrollment_____Number of teachers_____White_____Negro_____Total_____

Type of course being pursued by the pupil: College preparatory_____General_____

Industrial Arts_____Commercial_____Other_____

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

Academic progress: Excellent_____Good_____Fair_____Poor_____Very Poor_____.

Social Adjustment: Excellent_____Good_____Fair_____Poor_____Very Poor_____.

Name any special activities the student has participated in: 1._____

2._____3._____4._____5._____

Number of conferences with school counselor_____Purpose of the conference:

1. Routine_____2. Attendance problem_____3. Financial problem_____

4. Health problem_____5. Host family problem_____

6. Adjustment problem with peers_____7. Academic adjustment problem_____

8. Disciplinary_____If disciplinary please state nature of the problem_____

_____

Conferences with community counselor: Routine_____Special problem (please specify nature of)

_____

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Special activities (Please state the number of times under each item):

Movies_____Museums_____Special programs (please describe)_____

Was this activity provided by the host family_____Sponsoring committee_____

Own initiative_____Other source (please specify)_____

Name of any activity in which the student regularly participates: Clubs_____

Church_____YM-YWCA_____Other_____

With whom does the student spend most of his spare time: Alone?_____with other members of the host family_____with other Prince Edward County students in the community_____with other peers in community_____

What are the students principle leisure time activities:

Reading_____Sports_____

Movies_____Listening to Music_____

Dating_____Other_____

How would you describe the relationship of the student with the host family:

Excellent_____Good_____Fair_____Poor_____Very poor_____

Participates in recreational activities with the family: Very often_____Often_____

Occasionally_____Seldom_____Never_____.

Shares household chores: Very often_____Often_____Occasionally_____

Seldom_____Never_____.

Communicates voluntarily with other family members:

Very often_____Often_____Occasionally_____

Seldom_____Almost never_____.

January 5, 1965

Mr. Clarence Coleman
Director
Southern Field Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Clarence:

Pursuant to your conversations with Paul and me, I am enclosing a draft of the publication we anticipate doing on "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs," within the next week of so. This publication is intended for use by community leadership. We would appreciate any suggestions that you might have before we put it into final form.

If you desire copies for distribution at your coming state meetings, please let us know in time so that we might order enough to supply your need. There will, however, be a small charge to cover printing costs.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

January 25, 1965

Mr. Carl Holman
Liaison and Information Officer
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of our pamphlet, Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, that I told you about when we talked on Saturday. We would appreciate any comments or suggestions, especially as to use and distribution.

If the Commission desires to order any of these, it will need to do so immediately.

Once again, I want to say thanks for your splendid hospitality while we were in Washington last week.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
(As stated above)

January 25, 1965

Mr. Clarence Coleman
Director
Southern Field Office
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Clarence:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of our pamphlet, Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs. Our supply is off the press, and we are wondering if you want use any of these for your coming meetings. If so, please let us know as spon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure
(As stated above)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

January 25, 1965

MEMO TO: BCC
FROM : VEJ
RE : Distribution of Federal Anti-Poverty Programs, pamphlet

Please wrap for mailing 500 copies of the pamphlet pn Federal Anti-Poverty Programs, to each of the State Councils on Human Relations., as listed below.

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Houston Council.

National Urban League, Inc.

Southern Regional Office
250 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • AREA CODE 404 – 688-8778

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Leonard Woodcock
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Clayton R. Yates
Dwight R. Zook

Arthur Q. Funn
Legal Counsel

January 28, 1965

Dear Vernon:

In our telephone conversation yesterday, I believe I clarified the number of copies of your pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs which you referred to in your letter addressed to Clarence Coleman dated January 25, 1965.

I feel confident that this document will add significantly to the interpretation of the Economic Opportunity Act, 1964 and would hope that you would find it possible to send a complimentary copy to each of our affiliates in the Southern Region with specifics as to cost, etc.

I am enclosing a list of the names and addresses of our local executive directors in this Region and hope that you will find it possible to provide them with a copy of this document.

Yours very truly,

K. B. M. Crooks, Jr.
Assistant Director

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

KBMC:jd

Find 60 copies
2/1/65
M.M.

Same letter sent to DR . Gilbert S. Porter, Mr. Joe L. Reed, Mr. E. B. Palmer, Mr. J. Rupert Picott, and W. E. Solomon

January 29, 1965

Mr. G. W. Brooks
Executive Secretary
Tennessee Education Congress
Burt High School
Clarksville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Brooks:

The enclosed pamphlet "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - Present and Pending," prepared by the Southern Regional Council has just been completed. This publication was done in consultation with Dr. H. E. Tate, Executive Secretary of the Georgia Teachers Education, and Mr. Jesse O. Thomas of the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities.

The pamphlet is designed for local community leaders. As you are well aware, first-hand information on federal programs is oftentimes unavailable to local Negro leadership prior to the implementation of such programs. Urban renewal programs in many communities provide a case in point. We want very much to get this information to the local leadership throughout the South. We solicit your help.

The Georgia Teachers Education Association in cooperation with the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities has distributed the "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs" pamphlet throughout the state to principals, supervisors, curriculum directors and key community leaders. The information has been well received and proven very useful.

If your organization is interested in distributing this pamphlet, the Council is prepared to furnish, upon order, as many copies as you desire at a cost price of five cents each.

May we hear from you at your earliest possible convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

February 1, 1965

Attorney Isabel Webster
9½ Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Isabel:

As promised via telephone today, please find enclosed five (5) copies of the Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs.

Good luck on your speech to the Women's Auxiliary and thanks so much for the names you suggested today.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw
Enclosures - 5.

February 3, 1965

Mr. Sargent Shriver
Director
Executive Office of the President
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Shriver:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs - Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions that you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 3, 1965

Mr. Jack T. Conway
Director
Community Action Program
Executive Office of the President
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Conway:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated/

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 3, 1965

Mr. John Harris
Urban Projects Director
Executive Office of the President
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Harris:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 3, 1965

Mr. T. E. Patterson
Executive Secretary
Arkansas Teachers Association
724 Ringo Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Patterson:

It was a pleasure to meet you last weekend at the Tenth Anniversary meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I hope our paths will cross at some future time.

I am enclosing our pamphlet Federal Anti-Poverty Programs, Present and Pending, that I mentioned to you during the luncheon on Saturday. If you think you can make use of this information in your up-coming leadership meeting, we would be more than happy to forward them to you. As I mentioned, we are asking a nominal cost of five cents per copy. May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

February 3, 1965

Mr. J. R. Henderson
Southeast Division, ARA
305 Rona Allen Building
135 Lackie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jake:

Attached is a copy of Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We have printed 11,000 of these, and they are being distributed throughout the South.

Many thanks for your help in preparing this pamphlet. I trust it will drum up some business for you--but, I hope, no headaches.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm
Enclosure

February 3, 1965

Mr. William S. Harris
Field Director, USDL, OMAT
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Harris:

Attached is a copy of Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We have printed 11,000 of these, and they are being distributed throughout the South.

Many thanks for your help in preparing this pamphlet. I trust it will drum up some business for you--but, I hope, no headaches.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm
Enclosure

February 4, 1965

Mr. Tilman Cothran
Associate Director
Agency Resources
Atlanta-Fulton County Economic
Opportunity Authority
101 Marietta Street - Rm. 610
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Cothran:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 4, 1965

Mr. Duane W. Beck
Executive Director
Community Council, of
The Atlanta Area, Inc.
Palmer Building - Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Beck:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 4, 1965

Mr. Charles O. Emerich
Executive Director
Atlanta-Fulton County Economic
Opportunity Authority
101 Marietta Street Building
Room 610
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Emerich:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 4, 1965

Mr. Lucius E. Teasley
State Coordinator
Office of Economic Opportunity
Room 326
Agriculture Building
19 Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Teasley:

Enclosed is a recent SRC pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are forwarding this pamphlet to you as an example of our effort to disseminate, throughout the South, pertinent information regarding federal poverty programs, and we thought you might be interested in seeing this publication.

We are making this pamphlet available to community groups, key leaders, and human relations organizations throughout the South. Any comments and/or suggestions you may have, relative to a wider distribution of this information, would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

February 4, 1965

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary
Southeast Regional Office
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
859½ Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ruby:

Enclosed is our just-published pamphlet entitled Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We have prepared this information for distribution to community leaders throughout the South. Many such persons have found this to be extremely useful information. We have not however, made any wide distribution through NAACP branches.

Inasmuch as the Southeast Regional Conference is not far off, I thought you might like to include this information in the conference packages; especially in view of the fact that you will have south-wide representation. If you are interested, please let us know as soon as possible the number of copies you will need, and we will forward them to you immediately.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

Date February 5, 1965

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Mr. Gilbert L. Porter
Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association, Inc.
P. O. Box 2215
Tallahassee, Florida

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Date Shipped 2/5/65

Quan.	Title	Price
250	Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending	@ .05

Total amount due-------- $12.50

Thank you!

hWD
Fyi
PAL
LE
VJ

February 5, 1965

Mr. Gilbert L. Porter
Executive Secretary
Florida State Teachers Association, Inc.
P. O. Box 2215
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Porter:

In response to your letter of February 4, we are forwarding to you, under separate cover, 250 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We appreciate very much your response and we shall look forward to cooperating with you in other programs of mutual concern.

Our invoice is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ... GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 5, 1965

To: BCC

From: VEJ

Subject: Distribution of Anti-Poverty Pamphlet

Bernice, please forward to Mr. Porter of Florida State Teachers Assn, 250 copies of the Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - Present and Pending, pamphlet.

Labels attached accordingly. Thank you

LWD

FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

P. O. BOX 2215 • TELEPHONE 224-6157 • TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32304

February 4, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Please send 250 copies of the pamphlet, "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - Present and Pending".

Bill us for same.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert L. Porter

Gilbert L. Porter
Executive Secretary

GLP/vi

February 5, 1965

Mr. Lewis Carter, III
Executive Director
Jacksonville Urban League
109 E. Union Street - Room 1
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Carter:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the Director

VEJ:mm
Enclosure

February 5, 1965

The Rev. J. A. McDaniel
Executive Director
Memphis Urban League
546 Beale Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the Director

VEJ:mm
Enclosure

February 5, 1965

Mr. J. Harvey Kerns
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Kerns:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:mm
Enclosure

February 5, 1965

Mrs. Janet J. Bullard
Executive Director
Richmond Urban League
112 E. Clay Street - Suite 208
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Bullard:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggesiton of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:mm
Enclosure

February 5, 1965

Mr. Marion M. Taylor
Executive Director
Tulsa Urban League
107-1/2 North Greenwood Avenue
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:mm
Enclosure

February 5, 1965

Mr. Sam D. Harvey
Executive Director
Winston-Salem Urban League
610 Coliseum Drive
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Mr. Harvey:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:mm
Enclosure

February 5, 1965

Mr. Harold N. Arnold
Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Arnold:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet "Federal Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

VEJ/rh
Enclosure

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

February 5, 1965

Mr. George I. Henry
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater Little Rock
914 S. Gaines Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Gaines:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet "Federal Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

VEJ/rh
Enclosure

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

February 5, 1965

Mr. T. Willard Fair
Executive Director
Greater Miami Urban League
395 First Street, N. W.
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Fair:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet "Federal Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

VEJ/rh
Enclosure

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

February 5, 1965

Mr. Herbert L. Tyson
Executive Director
Oklahoma City Urban League
215 North Walnut
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Tyson:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet "Federal Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

VEJ/rh
Enclosure

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

February 5, 1965

Mr. Arthur D. Allen
Executive Director
Tampa Urban League
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Allen:

Enclosed is a copy of our pamphlet "Federal Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

VEJ/rh
Enclosure

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

INVOICE

February 10,1965

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Executive Director
Memphis Urban League, Inc.
546 Beale Street
Memphis 5, Tennessee

Fyi

LWD
PAV
LFL
VS

2/10/65

500 Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending.

@.05

$25.00

Thank you!

February 10, 1965

Mr. J. A. McDaniel
Executive Director
Memphis Urban League, Inc.
546 Beale Avenue
Memphis 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McDaniel:

In response to your letter of February 8, we are forwarding to you, under separate cover, 500 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We appreciate very much your response and we shall look forward to cooperating with you in other programs of mutual concern.

Our invoice is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

February 10, 1965

TO : BCC
FROM: VEJ
Re : Distribution of Anti-Poverty Pamphlet

Please wrap for mailing, today, 500 copies of the Anti-Poverty pamphlet. Labels attached accordingly.

40. Mr J. A. McDaniel

LWDV
PA

MEMPHIS URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

For Social Service Among Negroes

JACKSON 6-2088 • 546 BEALE AVENUE

Memphis 5, Tennessee

J. A. MCDANIEL, *Executive Director*

•

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B. T. LEWIS, JR.
Treasurer

February 8, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Please send 500 additional copies of your phamphlet on Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending; send bill for same.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. McDaniel/vef

J. A. McDaniel,
Executive Director

JAM:vef

Date 2/15/65

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Mr. W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary
Palmetto Education Association, Inc.
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Date Shipped 2/15/65

Quan.	Title	Price
1000	Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending.	@.05

Received Payment
$50
2-23-65
M.M.

Total amount due--------$ 50.00

Thank you

February 15, 1965

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary
Palmetto Education Association, Inc.
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Mr. Solomon:

In compliance with your letter of February 12, requesting 1000 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending, we are forwarding same under separate cover. We appreciate very much your response and we shall look forward to cooperating with you in other programs of mutual concern.

Our invoice is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 15, 1965

MEMO TO: BCC
FROM : VEJ

Please wrap for mailing, today, 1000 copies of the pamphlet, Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present, and Pending, and mail to Mr. W. E. Solomon, in accordance with the attached labels.

LE✓ LWD✓ PJ✓

Palmetto Education Association, Inc.

Office of the Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia, S. C. 29201
Telephone: ALpine 2-9383

Clarence E. Watkins, President
1709 Campbell Street
Camden, S. C.

February 12, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Please send me 1,000 copies of the pamphlet, "Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - Present and Pending."

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon
Executive Secretary

WES:sgb

Date 2/23/65

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

- -

TO:

Mr. Joe L. Reed
Executive Secretary
Alabama State Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Date Shipped 2/23/65

Quan.	Title	Price
5,000	Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs Present and Pending.	.02@

Total amount due------ $100.00

Received 3-16-64

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 23, 1965

MEMO TO: BCC

FROM : VEJ

Please wrap for mailing, today, 5,000 copies of Federal "AntipPoverty" Programs, Present and Pending, to Mr. Jo. L. Reed, labels attached.

Also, wrap for mailing today, to Mr. J. Harvey Kerns, 100 copies of same pamphlet, labels also attached. Thanks

February 22, 1965

Mr. Joe L. Reed
Executive Secretary
Alabama State Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Reed:

In response to your letter of February 18, be assured that we understand budgetary matters. Such being the case, as per your request, we will make available to you 5,000 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs Present and Pending at two cents per copy.

By now you should have received 1,000 copies. The additional 4,000 will be forthcoming within the week.

We appreciate very much your participation in the distribution of this pamphlet. We look forward to cooperating with you at some future time in other programs of mutual interest.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw

Copies mailed under separate cover.

PRESIDENT
S. J. WHISENHUNT
31 Claxton Avenue
Anniston, Alabama

VICE PRESIDENT
ANTHONY S. BUTLER
P.O. Box 177
Lisman, Alabama

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JOE L. REED
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

RESEARCH SECRETARY
CHARLES A. BROWN
Brighton High School
Brighton, Alabama

TREASURER
R. A. STEWART
P.O. Box 870
Sheffield, Alabama

LWD - How can I refuse? - I didn't!!!

Alabama State Teachers Association

Founded in 1882

SERVICE — LEADERSHIP — PROFESSIONAL GROWTH

853 THURMAN STREET TELEPHONE 263-7998

Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Office of Executive Secretary

February 18, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

This letter comes as a follow up of our conversation on February 15 regarding the pamphlets on the War on Poverty.

After checking our budget for this year, I have discovered that we will be unable to purchase the booklets at five cents per copy. Our budget will not allow us to exceed two cents per copy. Our plan calls for distributing 5,000 to members in attendance at our convention, as this is the only time possible for us to reach the mass of our constituents.

If you find it practical and possible to work within our price outlined above, please forward us 5,000 copies at your earliest convenience. We will need that amount to pack in our convention kits.

Hoping you have an understanding of our situation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Joe L. Reed

Joe L. Reed
Executive Secretary

JLR:mr

2¢ copy 5000

February 16, 1965

Mr. Joe L. Reed
Executive Secretary
Alabama State Teachers Association
853 Thurman Street
Montgomery , Alabama 36104

Dear Mr. Reed:

In response to your letter of February 11, we are forwarding to you, under separate cover, 1000 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We appreciate very much your response, and shall look forward to cooperating with you in other programs of mutual concern.

Our very best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 16, 1965

MEMO TO: BCC

FROM : VEJ

Please wrap for mailing, today, 1000 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. Labels attached accordingly, for Mr. Joe L. Reed Montgomery, Alabama.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

PRESIDENT
S. J. WHISENHUNT
931 Claxton Avenue
Anniston, Alabama

VICE PRESIDENT
ANTHONY S. BUTLER
P.O. Box 177
Lisman, Alabama

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
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853 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama

RESEARCH SECRETARY
CHARLES A. BROWN
Brighton High School
Brighton, Alabama

TREASURER
R. A. STEWART
P.O. Box 870
Sheffield, Alabama

Alabama State Teachers Association

Founded in 1882

SERVICE — LEADERSHIP — PROFESSIONAL GROWTH

853 THURMAN STREET
TELEPHONE 263-7998
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Office of Executive Secretary

February 11, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of January 29 regarding the Federal Anti-Poverty Program.

In the next six weeks our Association will host three state-wide meetings. We are interested in a price on this brochure for 5,000 copies

Please let us hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Joe L. Reed
Executive Secretary

JLR:mr

Joe 1000 more

Date 2/23/65

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO:

Mr. J. Harvey Kerns
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70116

* * * * * * * * * * * *

Date Shipped 2/23/65

Quan.	Title	Price
100	Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs Present and Pending.	.05@

Total amount due------ $5.00

Thank you

February 23, 1965

Mr. J. Harvey Kerns
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New Orleans
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70116

Dear Mr. Kerns:

In response to your letter of February 17, we are forwarding to you, under separate cover, 100 copies of the pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We appreciate very much your response, and shall look forward to cooperating with you in other programs of mutual concern. Our invoice is enclosed.

With very best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

LWD

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER NEW ORLEANS

Affiliated with the National Urban League

1821 ORLEANS AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70116

PHONES: 947-5504
947-5505

Interracial Planning for:

SOCIAL WELFARE
EMPLOYMENT
EDUCATION
HEALTH
HOUSING
RECREATION

J. HARVEY KERNS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 17, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

We were pleased to receive a copy of your pamphlet, Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We feel it would be quite useful in our programs; we are, therefore, requesting that you send 100 copies of same at a cost of five cents each at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

J. Harvey Kerns

J. Harvey Kerns
Executive Director

JHK/d

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file

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities

P. O. Box 4844

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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December 5th, 1965.

Mr. Vernon E. Jordon,
Assistant to The Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,
5 FORSYTH STREET N. W.
Atlanta 3, GEORGIA.

Dear Mr. Jordon:

This will acknowledge with sincere appreciation receipt of the two copies of the Digest of the War on Poverty Program.

Both Dr. Tate and I want to thank you and your associates for the excellent job you have done in conscending this material so that the average laymen can understand it.

We are submiting herewith some suggestions which (we) would like to have evaluated. If you and your associates feel that these five "guide lines" might give each indivual citizen a handle that he or she might catch hold of, you might consider adding it at the end of the "CHAPTER".

In this same connection, we should like to you add an additional thousand to the number you plan to have printed for your Council.

Thanking you in anticipation for whatever consideration you may decide that these suggestions merit,

I am sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas.

JOT:T.

The Responsibilities of A Private Citizen

1. To thoroughly familiarize himself with how a local community through public and private agencies might take advantage of provisions of the Federal Anti-Poverty Programs - present and pending.

2. To approach and contact appropriate officials and officers of existing agencies in the community for the purpose of informing them of the resources made available to local communities and channelize this information through both private and public agencies.

3. A private citizen living in a community where there is not now in existence either a private or public agency through which these benefits may be made available to the local citizens, should assume the responsibility of initiating an effort to have a private or public agency organized.

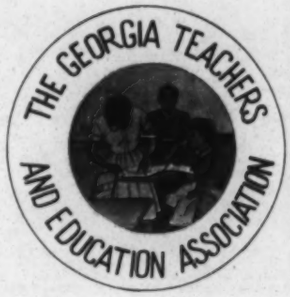
4. Should seek the cooperation of school officials, parents teachers associations, fraternal organizations, religious, civic and social organizations for the purpose of securing the involvement of the total community in sensitizing and publicizing this information.

5. In consultation with other public-spirited citizens, secure appointments of qualified persons at the policy-making and administrative levels as well as employment in other professional categories including skilled and semi-skilled jobs and positions.

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

201 Ashby Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314
JAckson 2-7512

H. E. Tate, *Executive Secretary*



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Harry S. King
Earl H. Thurmond

January 5, 1965

Attorney Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a photostatic copy of the information which you requested.

With kindest personal and professional regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. E. Tate

H. E. Tate
Executive Secretary

HET:rm
Enclosure

"INVEST IN A CHILD AND MAKE A MAN"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FEDERAL "ANTI-POVERTY" PROGRAMS

Present and Pending

THE FEDERAL PROGRAM for the rehabilitation of communities and their citizens is to be based on four statutes:

1. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-452). Purpose: To provide youth programs and community action programs — education, training, and work for young people, and help for urban and rural communities in mobilizing their own resources to combat poverty.
2. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-415; amended by Public Law 88-214). Purpose: The training and retraining of unemployed workers who have the ability to learn skills needed in their labor market area.
3. The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-27). Purpose: To assist localities in establishing new industries and in expanding existing industries through long-term, low interest loans.
4. The pending Appalachia bill. This legislation was not passed by the 88th Congress, but the Administration is assigning high priority to the Appalachia redevelopment program in the 89th Congress. Passage of an Appalachia bill would provide a special program for the economic rehabilitation of a depressed area comprising parts of eleven states, stretching from Pennsylvania to Alabama.

THESE SPECIFICALLY ANTI-POVERTY MEASURES will be supplemented, of course, by existing Federal, State, and Local programs; for example, such Federal programs as those of the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

JOINT FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL PROGRAMS:

* The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), an Executive agency headed by a director reporting directly to the President, will have overall administrative responsibility for programs under the Economic Opportunity Act.
* However, participation at the local level in planning and operating the projects will be encouraged in all programs, required in most.
* Each governor will have 30 days in which to veto proposed Youth Programs and Community Action Programs in his state.
* Governor, by not acting within 30 days, may permit a project to begin.
* Governor may expedite project by giving his approval before the 30 day period is over.

YOUTH PROGRAMS:

** The Job Corps:

* Will enroll, in 1965 and 1966, up to 140,000 young men and women, ages 16 to 22, for up to two years service in conservation camps and training centers.
* Camps and centers will emphasize basic education, skill training, and work experience.
* Job Corpsmen will be recruited through U. S. Employment Service offices, schools, churches, settlement houses, public and private welfare agencies, boys' clubs, selective service boards.
* Corpsmen will receive room, board, and travel allowances while in the Corps.
* Upon completion of their terms, they will be paid $50 for each month of satisfactory service.
* OR, Corpsmen may contribute to their dependents $25 per month (to which Government will add another $25), and receive $25 for each month of satisfactory service when separated from the Job Corps.

** The Neighborhood Youth Corps:

* A work training program for unemployed young men and women, ages 16 to 22, in public service projects such as at parks, playgrounds, hospitals, and libraries.
* Examples of work training include nurses', librarians', and teachers' aides; nursery school and playground attendants; hospital orderlies; assistant dietitians; mechanics' helpers; landscape assistants.

* Projects will be developed by state and local governments, and by private, non-profit service and welfare organizations.
* The agency developing the work training project will be responsible for recruiting the young people to work in it.
* Up to 200,000 young people will be enrolled in NYC each year.
* Enrollees will work and live in their own communities.
* They will be paid wages based on local rates for beginners in similar work.
* They will be encouraged to continue or resume their schooling.

** Work Study Programs:

* Will operate through, and be administered by, colleges and universities.
* Will provide on-campus and off-campus part-time work for deserving students selected by participating schools.

URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS:

* Locally planned, locally administered direct attacks on any poverty-promoting community problem.
* Will require comprehensive community action plans, developed by local community action organizations which may be formed by government agencies, private non-profit agencies such as volunteer or civic groups, or a combination of public and private agencies.
* Will emphasize programs designed to produce "a permanent increase in the ability of persons to deal with their problems without further aid."
* Examples of such programs include job-training, counseling, vocational rehabilitation, remedial education, home management, health improvement, family planning.
* Federal government will bear up to 90% of the cost during the first two years, 50% thereafter.
* Communities' contributions may be in cash, facilities, and services.
* Participants in the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Work Study programs will be available for work on community action projects.

OTHER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT PROGRAMS:

** Grants and Loans to Combat Rural Poverty:

* Will aid low-income rural families and migrant workers.
* Will loan up to $2,500 to such families, payable within 15 years, for certain home and farm improvements, if they cannot obtain funds elsewhere.
* Will provide similar loans for local marketing and purchasing cooperatives.

** Voluntary Assistance Programs for Needy Children:

* Federal government will locate needy children, supply their names to persons who volunteer to give them financial help.

* No direct federal financial assistance to the children under this program.

** Adult Basic Education Programs:

* For persons with six years or less of schooling.

* Will teach adults basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, helping them to find and to keep jobs.

* Will be conducted at local level, under guidance of state Department of Education.

* Federal government will pay 90% of cost during first two years, 50% thereafter.

** Volunteers in Service to America -- VISTA:

* A "domestic Peace Corps" whose purpose will be to improve the health, education, and welfare needs of the poor in the United States and its territories.

* Will place special emphasis on aiding the mentally ill and the mentally retarded.

* Volunteers will receive allowances for living, housing, and travel expenses, and pay not to exceed $50 monthly.

For information on programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, write or call:

Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Job Corps
Washington, D. C.

Neighborhood Youth Corps
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

For advice and consultation on community action programs, write or call these state officials:

Alabama:

Claude Kirk
Department of Industrial Relations
Industrial Relations Bldg.
Montgomery, Alabama

Arkansas:

Ted J. Morley
Executive Director
Arkansas State Planning Office
Little Rock, Arkansas

Florida:

Sam Hand
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Georgia:

Mrs. Bruce Shaefer
Technical Advisory Committee
State House
Atlanta, Georgia

Kentucky:

Felix Joyner
Commissioner of Finance
Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Louisiana:

Champ Baker
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mississippi:

Gene A. Triggs
Mississippi Agriculture and Industry Board
Wolfolk State Office Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

North Carolina:

James White
Office of the Governor
State House
Raleigh, North Carolina

Oklahoma:

H. Dale Cook
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

South Carolina:

Edwin Culpepper
State Auditor's Office
Wade Hampton Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Tennessee:

John A. Dyer
Office of the Governor
Capitol Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Texas:

Larry Temple
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Austin, Texas

Virginia:

Robert Kirby
Office of the Governor
State House
Richmond, Virginia

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT--MDTA

The Office of Manpower, Automation and Training--OMAT:

* An agency of the Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.
* Plans and evaluates training programs; programs are administered by state employment service offices and state departments of vocational education.

MDTA training and retraining programs:

* Are conducted only for skills which are in demand within the labor market area.
* Vary in length according to the skill being taught; maximum length is 72 weeks, or 52 weeks if no basic education is included in the trainees' programs.
* Are conducted at no cost to the trainees.
* Include on-the-job training, operating through the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training with the cooperation of employers and labor unions.

To receive MDTA training:

* A person must be unemployed.
* OR, he may be working less than full time in a skill that is becoming, or will become, obsolete.
* OR, he may be working below his skill capacity, that is, a job lower than his potential skills would qualify him for, if trained.
* OR, he may be a member of a farm family with less than $1200 annual net family income.
* OR, he may be over 16 years old but not yet 22 and in need of further schooling or occupational training.

Prospective trainees qualify for MDTA programs by:

* First, visiting their local State Employment Service Office.
* Next, being interviewed, tested, and counseled by the local SES to determine interest in, and suitability and aptitude for, job training.

Persons selected for MDTA training:

* Will be assigned to a specific training course.
* Will be expected to maintain satisfactory attendance, and to make satisfactory progress, in the course being taken.
* Will be assisted in finding jobs by the State Employment Service office upon completion of their course.

Trainees are eligible for training allowances:

* If they are the head of a household, and have at least two years experience in gainful employment.

* OR, if they are between 17 and 22 and are enrolled in a specialized youth training program.
* If they are employed while in training, they may receive a reduced allowance.
* AND, if training facility is not within commuting distance of their residences, they may also receive subsistence and transportation allowances.

For further information write or call:

* Local, or nearest, Employment and Claims Office, State Employment Service

* OR, OMAT regional field directors:

1) Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
   Atlanta, Georgia

2) District of Columbia, North Carolina, Virginia:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Vanguard Building
   1111 Twentieth Street, N. W.
   Washington, D. C.

3) Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Commerce Building
   1416 Commerce Street
   Dallas, Texas

4) Kentucky:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Engineers Building
   1365 Ontario Street
   Cleveland, Ohio

* OR, write or call:

  Deputy Assistant Director
  Manpower, Automation, and Training
  Department of Labor
  Washington, D. C.

  Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
  Department of Labor
  Washington, D. C.

THE AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

The Area Redevelopment Administration---ARA:

* An agency of the U. S. Department of Commerce.
* Makes long-term, low interest loans to properly organized community groups establishing or expanding industry.
* Makes grants to communities for up to half the cost of building public facilities needed to attract and to aid new industries. Examples are roads, railroad spurs, dams, reservoirs, waterworks, sewerage systems, navigation channels, libraries.
* Retrains jobless workers and provides them with subsistence allowances during their training.
* Gives technical assistance to communities, helping them to survey, catalog, and assess the potential of their resources.
* Authority expires June 30, 1965, unless renewed by Congress.

To qualify for ARA aid:

* An URBAN area must have high unemployment--a current unemployment rate of 6% or more; OR, an annual average unemployment rate of 50% greater than the national average rate in three of the preceding four years; OR, 75% greater than the national average in two of the previous three years; OR, double the national rate during the preceding calendar year.
* A RURAL area must be one of low income and/or high unemployment--an area where farm-family incomes average $1170 or less annually; OR, where all family incomes average $1500 or less annually; OR, an area with a labor force of 15,000 or fewer where there has been persistent unemployment; OR, an area of "low production farming."

To receive ARA aid:

* A community must have been designated by the ARA as a "redevelopment area"--i.e., as meeting the above qualifications.
* A community must organize a local redevelopment committee, broadly representative of local groups such as commerce, industry, agriculture, labor, education, local government, and ethnic groups.
* An Overall Economic Development Program--OEDP--must be drawn up, and submitted to ARA for approval and financial aid.

The OEDP:

* Describes the community redevelopment organization.
* Details and assesses the community's existing resources and facilities.
* Outlines the plans for improving the community's economy.

* Explains why ARA aid is necessary; that is, why the community cannot accomplish the proposed plan without ARA assistance.

ARA Loans:

* Can finance as much as 65% of the total cost of an ARA approved project.
* Require, in addition, a minimum of 10% investment from public sources and a minimum of 5% from private sources.
* Commercial and industrial loans carry an annual interest rate of 4% and can run as long as 25 years.
* Public facility improvement loans are made at 3½% annually for up to 40 years.

ARA job retraining programs:

* Are intended to attract new industry to labor surplus areas by providing a supply of skilled workers.
* Have included training for semiskilled factory workers, office workers, nurses aides, farm and construction equipment operators and maintenance men.
* Are similar to programs offered under the Manpower Development and Training Act (see page 6); maximum training period is 16 weeks.

For further information, write or call:

1) Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations, Southeast Division
   Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

2) Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations, Appalachian Division
   Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

3) Texas and Oklahoma:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations
   Southwest Division
   Department of Commerce
   Washington, D. C.

For special assistance to minority groups on economic development problems in the Southeast Division, write or call:

Field Coordinator
Southeast Division
Area Redevelopment Administration
305 Bona Allen Building
135 Luckie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

SOME OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Rural Areas Development Programs -- RAD:

* Administered by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
* Programs are "concerned with the total economic development of the rural community"; for example, industrial development, community facilities, conservation, and recreation.
* Programs are designed and carried out at the local level by county RAD committees composed of local businessmen and farmers, assisted by the local county agent and the Department of Agriculture.

For information write or call local county agent, OR:

Director, Rural Areas Development
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210):

* Dollar-for-dollar matching grants to states to improve their non-professional vocational education programs.

For information write or call:

Division of Vocational and Technical Education
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

The Food Stamp Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-525):

* Distributes food coupons to needy families through state welfare agencies.
* Participants can exchange coupons at most grocery stores for any food for human consumption except alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and certain imported foods.

For information write or call:

Director, Food Distribution Division
Agricultural Marketing Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PRIVATE AGENCIES AND CITIZENS

For political as well as practical reasons, provisions requiring LOCAL INITIATIVE, LOCAL ACTION, AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION of "anti-poverty" programs were written into the laws.

This creates many community-service opportunities for private agencies in the welfare, health, housing, education, and employment fields, as well as for public-spirited private citizens. The first responsibility of every private agency and every concerned citizen is to be a source of information and publicity for the anti-poverty campaign. Agencies and individuals should learn about the various programs, should function as ready sources of general information to anyone who might inquire about "the war on poverty," should study all programs carefully to determine which ones are applicable to their own communities, and should know whom to approach for complete information. In short, they ought to serve as go-betweens for persons or groups who might give help and persons or groups who might need such help.

Civic, fraternal, and even religious organizations, if they are non-partisan and (in most cases)non-profit, are eligible for initiating and participating in most anti-poverty projects. The Office of Economic Opportunity, for example, requires only that the agency be "broadly representative of the interests of the community" and that the project be non-discriminatory as to race, color and religion.

The Economic Opportunity Act invites private agencies to participate in Community Action programs. Such agencies, either singly or in cooperation with other interested persons and groups, can receive federal help in developing remedial education classes, after-school tutoring and study centers, programs for pre-school children, rehabilitation programs for the mentally and physically handicapped, and even in setting up new industries to provide jobs for the unemployed. Private agencies can be especially helpful in assembling the income, unemployment, education level, drop-out, migrant family, health, housing, and other community data which must be gathered before any anti-poverty program can be developed or approved.

The county Rural Areas Development committees are good examples of local initiative groups. Any existing local private agency, or any group of community-minded citizens, with the cooperation of the County Agent, can establish a local RAD committee where none exists. (Most counties already have them.) Local private agencies should try to work with existing RAD committees in the interests of those whom the agencies represent.

Area Redevelopment Administration programs require local initiative and local community action. Any private, non-partisan organization is potentially the agency through which the community

redevelopment program can be initiated and carried out. If the program sets up a new industry, or expands an existing one, these may be operated for private profit. Although there are no provisions in the Act requiring equal employment opportunities in industries set up with ARA funds, such industries will be covered by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, either initially or eventually, if they employ as many as 25 persons.

The concerned individual can be invaluable, not only in his own efforts, but in stimulating group action. The private citizen, living in a community where there is not now in existence either a private or public agency qualified to receive anti-poverty aid which may be provided to communities, can initiate an effort to have the necessary agency organized. He can approach local government officials and inform them of the aid available under anti-poverty programs, and work with them to secure such benefits for the community.

Working through existing agencies--and every community has some--he can seek the cooperation of school officials, parent-teacher associations, and religious, fraternal, civic, and social organizations, in order to secure the involvement of the total citizenry in planning and accomplishing community improvement projects. Together with other public-spirited individuals, the private citizens can secure appointments, at the policy-making and administrative levels, of qualified persons who represent all elements of the community. Further, he can monitor the actual performance of federally aided community improvement projects, seeking to assure that all elements of his community are properly benefited.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia
1965

LOCAL AFFILIATES AND BOARD PRESIDENTS

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Harold N. Arnold, Executive Dir.
J. B. Blayton, Sr., President
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Urban League of Greater Little Rock
914 S. Gaines Street
George I. Henry, Executive Dir.
Dr. Joseph A. Horton, President
Little Rock, Arkansas

Greater Miami Urban League
395 First Street, N. W.
T. Willard Fair, Executive Dir.
Lt. Col. Claude Clark, President
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Herbert L. Tyson, Executive Dir
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109 E. Union Street - Room 1
Lewis Carter, III, Executive Dir.
Dr. W. W. Schell, President
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546 Beale Avenue
Rev. J. A. McDaniel, Executive Dir.
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112 E. Clay Street - Suite 208
Mrs. Janet J. Bullard, Executive Dir.
J. Jay Hickens, Jr President
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107½ North Greenwood Avenue
Marion M. Taylor, Executive Dir.
Leon Davis, President
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Winston-Salem Urban League
610 Coliseum Drive
Sam D. Harvey, Executive Director
Mrs. Hazel B. Scott, President
Winston-Salem, N. C.

DRAFT

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS,

~~We are~~ Enclos~~ing~~ed is a copy of our pamphlet "Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending. We are sending this pamphlet to you at the suggestion of the Southern Regional Office of the National Urban League, with some thought that you might, in your local programs, make use of this information.

If you would like additional copies we can furnish them to you at a cost of five cents each. We need to hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours, VEJ/nm
Enclosure

O.K.
B.M.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. 30303
2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMO TO: BCC

FROM : VEJ

Please send to Kenneth Crooks of the National Urban League, Auburn Avenue, 60 copies of the Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Pendent and Pending, pamphlet.

Label attached.

May 3, 1960

Mr. John Walker
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear John:

Many thanks for the clips about Pine Bluff. It is always a grand thing when the state groups think to send us interesting items from the local papers. I am returning the clips. We have made thermafax copies of all of them except the wire dispatches about Houston and San Antonio, which we already have.

Please give my best regard to Nat.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: newsclips

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

May 30, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Constable:

According to our records ACHR renewed your subscription to the Arkansas Gazette on November 30, 1960, for a 6 months period.

The mail subscription manager at the Gazette tells me she has no record of the year's renewal referred to in your letter of May 25. She does have a record of the $14.20 sent by us on November 30 for the 6 months renewal.

Mrs. Club has agreed to hold off on the expiration of this subscription until we have checked with you. Could you be receiving two copies of the Gazette?

Sincerely,

Ruth Arnold
Ruth Arnold

RA:a

Renewed Dec 1959
1 year
MA

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. ~~[illegible]~~ Ruth Arnold, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

July 22, 1960

The Rev. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Many thanks for your letter and we shall be letting you know regarding the need for reprinting of the Dabbs leaflet. In the meantime, just to prevent any possibility of a slip, does your statement, "we can fill the order," mean that you have filled the order?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

A CONSERVATION PARTNERSHIP

how to use the AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM

PA 454 U. S. Department of Agriculture
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

Revised August 1965

Conservation problems exist on nearly two-thirds of the Nation's cropland, almost three-quarters of the grazing land, and over half of the farm forest or wooded land.

Almost every farm and ranch needs some form of agricultural conservation.

Such conservation work on private land can be done only by the owners and operators who use the land. However, the land treatment measures often cost more than a prudent farmer or rancher can afford to invest from his own resources, considering the many expenses he bears in relation to his income.

CONSERVATION AND THE ACP

Conservation farming is more than "just good farming." It includes protection and benefits for the public, as well as for the farmer, in both the short-run and long-range future.

The Agricultural Conservation Program is an arrangement by which the public joins with farmers and ranchers to share the cost of needed conservation measures that protect, improve and renew soil, water, woodland and wildlife resources on private land.

Over two million different farmers and ranchers use ACP regularly to help solve their conservation problems. Effective use of the ACP helps insure that needed conservation work will be done adequately and in time.

ACP IN YOUR COUNTY

The ACP in your county is run by your Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) County Committee. This committee is composed of three local farmers or ranchers and the County Extension Agent. ASC community committeemen, also farmers, assist their neighbors and the county committee.

ACP funds are limited. Decisions as to the best use of available funds are made by your county committee. This committee has been elected by you and your neighbors to make fair and just decisions. Requests for cost-sharing are considered on their merits.

FACTS ABOUT THE ACP

PRACTICES SELECTED FOR LOCAL PROGRAM

ACP is designed to help farmers and ranchers establish a system of conservation use and management of their land resources. Practices are included to promote soil, water, woodland and wildlife conservation measures to meet local conservation problems.

Provision is made to include practices of special or local importance, and to introduce and encourage the use of new and good conservation practices.

ARE THERE LIMITATIONS?

There is no limit on the number of needed conservation practices for which you may receive approval under ACP in a program year. However, your county committee may restrict cost-share approvals to insure maximum conservation with available ACP funds.

You will not be allowed more assistance than the maximum cost-share limitation provided by law or set by your ASC State or County Committee.

Also, if the county committee decides there are more urgent conservation problems than yours that require the available ACP funds, the practice you request may not be approved for cost-sharing at that time.

ACP AND OTHER PROGRAMS

Taking part in ACP has no effect upon your eligibility to participate in other agricultural programs. Neither do you have to participate in other programs to be eligible for ACP.

ACP can help you install eligible practices needed to carry out your conservation plan developed cooperatively through help from your soil and water conservation district. You may also get conservation cost-share assistance on needed land treatment measures in flood prevention, small watershed, rural community development, rural renewal, and resource conservation and development projects.

ACP can help you with conservation treatment of land diverted from crop production through individual commodity adjustment programs. ACP can also help you carry out eligible practices essential to other locally sponsored programs.

GROUP ACTION ON MUTUAL PROBLEM

By cooperative action through use of a "pooling agreement," two or more farmers or ranchers in a local community may be given special help in solving a conservation problem affecting their several farms or ranches. You can get details about pooling agreements at the ASCS County Office.

CONSERVATION TO AID WILDLIFE

Many counties offer ACP cost-sharing for special wildlife conservation practices. These include constructing ponds for game birds and fish, restoring or developing marshlands, converting croplands into wetlands, establishing food and cover plots, and establishing protective borders. Many other practices that conserve soil, water and woodland also provide wildlife benefits.

STEPS IN USING THE ACP

HOW TO REQUEST ACP ASSISTANCE

Your request for ACP cost-sharing is taken on an official form which must be signed and filed with the ASCS County Office before work begins on the practice. Sign-up methods vary. For example:

- You may file at your ASCS County Office.
- You may file at a community sign-up meeting.
- Community committeemen may visit you.

WHAT HAPPENS TO YOUR REQUEST?

When your request is approved by the ASC County Committee, you will be notified officially of the extent and amount of cost-sharing approved.

If your request is not approved for cost-sharing, your county committee will notify you of the disapproval and the reason for it.

TWO WAYS TO GET ACP COST-SHARING

There are two methods of receiving cost-sharing.

1. "Cash" plan used in all counties. You pay the total cost of establishing the approved practice and later you are reimbursed for the Government's share of the cost.

2. "Purchase order" plan used in many counties. At the time you file your request for cost-sharing, you may request a purchase order which you will use to obtain the material or service you will need to install the approved practice.

You use the purchase order to buy a conservation material, such as seed, trees, fertilizer, lime and tile, or a service, such as earth moving, tree planting, tile laying, etc., from an approved vendor.

After the material or service has been furnished to you for the approved practice, the vendor who furnished it will bill the Government and receive payment of the Government's share of the cost. You must pay the vendor the difference between the amount the Government pays the vendor and the total cost of the material or service used.

TECHNICAL SERVICES FURNISHED

ACP also arranges for the required technical services needed in establishing approved ACP practices. Such technical services are made available by special arrangement with the Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Forest Service, State Forester, County Extension Agent, or others.

For a practice that requires technical aid, the agency responsible for that kind of help makes "need and practicability" determinations before final cost-share approval is issued.

Responsibility for providing needed technical services rests with the agency concerned. However, a call or visit from you will help the technician arrange for prompt service.

To be assured of cost-sharing, do not start the practice until you get a definite notice of approval from the ASCS County Office.

FOLLOW SPECIFICATIONS!

You follow practice specifications to receive cost-sharing. Specifications give the minimum requirements which research and experience indicate are necessary for success of the practice. They are also the minimum standards under which the public is willing to share the cost.

For a practice requiring technical assistance, a technician generally will inspect the practice and certify whether it has been completed according to specifications.

REPORT COMPLETION!

To assure the public that you have done the work for which the public shares the cost, you certify that the practice is completed. No cost-sharing payment can legally be made until you have certified that you have completed the practice. You do this by completing and returning your notice-of-approval form to your ASCS County Office.

If you are unable to complete the practice before the expiration date specified on the form, you may request an extension of time from your county office to complete the practice. Extensions usually can be granted.

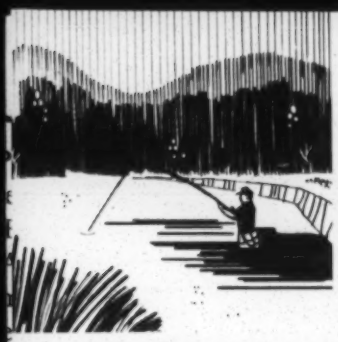
IS THERE A PENALTY FOR NOT COMPLETING?

No penalty will be imposed if you are unable to carry out a practice for which cost-sharing has been approved. However, cost-share will be paid by the Government only for a practice that is performed.

If you have received materials or services (CMS) for a practice you are unable to complete, arrange with the county office for settlement of the charge or for approval of a substitute conservation use for it.

MOVING AHEAD THROUGH ACP

Your conservation efforts today will help protect your land for continuous use into the distant future. When you have set a conservation goal, ACP can help bring it within your reach. Don't ask for help on the practice easiest to do. Use the practices most needed on your farm or ranch.



YOUR ACP CHECK-OFF LIST

☐ **DETERMINE YOUR NEED**

Determine your need on the basis of your long-range conservation program. Specifically, decide what is necessary to overcome your problems.

☐ **SELECT A PRACTICE**

Study the county ACP and select the practice that will help you meet your needs.

☐ **FILE YOUR REQUEST**

Visit the ASCS County Office. File a signed request for a particular practice. Specify the extent of your need. Your request must be filed before work begins on your practice.

☐ **FURNISH INFORMATION TO TECHNICAL AGENCIES**

If the practice you select requires technical assistance, get in touch with the soil conservation or forestry technician.

☐ **CARRY OUT THE PRACTICE**

Complete the practice before the expiration date shown on the approval form.

☐ **REPORT PERFORMANCE**

Report completion on or before the expiration date.

ASK YOUR ASCS COUNTY OFFICE FOR DETAILS

Your ASCS County Office will be glad to furnish you information about your county ACP, including eligible practices, rates of cost-sharing, and specifications for each practice. Take along any written farm conservation plan you have and visit the county office.

AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM

ACP

A CONSERVATION PARTNERSHIP

GPO : 1965 O—786-939

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION & CONSERVATION SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

1967 WHEAT PROGRAM

The national wheat allotment for 1967 has been increased to 68.2 million acres. For 1966 it was 51.6 million acres. The increase has been made possible by the reduction in surplus due to successful cooperation by farmers in the wheat program and continuing heavy demand for wheat. It enables farmers who believe increased production will be profitable to plant more land to wheat and still obtain full program benefits.

The increased allotment brings a major change to the program—there will be no diversion required for participation in 1967 and there will be no payment for additional diversion as there has been in recent years.

The 1967 program, otherwise, will be similar to the program you used in 1966. It will include price-support loans, marketing certificates and substitution between wheat and feed grains.

Small allotment wheat farmers who have been diverting their entire allotments for payment under the program will no longer be able to do so. If they wish to receive income from the allotments under the program, they should sign up in the wheat program, plant wheat or use the substitution provisions. In order to protect acreage history, they should be sure to plant at least 75 percent of their allotments to wheat in at least one year out of three. Corn or grain sorghum substituted for wheat will be considered wheat acreage for this purpose. Wheat history on land signed in CAP, CCP, CR and Great Plains programs is also protected.

PROGRAM OPTIONS

The 1967 program offers several options. These are:

1. You can sign up and plant wheat on all your wheat allotment acres.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

PA-776 August 1966

2. You can sign up to overplant your allotment by up to 50 percent, store the excess production, and be eligible for marketing certificates and price-support loan on the wheat not stored.

3. You may elect to plant less than your full allotment and be eligible for maximum domestic marketing certificates by planting 35 percent of your allotment and meeting other program requirements.

4. You can substitute wheat for feed grains (corn and grain sorghum) or feed grains for wheat if you participate in both programs. Substituting feed grains (corn or grain sorghum) for wheat will reduce or eliminate any diversion payments you might otherwise earn under the feed grain program.

5. You can substitute wheat for barley on an acre-for-acre basis and there will be no diversion requirements, but you need to request a special barley base for this purpose. Barley will not be included in the feed grain program for 1967; therefore, your feed grain base under the program will be made up of corn and grain sorghum bases only. You can lose your wheat program benefits when substituting wheat for barley under two conditions: (1) Planting corn or grain sorghum without having a base for those crops, or (2) not participating in the feed grain program if you have a corn-grain sorghum base.

6. You can substitute wheat for oats and rye on an approved oats-rye base. There will be no diversion requirements or payments for oats-rye substitution. If you substitute wheat for oats-rye, you lose eligibility for wheat program benefits under the same two conditions listed in section 5 covering substitution of wheat for barley. An adjustment in the oat-rye base will be made on a State-by-State basis to allow for the difference in feed units produced per acre.

PROGRAM BENEFITS

Farmers who sign up and qualify are eligible for these benefits:

1. Price-support loans of $1.25 per bushel national average on their entire farm wheat production (except any stored excess wheat).

2. Domestic marketing certificates on 35 percent of the projected production of the farm allotment. This percentage of the 68.2 million acre national allotment is estimated to equal 520 million bushels, the expected domestic food use for 1967. The law requires domestic certificates to be issued for no more than the expected domestic food use. These certificates will be valued at the difference between $1.25 and parity on July 1, 1967. The certificates for the 1966 program are valued at $1.32, and were issued for approximately 500 million bushels.

TO TAKE PART

To qualify for program benefits:

1. Sign up with the ASCS county office during the signup period to be announced later.

2. Have an acreage of wheat no larger than your allotment (or no larger than permitted acreage when you plan to use the substitution or excess acreage options); and maintain your farm conserving base which is being reduced so that you may utilize your increased allotment acreage.

3. Keep within all other program allotments established for the participating farm.

4. Keep within the wheat allotment or permitted acreage on any other farm in which you have an interest. If you are substituting, keep within the feed grain (corn and grain sorghum) base or permitted acreage as well as the wheat allotment on any other farm in which you have an interest.

FOR ADDITIONAL DETAILS, SEE YOUR ASC COUNTY COMMITTEE.

GPO 827-300

THE FEED GRAIN PROGRAM 1967

The feed grain surplus is gone. The capacity to produce surplus grain is still here.

Farmer cooperation through the Feed Grain Program has reduced the supply to a comfortable reserve level, and vigorous promotion of foreign markets has increased export demand. In 1967, you can reap the benefits of the new situation you have helped create.

Continued cooperation in the Feed Grain Program will help you and your neighbors keep supplies in balance with demand, offer the opportunity for better income through increased production, free your land for production of soybeans or other needed crops, and provide income assurance through an increased support level.

In 1967 the United States needs corn and grain sorghum production from 12 to 15 million acres which have been diverted in previous years. This is needed to keep U. S. reserves from dropping to unsafe levels. Production of other nonsurplus crops, especially soybeans, should be increased to fill anticipated needs. The 1967 Feed Grain Program frees land to be used for those purposes.

The national average price-support level has been increased 5 cents per bushel for corn and 9 cents per hundredweight for grain sorghum.

Advance payments will be available at signup time if you want them. The right to reseal your grain for later marketing will also be available if you are a program cooperator.

Barley production has been released from the program and the loan rate has been increased 10 cents per bushel national average. You will no longer have minimum diversion requirements when producing barley or when substituting wheat for barley. Provisions for substituting wheat for oats and rye are continued, but without minimum diversion requirements.

If you wish, you may grow soybeans instead of corn or grain sorghum on your feed grain permitted acreage and still be eligible for the price-support payment just as if you had planted corn or grain sorghum.

Here are details of the 1967 Feed Grain Program.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
PA-784 December 1966

FARM FEED GRAIN BASE

Your farm feed grain base for 1967 will be made up of corn and grain sorghum bases only. In this explanation, references to feed grains will mean corn and grain sorghum.

If your farm base is made up of a corn base and a grain sorghum base, you may divert from either base or from both bases. Keep in mind, however, that the price-support payment portion of the total support will be on the crop planted.

DIVERSION

The minimum diversion needed to qualify for program benefits is 20 percent of your total feed grain base. Diversion of additional acreage does not earn payments as it did in 1966, except for farms with bases of 25 acres or less.

DIVERTED AND CONSERVING BASE USES

Acreage diverted from your feed grain base and conserving base acres are to be kept in conserving uses approved for your county. The ASCS county office has a list of those uses.

THE PROGRAM ON SMALL FARMS

If your feed grain base is 25 acres or less, you may divert more than the minimum 20 percent and earn diversion payments for all your diversion. The rate of payment for one-fifth of the farm feed grain base diverted will be 20 percent of the total county support rate times the farm's projected yield. For additional diversion the payment will be 50 percent of the total county support rate times the farm's projected yield.

To simplify payment computations, the county office will use a formula which multiplies the higher rate and a percentage of the total diversion. This computation yields the same result as making computations at the two rates.

Farmers with feed grain bases of 26 through 125 acres may take advantage of the small farm diversion opportunity. If your farm's feed grain base is 26 - 125 acres and you do not wish to grow any corn or grain sorghum, you can request a temporary reduction in your base to 25 acres for this purpose. By diverting the entire 25 acres and planting no feed grains, you become eligible for diversion payments. You may still substitute wheat for barley, oats, and rye but not for corn or grain sorghum.

FEED GRAIN-WHEAT SUBSTITUTION

You may substitute wheat for feed grains or feed grains for wheat by signing up in both programs, devoting to conservation the acreage you divert from feed grains, maintaining your conserving base acreage, and otherwise complying with both programs. If your farm base is 25

acres or less, substituting feed grains for wheat will reduce the acreage for diversion payment.

BARLEY SUBSTITUTION

You may still substitute wheat for barley as in 1966 if your farm had a 1966 barley base by requesting a special barley base during signup, signing up in the Wheat Program, and signing up also in the Feed Grain Program if your farm has a feed grain base. There will be no diversion requirements, and no barley diversion or price-support payments.

You can lose your Wheat Program benefits when substituting wheat for barley by (1) planting corn or grain sorghum without having a base for those crops, or (2) not participating in the Feed Grain Program if you have a feed grain base.

OAT-RYE SUBSTITUTION

You may substitute wheat for oats and rye just about as you could in 1966. There will be no diversion requirement for this substitution; however, an adjustment will be made in the special oat-rye base you request to compensate for the difference in feed units produced per acre on a State-by-State basis. If you also have a feed grain base you need sign up in the Feed Grain Program as well as the Wheat Program. When substituting wheat for oats and rye, you can lose your Wheat Program benefits under the same circumstances listed for barley substitution.

PRICE SUPPORT

The 1967 national average support rates are:

	Natl. Avg. Loan Rate	*Price-Support Payment For All Counties*	*Natl. Avg. Total Support*
Corn (per bu.)	$1.05	$0.30	$1.35
Grain Sorghum (per cwt.)	1.61	0.53	2.14

The national average loan rate is used to establish a separate loan rate for each county. The price-support payment is the same for every county. The entire 1967 feed grain production on participating farms is eligible for price-support loan. The projected yield of up to 50 percent of your feed grain base earns the price-support payment.

BARLEY PRODUCTION AND LOAN RATE

Because barley is not included in the Feed Grain Program, you can grow as much barley as you wish and still be eligible for price-support loan if you are not substituting wheat on the barley base. The national average price-support loan level for barley in 1967 is 90 cents per bushel,

10 cents per bushel higher than in 1966. There is no price-support payment for barley.

OAT-RYE LOAN RATES

National average price-support loan rate for oats is 63 cents a bushel, three cents higher than in 1966; and for rye is $1.02 a bushel, unchanged from 1966.

ADVANCE PAYMENTS

If you wish, you may receive — at the time you sign up — an advance payment of one-half of the total estimated diversion and price-support payments you will earn.

PRODUCERS WITH MORE THAN ONE FARM

If you, your wife or minor children, have an interest in more than one farm, you may participate in the Feed Grain Program on one farm without enrolling any other farm. However, your benefits from the participating farm will be reduced or eliminated if, any one grows corn or grain sorghum in excess of the feed grain base on the other farms. This is true even though you may, as owner, have the excess farm rented in any manner to someone else. Any corn or grain sorghum produced on a farm which has no feed grain base will be considered excess acreage.

HOW TO TAKE PART

First step is to sign up with your ASCS county office during the period of February 6 through March 3. At that time, you should discuss with county office personnel the farming plans on any other farms in which you or your immediate family has an interest.

After you've signed up, review carefully your copy of the Form ASCS-477 to make sure it agrees with your intended cropping plans for the coming season. You'll be responsible for (1) diverting the acreage you signed up to divert from your feed grain base to a conserving use (this acreage is not to be harvested and may be grazed only during periods authorized for your area); (2) maintaining your farm's conserving base acreage; (3) staying within the feed grain permitted acreage on the participating farm; and (4) staying within the total feed grain base on any other farm in which you have an interest.

Failure to fully carry out your signup agreement will result in a substantial reduction in payments earned.

Measurement service, available upon request at a nominal cost, will help you be certain that you are complying with the program.

FOR FULL DETAILS, CONSULT YOUR ASCS COUNTY OFFICE.

GPO 829-407

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

THE 1967 UPLAND COTTON PROGRAM

A general explanation prepared especially for Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committeemen

Except for some changes in details, the 1967 cotton program will be about the same as that for 1966. The program continues to aim at reducing cotton production and keeping it competitively priced without decreasing farmers' incomes.

The changes include: Higher diversion and price-support payment rates, slightly lower price-support loan rates, and wider choices in the percentage of the farm cotton acreage allotment that may be diverted.

As in 1966, diversion payments will be made to farmers for diverting part of their cotton acreage allotment into soil conserving uses. This payment is to help farmers maintain their income.

And farmers diverting part of their acreage allotments will also receive price-support payments as a further step to help assure no loss of net income resulting from "one price" or competitively priced cotton.

The program's "one price" cotton provision will continue to keep U. S. cotton prices more competitive with those of foreign producers of cotton, and also with those of foreign and domestic producers of synthetic fibers. The objective of this provision is to achieve and maintain larger markets at home and abroad for U. S. cotton.

As our cotton surpluses are reduced through larger markets and lower production, Government expenditures will be cut.

Although under the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 Congress authorized a four-year cotton program, growers must decide each year through a marketing quota referendum whether or not they want the program continued. Quotas were approved for 1967 in a mail-ballot referendum, December 5 through 9, 1966.

If cotton marketing quotas had not been approved, allotments would have remained in effect for the 1967 upland cotton crop, but price-support loans would have been at the level of 50 percent of parity. And there would have been no marketing quotas and no penalties on excess production. Also there would have been no price-support payments, no acreage diversion payments, and no export market acreage reserve.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF 1966 PROGRAM

The 1966 program achieved the extremely important goal of reversing the upward trend of the cotton surplus. Cotton growers signed up to divert 4.6 million acres of their farm allotments and harvested only 9.5 million acres – about 4 million less than the 13.5 million acres harvested in 1965. This is leading toward an expected carryover next August of around 12 million bales, compared with the 1966 carryover of more than 16.5 million bales. This expected decline in carryover, due to the smaller acreage, lower yields resulting from adverse weather and serious insect damage, slightly higher domestic consumption and larger exports resulting from the competitive price of U. S. cotton, will lead to lower Government costs associated with the program.

THE PROGRAM IN BRIEF

The 1967 cotton program continues the offer of price-support payments, acreage diversion payments, and price-support loans to participating growers.

Participation is voluntary with a minimum acreage reduction of 12.5 percent from effective farm allotments on all but small farms. But unlike the 1966 program, farmers are <u>not</u> limited to reductions of 12.5, 25, or 35 percent. They may reduce their acreage by any amount between 12.5 and 35 percent. Income from small cotton acreages will be protected again. No acreage reduction on such farms will be required.

Provision is still made for allocating a limited acreage to those farmers who wish to produce cotton for export only. These producers will receive no program benefits.

Farm allotments will continue to be based on the 16-million-acre minimum national allotment. Effective acreage allotments will continue to reflect the farm allotment plus or minus any adjustments due to release, reapportionment, sale or lease.

Participation will be based on effective farm allotments.

STEPS TO PARTICIPATION

The steps to participation in the 1967 cotton program are the same as they were in 1966: (1) Sign up (the 1967 signup period begins not later than February 6 and continues through March 3); (2) divert to conservation use 12.5 to 35 percent of the farm's effective allotment; and (3) stay within cotton allotments on all other farms. For participating in the voluntary program, growers are eligible to receive price-support loans, price-support payments, and acreage diversion payments.

PAYMENT RATES

The price-support payment rate is 11.53 cents per pound. The payment will be earned on the farm's domestic allotment, which is 65 percent of the effective farm allotment. The total payment will be 11.53 cents per pound times the farm projected yield times the farm domestic allotment (or the acreage planted if it is less than 90 percent of the domestic allotment). The 1966 rate was 9.42 cents per pound.

If flood, drought, or other disaster conditions make it impossible for a farm operator to plant cotton on a participating farm, the ASC County Committee will determine the acreage that would have been planted on the farm and payments will be made on that basis. The acreage which would have been planted to cotton may not be planted to any crop for which marketing quotas or voluntary adjustment programs are in effect. Growers may replant failed cotton acreage to another crop and still get credit for planted cotton, if they planted cotton in a workmanlike manner with the expectation of producing a normal crop, and have the prior approval of the ASCS county office. Acreage which the county committee determines was planted in an unworkmanlike manner solely for price-support payment or history credit shall not be counted as planted acreage.

The diversion payment rate is raised from 10.5 to 10.78 cents per pound. Diversion payments may be earned on the acreage diverted from cotton production and put to conserving uses. The payment will be 10.78 cents times the farm projected yield times the acreage diverted. The farmer has a choice of diverting any amount between 12.5 and 35 percent of his effective farm allotment.

Unless the grower diverts as much as the acreage percentage for which he signed up, he will not be eligible for full program benefits.

PRICE-SUPPORT LOAN

Price-support loans similar to those made in the past, will again be available to growers who participate in the acreage diversion program. Individual loan rates will be based on a national average loan rate of 20.25 cents per pound for Middling 1-inch cotton at average location.

PARTICIPATION OF LARGER FARMS

Farmers will receive diversion payments based on the 10.78 cents per pound payment rate on the acreage taken out of production. This acreage will be put to conserving uses, in addition to the average acreage in conserving uses on the farm in the base years 1959-60, as adjusted. This average acreage devoted to conserving uses is called the normal conserving base and is the same system as is used for the feed grain and wheat programs.

Participants will also be eligible for price-support payments based on the farm's domestic allotment, regardless of the diversion level selected. The farm's domestic allotment is 65 percent of the farm's effective allotment. This payment is at a rate of 11.53 cents per pound. The 1966 rate was 9.42 cents per pound.

All cotton production on participating farms will be eligible for price-support loans at a national average rate of 20.25 cents per pound, basis Middling 1-inch cotton at average location.

A producer with a cotton allotment who plants no cotton may also qualify for payments. He may get diversion payments on 12.5 percent of his farm allotment and the balance of the allotment may be released for reapportionment. As in all other cases, this producer may earn the payments provided he sets aside and maintains in conserving uses the 12.5 percent plus the farm conserving base.

Examples:

The following examples show payments and average price-support loan values for a farm with a 100-acre effective allotment and a per-acre yield of 500 pounds.

12.5-percent diversion

87.5 acres planted - 12.5 acres diverted and put into conserving uses

$ 673.75	- diversion payment - (12.5 acres x 500 lbs. x 10.78¢)
3,747.25	- price-support payment - (65 acres x 500 lbs. x 11.53¢)
8,859.37	- price-support loan value - (87.5 acres x 500 lbs. x 20.25¢) (The cotton that could be placed under loan would be the entire production of the 87.5 acres.)
$13,280.37	compared with $12,905.25 under the 1966 program.

20-percent diversion

80 acres planted - 20 acres diverted and put into conserving uses

$ 1,078.00	- diversion payment - (20 acres x 500 lbs. x 10.78¢)
3,747.25	- price-support payment - (65 acres x 500 lbs. x 11.53¢)
8,100.00	- price-support loan value - (80 acres x 500 lbs. x 20.25¢)
$12,925.25	compared with $12,511.50 under the 1966 program had a 20 percent diversion rate been applicable.

35-percent diversion

65 acres planted – 35 acres diverted and put into conserving uses

$ 1,886.50 – diversion payment – (35 acres x 500 lbs. x 10.78¢)
3,747.25 – price-support payment – (65 acres x 500 lbs. x 11.53¢)
6,581.25 – price-support loan value – (65 acres x 500 lbs. x 20.25¢)
$12,215.00 compared with $11,724.00 under the 1966 program.

No cotton planted

87.5 acres released for reapportionment – 12.5 acres diverted

$673.75 – diversion payment (12.5 acres x 500 lbs. x 10.78¢)

This compares with $656.25 under the 1966 program.

PARTICIPATION OF SMALL FARMS

"Small farms" under the program are those with an allotment of not more than 10 acres, or on which the projected production of the farm allotment is not more than 3,600 pounds, and from which no acreage is released for reapportionment.

No acreage reduction is required on these small farms to receive program benefits.

Small farms will be eligible for price-support payments on the domestic allotment – 65 percent of the farm allotment – although the entire allotment may be planted. They also will be eligible for diversion payments on 35 percent of the allotment although no acreage is diverted. In addition to these payments, they may also earn payments on actual diversion up to a maximum of 35 percent of the allotment. Operators of such farms may elect to divert no acreage or – as in the case of operators of larger farms – they may divert any amount between 12.5 percent and 35 percent of the allotment, and earn additional payments. Or like the operators of larger farms, they may elect to plant no cotton and earn diversion payment on 12.5 percent of the farm allotment.

Growers on small farms participating in the program are also eligible for price-support loans on the farm's cotton production.

As for the large farms, small-farm growers eligible for payments will devote to conserving uses any acreage actually diverted in addition to maintaining the farm's normal acreage of land in conserving uses.

Farms coming within the "small farm" definition on which allotments are released for reapportionment lose small-farm benefits. However, they would be eligible for general program benefits under the same conditions as for the larger farms.

The following examples are based on 10 acres of cotton allotment and a per-acre yield of 300 pounds.

No actual diversion

10-acre farm allotment – 10 acres planted

$113.19 – diversion payment – (3.5 acres x 300 lbs. x 10.78¢)
224.83 – price-support payment – (6.5 acres x 300 lbs. x 11.53¢)
607.50 – price-support loan value – (10 acres x 300 lbs. x 20.25¢)
$945.52 compared with $923.94 under the 1966 program.

35-percent actual diversion

6.5 acres planted – 3.5 acres diverted to conserving uses

$113.19 – small-farm diversion payment – (3.5 acres x 300 lbs. x 10.78¢)
113.19 – added diversion – (3.5 acres x 300 lbs. x 10.78¢) payment for actual reduction
224.83 – price-support payment – (6.5 acres x 300 lbs. x 11.53¢)
394.87 – price-support loan value – (6.5 acres x 300 lbs. x 20.25¢)
$846.08 compared with $813.69 under the 1966 program.

VOLUNTARY PROGRAM SIGNUP

All cotton farmers, whether large or small, will sign up during the period beginning not later than February 6 and continuing through March 3, 1967 in order to be eligible for 1967 upland cotton program benefits.

TAKING PART IN OTHER PROGRAMS

Participation in other commodity programs is not required as a condition for participation in the voluntary cotton program. The requirement in the 1965 cotton program that cotton producers could not exceed their feed grain base acreage to be eligible for cotton program benefits was dropped in 1966, and likewise will not apply in 1967. However, producers will need to maintain a soil conserving base and to place any diverted acres to soil conserving uses.

In addition to meeting cotton program provisions on the participating farm, producers to remain eligible for program benefits will be required to plant within cotton allotments on any other farm in which they have an interest in the cotton crop.

EXPORT MARKET ACREAGE

A national export market acreage reserve of 250,000 acres is continued for 1967-crop upland cotton. A farmer is eligible to apply for a share of this reserve if he is operating the same farm in 1967 as in 1965 and the farm had a cotton allotment in both years. Closing date for filing an application is January 3.

A producer may request and be allotted a share of the export market acreage reserve, thus enabling him to plant more than his allotment. All of the farm's cotton production is required to be exported. No price support would be available for cotton produced on that farm or on any other farm in which the operator with export market reserve acreage has a substantial or controlling interest.

If applications from producers for export acreage exceed the 250,000 export acreage for 1967, the acreage will be prorated on a national basis to the growers who have applied. After export acreage has been allotted to growers, they may reject the acreage by reporting their decision to the ASCS county office within 15 days after receiving the allotment or by March 1, whichever is later.

Growers who apply for and receive a part of the national cotton export market acreage reserve will have a total cotton acreage for their farms. That total acreage will be the effective farm allotment plus the export market acreage for the farm. Exceeding such total cotton acreage for the farm will make the producer subject to a marketing quota penalty on the cotton produced on the acreage in excess of the effective farm allotment. Payment of penalty would not remove the obligation to export the farm's total cotton production.

A grower may not receive approval for export cotton acreage unless he posts a bond to guarantee that all his cotton production will be moved into export without benefit of price support. Failure to export the cotton will make the producer subject to liquidated damages at the marketing quota penalty rate of 50 percent of the parity price for the amount of cotton not exported.

SALE OR LEASE OF ALLOTMENTS

Any farmer may sell or lease his upland cotton allotment to another farmer in the same county. The price at which any such sale or lease is made is a matter of negotiation between the parties concerned.

In counties where growers have previously voted approval, upland cotton allotments may be sold or leased outside that particular county. A landowner may transfer an allotment to another farm which he owns or controls. In no case may the allotments be transferred outside the State.

An allotment may not be transferred from a farm subject to a mortgage or other lien unless the lienholder agrees to the transfer. In addition, when transfers are made to farms with a projected yield per acre more than 10 percent above the yield of the transferring farm, the allotment will be adjusted to take into account the higher yield on the farm to which the allotment is being transferred. Transfers of allotments are limited to the available cropland on the farm (cropland less other current bases and allotments), but in any case not more than 100 acres above the 1965 cotton acreage allotment for the farm to which the allotment is transferred.

Transfers of 1967 allotments (Form ASCS-375) must be filed with the ASC County Committee not later than January 3, 1967, to be effective for the 1967 crop year.

EXCHANGES BETWEEN RICE AND COTTON

Farm rice and upland cotton allotments may be exchanged between farms in a county or adjoining counties. Acreage transferred by this method must be adjusted for differences in productivity on each of the farms making the exchange.

CROPLAND ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM

Under the continuing Cropland Adjustment Program, cotton producers will have an opportunity to divert cotton acreage from production for a long-term period.

This program is designed to supplement the commodity programs by offering cotton, wheat, and feed grain producers agreements running from 5 to 10 years for retirement of crop acreage from production.

The program also offers inducements to bring about economically desirable changes in land uses as well as expanding recreation resources, reducing stream siltation, increasing reforestation, and improving the scenic state of the countryside. Particular emphasis is given to the development of hunting and fishing areas through practices designed to foster wildlife.

Limits on acreage to be diverted in any county will protect the local economy. In addition, County ASC Committees may request the Secretary of Agriculture to exclude cotton allotment acreage from the CAP in 1967.

"ONE-PRICE" COTTON

The "one-price" approach for cotton consumed domestically or exported will continue to be accomplished through market support of cotton at slightly less than estimated world price levels with payments to maintain producers' incomes. The lower support price for cotton eliminates the need for either an equalization payment on domestically consumed cotton or an export payment.

The "one-price" system permits U. S. cotton to move freely into export market channels at prices in line with world market prices. At the same time, domestic users of cotton will pay this same price for cotton they consume. The price-support loan formula keeps U. S. cotton more competitive with foreign-produced cotton and also with synthetic fibers.

OTHER RELATED BACKGROUND

Skip-row planting rules continue in effect as previously modified to make the acreage considered as planted to cotton conform more to the space used by the rows of cotton for plant food, moisture, and sunlight. Widespread use of skip-row planting during 1962-65 contributed materially to the substantial cotton surplus buildup of that period. Under the rules now in effect a part of the land in the skipped area will be considered cotton acreage for allotment compliance purposes, unless cotton is planted in a pattern with 4 or more rows skipped. The rule for plantings with 4 or more rows skipped is the same as it has been for many years.

Where less than 4 rows are skipped, the idle land between the rows of cotton which is not regarded as planted to cotton may not be used to meet the diverted acreage requirement under the voluntary program. However, it may be counted as conserving use land in meeting the soil-conserving base requirement.

Where 4 or more rows are skipped, the idle land not counted as planted to cotton may be used to meet either the diverted acreage requirement or the conserving use requirement.

PLANTING SUBSTITUTE CROPS ON DIVERTED ACRES

The law authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to offer participating growers an additional choice as to the use of cotton acreage diverted for payment.

Instead of devoting the diverted acreage to conserving uses, they have the option of growing one or more of the optional crops if the Secretary determines that the crops will not likely be in surplus.

A determination is made each year, depending on the needs, as to whether any of the following crops specified in the law – guar, sesame, safflower, sunflower, castor beans, mustard seed, crambe, plantago ovato and flaxseed – may be authorized for substitution.

The rate of diversion payment will be reduced when any authorized substitute crop is planted on diverted cotton acreage.

NEW SPECIFICATION FOR JUTE BAGGING IN EFFECT IN 1967

The new specifications for jute bagging and bale ties used in wrapping cotton become effective with the 1967 cotton crop. If a bale is wrapped with jute bagging, the bagging and ties must meet the specifications in order for the bale to be eligible for a CCC support loan. All cotton ginners have been furnished a copy of the specifications.

(This explanation is provided to help in the general understanding of the 1967 cotton program. It does not replace official instructions and regulations applicable to individual farm situations.)

GPO 829-412

ASCS BACKGROUND INFORMATION ---- BI No. 1 - March 1967

THE AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is the agency of the U. S. Department of Agriculture which carries out various farm action programs in the general fields of production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price, market and farm income stabilization.

The agency carries on its work with the aid of State, county and community farmer committees and includes much of the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

The principal ASCS activities include:

(1) Price support through commodity loans to farmers or through direct purchases of commodities from farmers and processors, and through wheat marketing certificates, wool and mohair payments, and price-support payments on several commodities. Purpose: To stabilize market prices and to protect farm income in the interest of the national welfare.

(2) Production adjustment to balance supply and demand through acreage allotments, marketing quotas, commodity acreage diversions, the Cropland Adjustment Program, Cropland Conversion Program, and the Conservation Reserve.

(3) Conservation assistance through sharing with individual farmers the cost of installing needed soil-, water-, woodland-, and wildlife-conserving practices under the Agricultural Conservation Program and through practice payments under the Cropland Adjustment and Cropland Conversion Programs.

(4) Management of the Commodity Credit Corporation inventories acquired under price-support -- through domestic and foreign sales, export payment-in-kind, domestic and foreign donations, storage, and related processing and shipping arrangements.

(5) The sugar program to provide an equitable sharing of the U. S. sugar market among domestic and foreign supplying areas, to protect the income of domestic producers, and to assure consumers a stable supply of sugar at reasonable prices.

(6) Disaster and defense activities to augment feed supplies for farmers and ranchers in areas where natural disasters have reduced feed, to provide emergency conservation assistance in restoring farmlands seriously damaged by widespread flood or drought, and to assist in preparedness planning for civil defense.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Organization

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is headed by an Administrator, an Associate Administrator, and three Deputy Administrators. Each of the Deputy Administrators has responsibility in a specified area of activity: State and county operations, commodity operations, and management.

Reporting directly to the Administrator are a Policy and Program Appraisal Division, a Producer Associations Division, and Policy Staffs on cotton, grain, livestock and dairy, oils and peanuts, sugar, tobacco, and conservation and land use.

Reporting to the Deputy Administrator for State and County Operations are 6 Area Directors (with headquarters in Washington, D. C.), 50 ASCS State offices, and a Caribbean Area office, 3 functional divisions -- Aerial Photography, Bin Storage, and Farmer Programs -- and a Disaster and Defense Services Staff.

Three ASCS Commodity Offices, and the Inventory Management and the Procurement and Sales divisions report to the Deputy Administrator for Commodity Operations.

Five functional divisions -- Administrative Services, Budget, Fiscal, Information, and Personnel Management -- and an Operations Analysis Staff report to the Deputy Administrator for Management. The Data Processing Center and the Management Field Office, both at Kansas City, Mo., also report to the Deputy Administrator for Management.

The three ASCS Commodity Offices are located in Kansas City (Mo.), Minneapolis and New Orleans. The Kansas City office -- with its branch offices at Minneapolis, Minn., Evanston, Ill., and Portland, Ore. -- is concerned with grain; the New Orleans office with cotton; and the Minneapolis office with processed commodities. They are primarily responsible for such activities as purchases, shipping, storage, commodity dispositions, export financing, fiscal examination, payment, and accounting.

The Aerial Photography Division maintains an Eastern Laboratory, located at Asheville, N. C., and a Western Laboratory, located at Salt Lake City, Utah.

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) State and county committees are key units in ASCS's field organization. The six area directors serve as a link between the headquarters in Washington and the committee system.[1/] The farmer-elected county committees are responsible for local administration of such national programs as acreage allotments and marketing quotas, the Agricultural Conservation Program (ACP), the Conservation Reserve, price-support loans and payments, acreage diversion programs and payments, Sugar Act and National Wool Act payments, storage, and other ASCS and CCC activities requiring direct dealings with farmers. When arranging to participate in any of these programs, the farmer's first point of contact is the county ASCS office, which is usually located at the county seat.

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1/ The offices headed by the six area directors, and the States they service, are: Midwest Area - Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin; Northeast Area - Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia; Northwest Area - Alaska, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming; South Central Area - Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas; Southeast Area - Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, (and Caribbean Area); Southwest Area - Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Kansas, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah.

Following is a description of the major programs for which the ASCS is responsible:

Price Support

ASCS administers price-support programs for wheat, corn, cotton (upland and extra long staple), peanuts, rice, tobacco, butterfat, milk, wool, mohair, tung nuts, barley, oats, grain sorghum, rye, flaxseed, soybeans, dry edible beans, cottonseed, honey, and crude pine gum.

Support is achieved through loans, purchases, and payments for some commodities, all at announced levels. Recent legislation is designed to make some export commodities more competitive in world markets through market price support at or near world price levels. At the same time, growers' incomes are protected by supplementary price support payments, and -- in the case of wheat -- issuance of wheat marketing certificates which bring returns to participating growers to full parity on the domestically-consumed portion of the crop.

For most commodities, loans are made directly to producers on the unprocessed commodity through ASCS county offices. Smaller amounts of many are also purchased from producers. Butterfat and milk are supported through purchases of processed dairy products and cottonseed prices are supported through purchases of cottonseed oil. Price support on tobacco, peanuts, and naval stores is carried out through loans to producer cooperative associations, that in turn make price support available to producers.

Loans are available for periods of six to eight months following harvest. Depending on the commodity, loans generally mature one to three months following the end of loan availability. Purchases from producers are made at the time of loan maturity for the crop. In recent years, farmers also have been able to continue their price-support loans on certain grains in farm storage beyond the first year, earning storage payments during the loan extension ("reseal") period.

Price-support loans to producers are "nonrecourse." With this type of loan, producers are not obligated to make good any decline in the market price of the commodity they have put up as collateral. If market prices rise above support prices, producers can pay off their loans and market their commodity. If market prices fail to rise above support prices, producers can deliver the commodity to CCC, with appropriate adjustments for quality and quantity, and discharge their obligation in full.

Support loans and purchases give farmers a ready means of promoting more orderly marketing particularly in periods when bountiful harvest supplies threaten to push prices of farm commodities down to unfair levels. When supplies are excessive, Ever-Normal-Granary stocks are built up in supporting farm commodity prices. These Ever-Normal-Granary stocks are in turn released into the market as needed to stabilize supplies and prices.

About 285,000 loans were made to producers on 1965 crops of grains. Cotton loans numbered about 4,150,000. The dollar volume of price support extended on 1965 crops and production totaled $2.3 billion. Of this, price-support loans accounted for $1,956,000,000. However, acquisitions of commodities under loan were somewhat less than total price-support extended. Purchases of dairy products, purchases of products of wheat, corn and vegetable oil for donation and small purchases of commodities on which loans are made amounted to $383,000,000.

Part of the price support on corn, grain sorghum, barley and upland cotton is provided by price-support payments. For wheat, it is partially in wheat marketing certificates. All of the price support for wool and mohair is accomplished through payments which in combination with producers' marketing returns bring their total return up to the support price on the average. In fiscal year 1966, price support payments totaled $488.4 million, mostly for feed grains; wheat marketing certificates amounted to $470.7 million,which was offset by certificate purchases by processors and exporters; and wool payments came to $36.1 million.

Eligibility for price-support loans, purchases and payments and for wheat marketing certificates is conditioned on participation in allotment or commodity acreage diversion programs for that particular crop.

Although ASCS through its personnel and facilities administers price-support operations, the programs are authorized and financed by the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Production Adjustment

Acreage allotments and commodity acreage diversions are used in an effort to keep the production of several commodities in line with demand. Acreage allotments apply to cotton, wheat, rice, peanuts, and most kinds of tobacco. Commodity acreage diversions are used for corn and grain sorghum and for cotton in addition to acreage allotments. For 1967, wheat acreage allotments were increased and no acreage diversions were required for participation.

When supplies of certain commodities are very large, marketing quotas are used in conjunction with acreage allotments if at least two-thirds of the producers voting in a referendum approve the quotas. When quotas are in effect, any excess production of the crop -- that is, in general, the production from acreage in excess of the farm acreage allotment -- is subject to penalties. Marketing quotas applied to 1966 crops of cotton (both upland and extra long staple), peanuts, rice, and 8 kinds of tobacco.

Acreage allotments for crops to which they are applicable for 1966 and 1967 are shown below:

	1966	1967
Wheat	51,544,000	68,195,000
Rice	2,000,502	1,818,638
Peanuts	1,610,000	1,610,000
Cotton:		
Upland	16,200,000	16,200,000
Extra Long Staple	81,400	70,500
Tobacco:		
Flue-cured	607,335	607,335
Burley	249,944	250,153
Maryland	33,138	32,890
Virginia Sun-cured (type 37)	2,997	2,829
Fire-cured (type 21)	9,374	9,405
Fire-cured (types 22 & 23)	26,527	26,744
Dark Air-cured (types 35 & 36)	12,727	12,746
Cigar-binder (types 51 & 52)	4,531	4,396
Cigar-filler & -binder (types 42-44 & 53-55)	20,300	19,837

National acreage allotments are divided among farms on the basis of past history of production of the crop and on other factors. In total, more than 3 million farm acreage allotments are determined yearly.

Feed grain program base acreages approximate 90,400,000 base acres for corn, 18,000,000 base acres for barley, and 24,700,000 base acres for grain sorghum. National base acreages of feed grains reflect total farm acreage during a 1959-60 base period with some adjustments. Feed grain base acreages are established for 3.1 million farms.

Acreage withheld from production under commodity diversion and other programs in 1966 included about 34.7 million acres from feed grain base acreages, about 8.2 million acres under wheat allotments and about 4.6 million acres from cotton allotments. With 13.3 million acres under the Conservation Reserve and 2 million under the Cropland Adjustment Program, the total reached about 62.8 million acres.

(The productivity of U. S. agriculture continues to move up. Crop output in 1966 was 12 percent above the average for 1957-59 crops, yet the harvested acreage for 1966 crops was 9 percent below the average yearly acreage for the same period.)

To participate in allotment programs, producers harvest within the acreage allotments set for the commodity for their farms.

To participate in commodity diversion programs (in effect in 1966 for feed grains, upland cotton, and winter wheat), producers sign up to reduce their acreage of the commodity by at least a minimum amount below farm base acreages or allotments. Payments are made under commodity diversion programs to help farmers maintain their income while reducing their acreages to keep production in line with needs. In

fiscal year 1966, acreage diversion payments amounted to $996.1 million, mainly for feed grains. Substantial reductions in grain surpluses since 1961 have been achieved through feed grain and wheat acreage diversions. The acreage diversion program, which has been successful for grains, has been broadened to include cotton and in the first year of operation, for the 1966 crop, the cotton surplus is being reduced substantially. Carryover Aug. 1, 1967, is expected to be about 12 million bales compared with about 17 million a year earlier.

Price support eligibility is conditioned on participation in allotment and acreage diversion programs when in effect for a crop. Aerial photographs provide base maps for measuring areas planted to program crops and thus determine farmer compliance with allotment, acreage diversion and other programs.

Other Production Adjustment Programs

Tobacco acreage-poundage quotas encourage growers to emphasize quality. Under the program of allotments by acreage, each producer could market penalty-free all tobacco produced on his allotted acreage. The acreage-poundage program limits both poundage and acreage. This makes it both unnecessary and uneconomical for the grower to try to produce quantity at the expense of quality. Thus the program also aims at bringing production into better balance with domestic use and exports. Flue-cured tobacco producers began using the acreage-poundage program in 1965.

The Cropland Adjustment Program supplements the commodity acreage diversion programs by offering farmers an opportunity to take acreage out of production under longer-term contracts than the annual commodity programs. The program not only supplements the commodity programs but also provides for more open space and other recreational opportunities for urban areas. Specific incentives are offered to farmers if they share their land facilities with town and city people. Particular emphasis is being given to the development of hunting and fishing through practices designed to foster wildlife. Under "Greenspan" provisions, the program offers local, State, and other governmental agencies assistance in acquiring cropland and establishing practices to meet their open-space needs. Payments in fiscal year 1966 came to $1.3 million.

The Cropland Conversion Program, operated on a pilot basis since 1963 in a limited number of counties, is designed to improve family farm income by helping farmers convert land now used for the production of row crops and small grains in surplus to some long-range income-producing uses such as forests, grass, water storage, wildlife habitat, or recreational facilities. Fiscal year 1966 payments amounted to $1.9 million.

The Conservation Reserve, while authority to accept additional land ended with the 1960 program year, continues to provide for the withholding of farmland from production under long-term contracts. Rental payments in fiscal year 1966 came to $151 million.

Agricultural Conservation

Farmers participating in the Agricultural Conservation Program (ACP) receive assistance averaging about one-half the cost of carrying out such conservation practices as establishing and improving vegetative cover of grasses, legumes, or trees for soil protection, installing erosion control structures, and practices for the conservation and more efficient use of water. Practice payments are increased for low-income farmers.

The program includes soil- and water-conservation practices especially beneficial to wildlife, such as establishment of food plots or habitats, pond and shallow water areas.

Under ACP special attention is being given to the beautification of farm land.

ACP provides assistance to more than a million farmers, ranchers, and woodland owners each year. Over a 3 or 4 year period, more than two million farmers are benefitted. In recent years, the ACP annual appropriation has been $225 million.

ACP special projects are designed to attack special conservation problems that stretch across farm fences. These community-wide projects enable farmers to pool their cost sharing and through a set-aside of special funds higher-than-normal cost shares are made available.

In addition to ACP, farmers can earn conservation practice payments under the Cropland Adjustment Program; the Cropland Conversion Program; the Naval Stores Conservation Program; and the Appalachian Land Stabilization and Conservation Program for which county ASCS offices operate the farm conservation activities.

Commodity Disposal and Inventory Operations

Commodities acquired under the price-support program are made available for movement into consumption channels both at home and abroad as needs require in carrying out the Ever-Normal-Granary concept and to keep CCC inventories at manageable levels.

The Ever-Normal-Granary principle has been an integral part of farm programs since their beginning in the 1930's. When production exceeds needs, farm income is protected from undue market-depressing effects of the surplus by adding price-supported commodities to Ever-Normal-Granary stocks under storage loans or CCC ownership, thus stabilizing farm market prices.

The complementary purpose of the Ever-Normal Granary provides for using these built-up stocks to stabilize consumer prices by moving commodities into use in times when supplies are low relative to need, or demand is strong through unusual circumstances. In many instances, the strengthening of demand relative to supply results directly from production adjustment programs that bring output down. By filling the gap between reduced production and current needs, the government reduces the surplus.

CCC moved commodity stocks with a cost value of more than $13.4 billion out of the inventory during the five-year period from July 1, 1961 through June 30, 1966. Virtually all of these commodities were moved through commercial trade channels, with the exception of donated commodities.

Many outlets are employed in moving CCC commodities into use. Some are sold in the United States for dollars. Some are sold for export, either as commercial transactions, or under various government programs.

They are never sold for domestic use at less than legal minimum levels, or current market prices, whichever is higher, except under authorized programs to meet emergency needs such as for livestock feed in disaster areas. In December 1966, the Department announced that new legal minimum levels determined under 1966 legislation would apply for the remainder of the 1966-crop marketing year for wheat, corn, grain sorghum, barley and oats, and would extend in the case of wheat through the 1967 crop marketing year. The minimum resale price level so applied to these grains for virtually all types of CCC sales for domestic use is 115 percent of loan rates, plus monthly carrying charges.

CCC commodities are sold for dollars and foreign currencies for movement into export channels. As CCC inventories decline, the payment-in-kind export program used through export payments made in the form of commodities to maintain and stimulate commercial exports of U. S. farm commodities is being phased out. Likewise farm commodities bartered for strategic and critical materials produced abroad and for goods and services to fill U. S. government needs abroad are coming from commercial rather than CCC stocks. (When needed, cash payments are used to keep U. S. farm products competitively priced in world markets.)

Feed grains from the CCC inventory are used to finance the feed grain program which started with 1961 crops. Cotton is similarly used to finance the cotton program which started with the 1964 crop and was modified by the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. The use of commodity stocks as payments permits a stable flow of stocks into marketing channels to reduce surpluses as production is pulled down to achieve a better supply-demand balance.

Substantial quantities of food commodities are transferred, on either a reimbursable or non-reimbursable basis, for eventual donation to school lunch programs, Veterans Administration and Armed Forces hospitals, needy Indians, and through welfare organizations to other needy persons in the United States and abroad. In most instances, arrangements are made to process the commodities into food and package them in consumer-size packages for donation.

Of the $13.4 billion worth of commodities moved into use during the five-year period 1961-66, about $3.4 billion worth were donated or transferred and the remaining $10 billion worth moved into the trade channels outlined above.

Inventory Operations

Storage operations to safeguard stocks while they are in CCC ownership are an essential function of ASCS. Commercial storage facilities are used to the fullest extent practicable and the major part of CCC stocks are stored in these facilities. Grains and related commodities in the inventory and under price-support loan are stored under a uniform storage agreement with some 10,000 commercial warehouses throughout the U. S. Cotton, tobacco, dairy products, and other commodities are also stored under uniform agreements in commercial facilities. These agreements provide for uniform storage and handling payments and requirements needed to keep the inventory safe.

In the past, CCC has acquired supplemental bin storage in areas where storage was short, primarily in the corn-producing area. At one time, some grain was stored in ships of the reserve maritime fleet. The need for this supplemental storage is less now than in the past because of the smaller surpluses. Bin capacity is declining as unneeded bins are sold to farmers and private individuals primarily for continued use in storing agricultural commodities. At the end of 1966, CCC-owned bin-type storage had a capacity of about 630 million bushels. At the peak, this capacity was 989 million bushels.

Storage and handling costs, which are a major cost item in maintaining CCC stocks, have been declining as the surpluses are reduced. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, overall storage and handling costs were $303.1 million, $90 million less than a year earlier. During the current 1967 fiscal year, these costs are running about a third under the preceding year. At one time, storage and handling costs were more than $500 million a year.

The Sugar Program

Basically, the Sugar Act is intended to do three things: (1) Make it possible as a matter of national security to produce a substantial part of our sugar requirements within the continental United States and to do this without the consumer-penalizing device of a high protective tariff; (2) assure United States consumers of a plentiful and stable supply of sugar at reasonable prices; and (3) permit friendly foreign countries to participate equitably in supplying the United States sugar market for the double purpose of expanding international trade and assuring a stable and adequate supply of sugar.

Main features of the sugar program include: The determination each year of the amount of sugar which will be needed to fill United States requirements; the establishment of "quotas" which determine the share of this market which will be available for specified domestic and foreign producing areas; the establishment (as needed) of individual allotments, or "proportionate shares", for domestic farm producers and of marketing allotments for processors; and the payment of "conditional payments" to producers in return for their compliance with the production adjustment and other provisions of the program.

The conditional payments to producers are financed out of the general funds of the Treasury. However, sugar taxes provide funds for the Treasury which more than offset all costs of the program.

Conditional payments of approximately $83.4 million were made on the 1965 crop to about 53,400 sugar beet and sugarcane producers in 24 States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

Natural Disaster Assistance

Three-member disaster committees have been established in each State. Members are the directors of the Farmers Home Administration and the Cooperative Extension Service, and the ASC State Chairman, who also serves as disaster committee chairman. State Disaster Committees report any emergency situation, and, when necessary, recommend that the Secretary of Agriculture designate as disaster areas any that require emergency assistance.

Emergency assistance programs offered farmers in disaster-designated areas may include any or all of the following: (1) Permission to cut hay and graze livestock on lands retired or diverted from crop production under USDA programs; (2) making available CCC-owned feed grains to eligible farmers and ranchers at below-market prices, and, in some instances, by donation; and (3) cost-sharing with farmers who carry out emergency conservation practices to rehabilitate farmlands damaged by natural disaster.

For 1966, haying and grazing privileges were offered in 1,004 counties of 33 States; livestock feed assistance in 258 counties of 19 States, and cost-sharing emergency conservation assistance in 339 counties of 33 States. In addition, about 1 million bushels of CCC-owned feed grains were sold at reduced prices to farmers in counties hit by drought or other natural disaster.

Defense Readiness

USDA has a wide range of defense responsibilities. Some are inherent in its regular program authorizations. Others have been delegated by Executive orders covering defense preparedness and emergency operations.

To mobilize its field strength for defense purposes, USDA has established USDA Defense Boards in each State, in Puerto Rico-Virgin Islands, in the District of Columbia, in about 3,000 counties throughout the U. S., and in certain metropolitan areas. The members of these Boards represent USDA agencies having major field defense responsibilities.

ASCS personnel serve as chairmen of USDA Defense Boards except in metropolitan areas.

ASCS is responsible for defense programs relating to farm production, conservation and stabilization. It is also responsible for defense preparedness and emergency operating programs relating to the handling, storage and distribution of all grains before export or processing.

ASCS also provides certain defense coordinating services, including USDA-wide consolidation of claims for non-food requisites and manpower necessary to support food and agricultural operations and other programs for which USDA is responsible; servicing of USDA State and County Defense Boards; coordination of USDA attack analysis and damage assessment activities; coordination and maintenance of emergency records systems in the field; and preparation of defense reports for USDA.

Other ASCS Activities

Farm Facility Loan Program - Under this program, ASCS encourages and aids farmers in the expansion of facilities needed for farm storage of price-supported commodities. Farmers have added approximately 861 million bushels of storage capacity through the use of special ASCS farm storage and equipment loans, which run for five years at four percent interest.

International Wheat Agreement - The main objective of the agreement is to assure markets for wheat from exporting countries and supplies of wheat to importing countries at equitable prices. Importing countries are obligated to purchase from member exporting countries specified percentages of their total commercial imports. The United States and other exporting countries are obligated to sell member importing countries quantities up to historical commercial levels at the agreement maximum price.

Wheat Marketing Certificate Sale - Processors purchase wheat marketing certificates from ASCS to cover quantities of wheat processed into food for domestic use. Payments reflecting the certificate value are made to wheat producers. Through June 30, 1966, exporters purchased export marketing certificates to cover their exports. From that date, the cost of export certificates is generally intended to represent the difference between U. S. and world prices of wheat when U. S. wheat prices are below world prices. Export certificates are not required when U. S. wheat prices are above world prices.

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VOTE FOR FARMERS OF YOUR CHOICE

Election: 3rd Week of September

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

VOTING FOR FARMERS OF YOUR CHOICE IS DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

MAIL-BALLOT ELECTION OF ASC COMMUNITY COMMITTEEMEN

This leaflet explains briefly the annual election by mail ballot of farmers as community committeemen to help the county committeemen run Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) farm programs locally.

These programs help assure a fair income for farmers by assisting them in keeping their production in line with market needs. As long as farmers can raise more than the market will take, such programs are needed to prevent ruinous price drops.

So, it is in your interest to elect good committeemen who will help make these programs successful.

YOUR VOTE

As a farmer you will want to vote for your Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation (ASC) community committeemen. Your community committeemen not only keep you informed about ASCS programs so that you may take part more fully in them, but they also elect your county committeemen.

And your county committeemen handle all ASCS programs locally. These include acreage allotments and price supports on cotton, tobacco, and peanuts and other crops; also cost-share conservation practices, such as digging ponds, building terraces, and planting trees and cover crops to keep your farm in good shape for your family and those who come afterward.

If you neglect to vote for your community committeemen, then you have no say as to who is chosen to help run these important programs.

A South Carolina ASC community committee in conference on acreage allotments with the county office manager.

WHO CAN VOTE?

Very likely you can vote for ASC community committeemen, if you are an owner, tenant, or sharecropper.

Both husband and wife can vote in community property States including Louisiana and Texas.

If you are under legal voting age, you can still vote in ASC elections if you run an entire farm. Those who run farms as legal guardians for minor children also can vote if the farm is eligible to take part in ASCS programs.

If you are not sure about your right to vote in ASC elections, ask about it at your ASCS county office.

WHO CAN RUN FOR COMMITTEEMAN?

Almost any farmer who is eligible to vote in ASC elections and who resides in the community is eligible to run for community committeeman.

If you wish to be a candidate, or if you have a neighbor that you would like to see nominated, and you have questions about eligibility, ask your ASCS county office for full information.

WHO CAN NOMINATE COMMITTEEMEN?

(1) You or any other farmer and 5 or more neighbors in the same community can nominate a fellow farmer for ASC community committeeman by signing a petition. And you may sign as many petitions as you wish, but only with farmers in your own community. Petitions must be in ASCS county office at least 25 days before the deadline for returning your ballot.

(2) Your community committee nominates 6 to 10 candidates.

(3) And your county committee may nominate the number of candidates needed to complete a list of 10, if your community committee nominates less than 10.

In communities having 10 percent or more eligible voters who are members of a minority group, the county committee must place a minority group member on the ballot unless 1 or more have been nominated either by the community committee or by petition. The addition must be made, even though it increases the number nominated by county and community committees to more than 10.

HOW MANY COMMITTEEMEN ARE ELECTED?

Three regular community committeemen and two alternates are elected each year.

The farmer receiving the highest number of votes becomes chairman of the committee; the one getting the next highest is vice chairman; and the third highest is the regular member. The next two highest vote getters are first and second alternate committeemen who serve in the absence of any of the three regular members.

WHEN ARE ELECTIONS HELD?

ASC elections for community committeemen are set this year for the 3rd week of September in all counties throughout the United States. Announcement of the election will be sent by the ASC county committee to all known eligible ASC voters at least 35 days ahead of the election. Announcement will be made also in local newspapers, over radio, and in other ways.

COMMUNITY BOUNDARIES

So that you may be sure of the community in which you live and vote in ASC elections, your county committee will announce approved community boundaries at least 35 days before election. Map of community boundaries will be either mailed to each eligible voter, or posted in each community.

DON'T MISS OUT ON VOTING

If you believe you are eligible to vote in an ASC election, but do not receive information about the election and a ballot in the mail, ask about it right away at your ASCS county office.

Take along proof of your right to vote—the deed to your farm, or a written statement from your landlord if

Arkansas ASC State, county and community committmen admire a ditch bank protected by grass against erosion.

you are a tenant or a sharecropper, or any other proof you may have. But check at the ASCS office at once. Don't miss out on voting if you are eligible.

If you are not satisfied after visiting your county office, contact your ASC State Committee, or a member of your ASC State Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity. Their addresses are on the back page of this folder.

MARKING YOUR BALLOT

At least 10 days before the election, you should receive in the mail a ballot with the names of all candidates in your community listed in A, B, C, D-order. If the farmers of your choice for committeeman are not listed, write in their names on the blank lines at the bottom.

In addition to the ballot, there will be instructions on voting your ballot, and when to send the ballot back to your ASCS county office, and when and where votes will be counted.

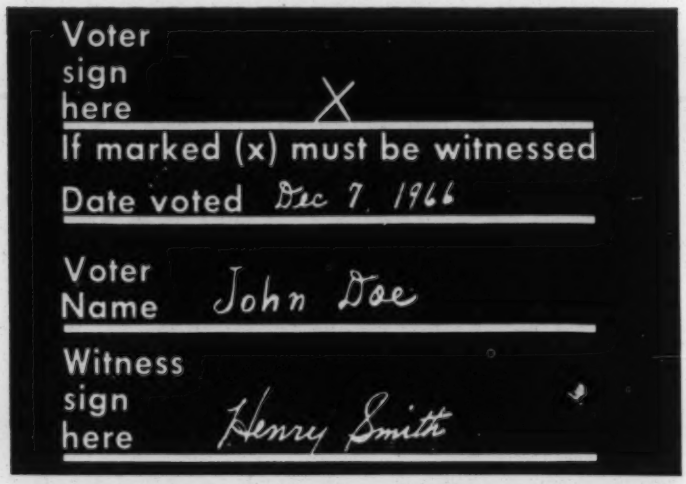
Also there will be two envelopes. One will be plain. The other will be addressed to your ASCS county office, and will have a certification statement on the back like the example below.

The steps in voting are:

(1) Look over the list of nominees carefully.

(2) Vote for the farmers of your choice. Vote for 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5. BUT VOTE FOR NO MORE THAN 5. IF YOU VOTE FOR MORE THAN 5, YOUR VOTE WILL NOT BE COUNTED. This number may vary in 1-community counties.

(3) Fold your ballot and place it in the PLAIN envelope and seal it. DO NOT WRITE ON THE PLAIN ENVELOPE. Leaving it unmarked keeps your ballot secret.



(4) Put the PLAIN envelope with your ballot into the larger envelope already addressed to your ASCS county office and seal it also.

(5) After you have sealed the larger envelope, sign or mark "X" on the line to which the arrow points and date it. In this way you certify or swear that you voted your own ballot personally without undue influence of others.

A Mississippi ASC community committeeman, left, and one of his State committeemen inspect a new farm pond.

If you mark "X" it must be done in the presence of a witness who will complete the form as shown in the example below and sign it. If the outside envelope is not so marked and signed, your ballot WILL NOT BE COUNTED AS A VOTE. Mail your ballot right away; NO POSTAGE IS NEEDED.

COUNTING THE VOTES

When your ballot, like all the rest, gets back to your ASCS county office, it will be placed in the ballot box.

Within five days after the election, the votes will be counted publicly by your ASC county committee in a place open to all races. You may watch the counting if you wish.

Before the counting begins, the outside envelopes will be opened and the inside plain envelopes with the ballots will be taken out and placed in a separate pile from the outside envelopes which will be shuffled so that all ballots will be kept secret. Then the plain envelopes will be opened and the votes counted.

Results of the election will be announced in the local newspapers, over radio, and TV where available.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information about ASC elections, or about any of the programs of ASCS, call or drop by your ASCS county office. It's your office and you are always welcome.

If you are not satisfied after visiting your ASCS county office, contact your ASC State Committee or a member of your ASC State Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity. You can reach either through your ASCS State office.

Get the address of your ASCS State office from your county office, or send a postal card for it to your ASCS Administrator, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Just say: Send me address of my ASCS State office. And give your name and address.

GPO 803–759

PA–774 Revised June 1967

BETTER INCOME FOR FARMERS

BALANCED ABUNDANCE FOR CONSUMERS

AGRICULTURE/2000

The two basic goals of our farm policy as we approach the 21st Century, says Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, are:

"Better income for farmers. Balanced abundance for consumers. . . . A farm policy which sought one and not the other would be unrealistic. A farm policy which achieved one and not the other would be a failure."

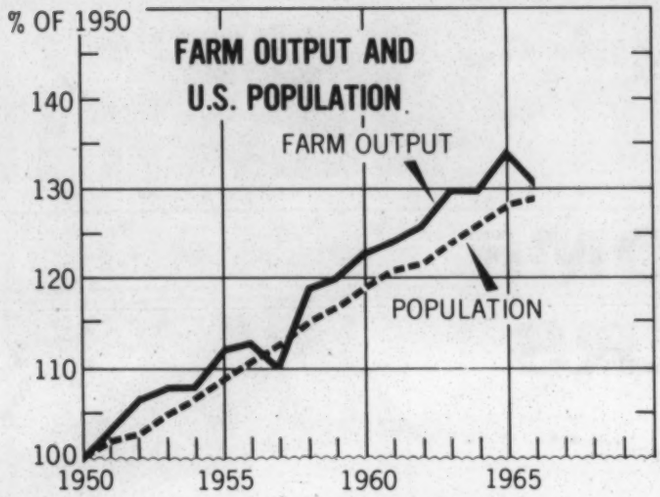
This leaflet is primarily intended to help ASC farmer committeemen understand and explain the purposes of the programs they administer, which are implements of these basic goals of national farm policy.

PA-807

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
United States Department of Agriculture

June 1967

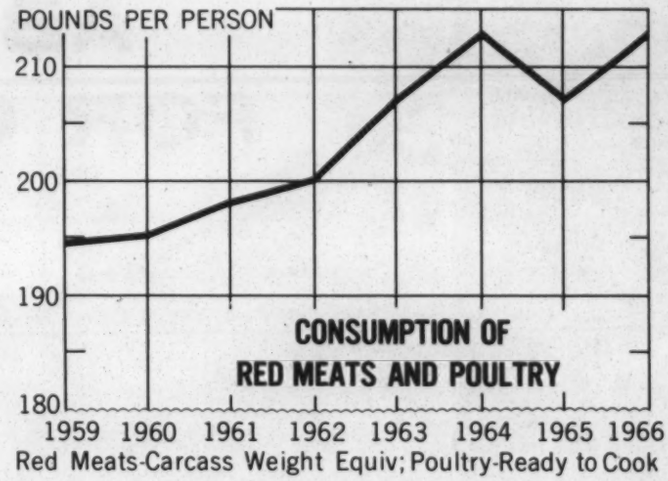
The American Farmer Is the Consumer's Best Friend . . .



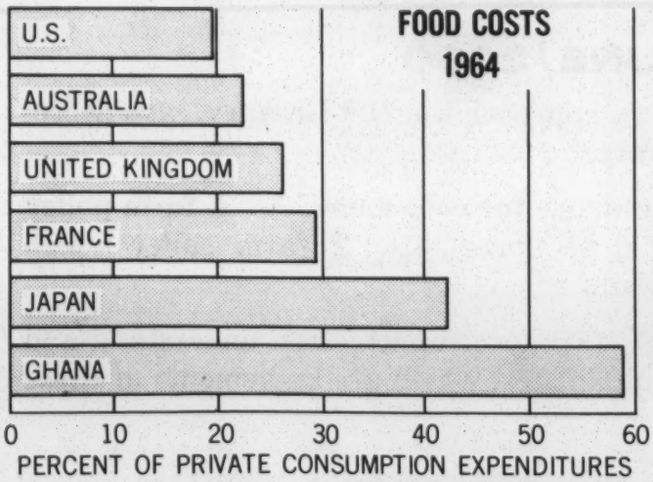
Food is more abundant in America than it ever has been, in any land. Consumers have the widest choice of higher quality foods. Farmers accomplished this by boosting output faster than population grew. To hard work, they have joined modern science and bigger investments in productivity.

Because He Provides High Quality and Abundance . . .

You can measure the quality and abundance farmers provide by the amounts you can enjoy of favorite foods. Sharpest increases have been made in output of foods consumers prefer—beef and poultry. The average American is eating record amounts of meat and poultry, over 200 pounds yearly.



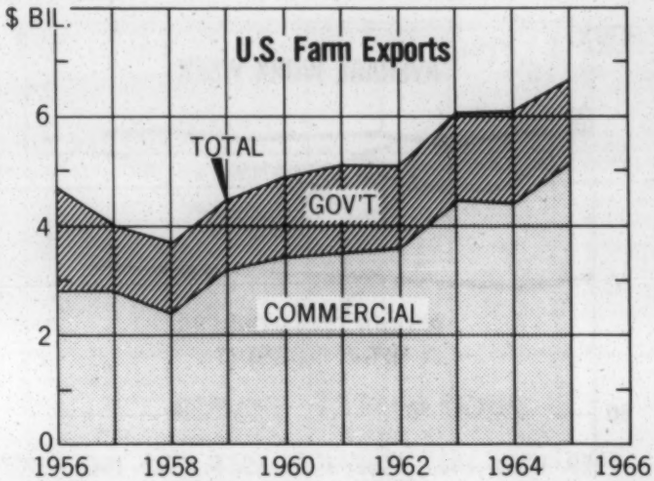
. . . At the Lowest Real Cost In the World



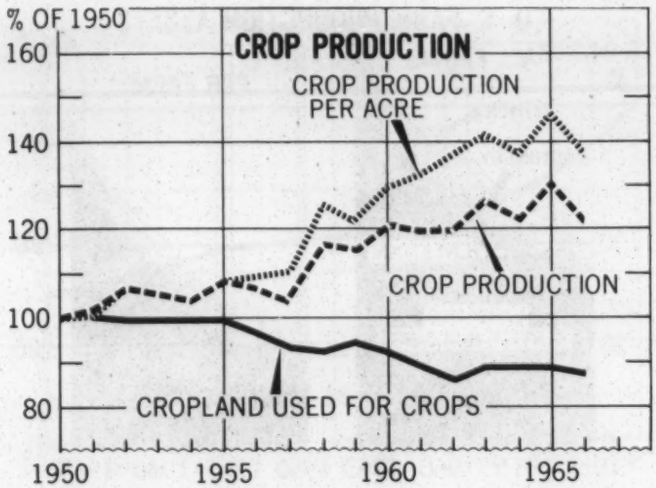
An average American can enjoy the world's best diet at the world's biggest bargain in real cost—18 cents out of his take-home dollar. And at that, farmers get only about 40 cents of your food dollar. The rest is for processing and marketing, including convenience — built-in-maid service—rather than for actual food.

He Also Helps Keep Our Trade Balance in Trim

At the same time, farmers set export dollar-earning records by providing the biggest share —a fourth—of all U.S. exports. Even beyond that, our food abundance, shared with needy nations, enables the U.S. Food for Freedom program to prove to the world the strength, determination, and good will of our democracy.



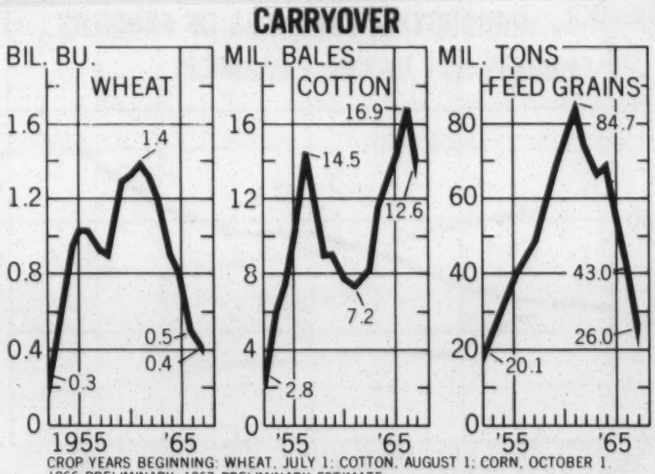
. . . and Can Produce Even More When Needed



All this, farmers do without even using all their cropland. The 1966 crop output was a sixth bigger than in 1955, though harvested from acreage a seventh less. There's big reserve capacity whenever demand calls for it. But to turn it loose before demand required could undo all our progress toward fair, stable farm income.

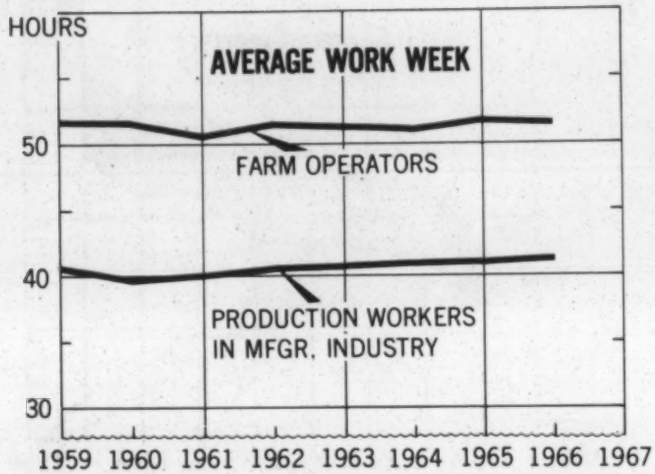
Balanced Plenty Without Waste Is the Goal

Farmers want to aim output at assured plenty at home plus export growth. They can safely do so only if protected from market-breaking surplus. Without the economic balance provided by adjustment and price support programs, surpluses pile up as farmers press every acre to meet costs. If in the end farm income falls and prosperity withers, no one gains.



CROP YEARS BEGINNING: WHEAT, JULY 1; COTTON, AUGUST 1; CORN, OCTOBER 1.
1966 PRELIMINARY, 1967 PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

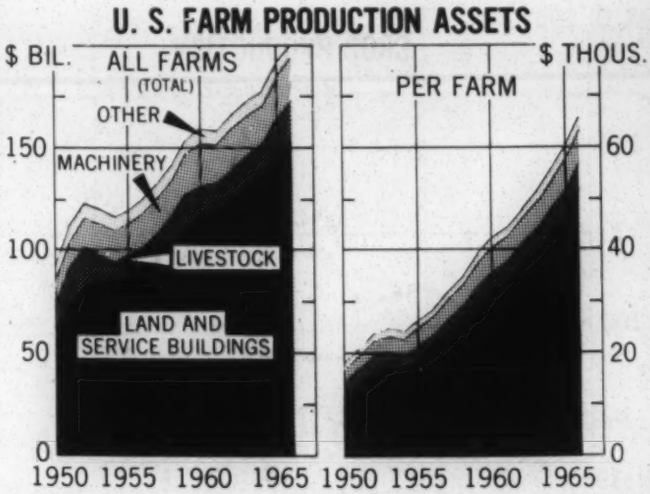
High Farm Production Doesn't Just Happen



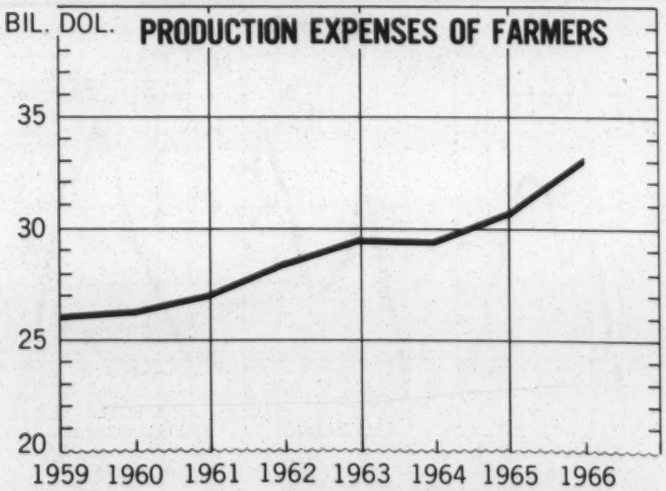
Even with today's machinery, it takes a lot of sweat and muscle to keep your pantry so well stocked. The factory work-week is 40 hours, but farm operators average 50. Three-fourths of the output is from family farms where everybody has to pitch in to do the work.

A Productive Farm Takes More Capital . . .

In 1955, a man with only $26,000 of his own or borrowed capital could set up on an average farm. Ten years later he had to raise $60,000, over twice as much. In 1955 it took about $11,000 of invested capital to yield the farm operator $1,000 net income. Ten years later it took $13,000 worth.



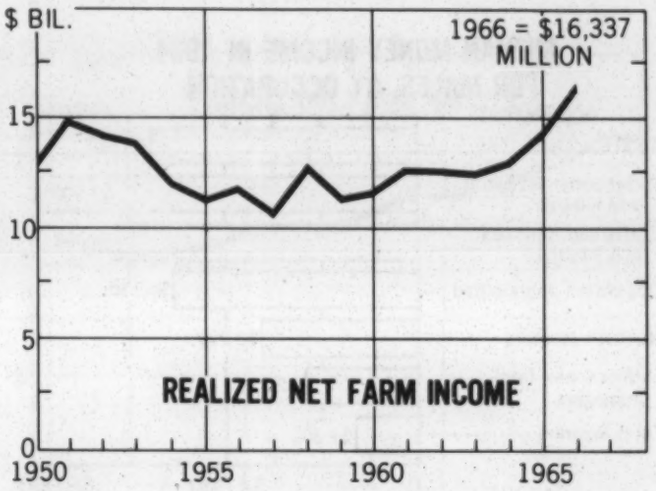
. . . and Costs of Production Keep Going Up



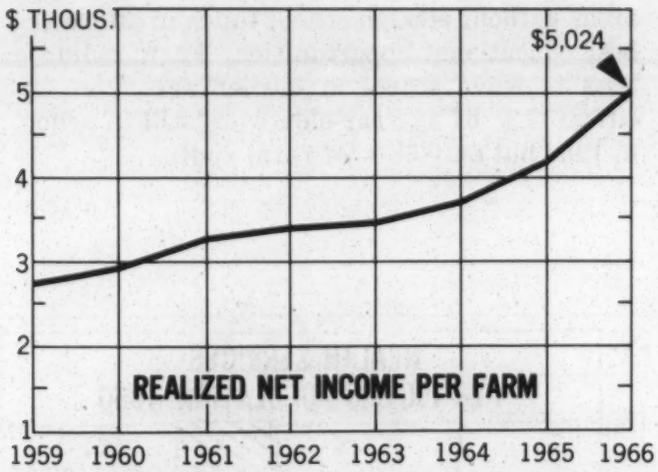
Boosting output takes more working cash. Production costs on the average farm in 1955 were $4,700, or $195 per $100 of net income. Ten years later they ran to $9,100, or $217 per $100 of net. In total, farmers spent $30.7 billion for production in 1965 against $21.9 billion in 1955.

Total Farm Income Has Risen in Recent Years

U.S. farmers earned a record gross of $49.5 billion in 1966. Over $16.3 billion of it was realized net income. That's about $2.1 billion over the 1965 net—a welcome recovery from the post-war low of $10.7 billion in 1957 and second only to 1947, when we were feeding a devastated world.



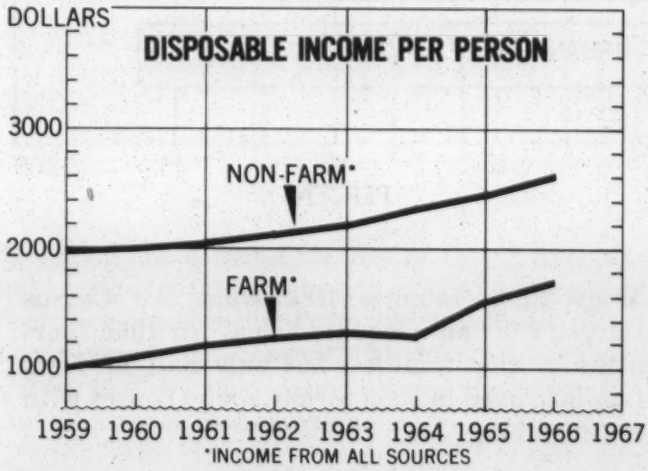
Per Farm, the Improvement Is Even Better



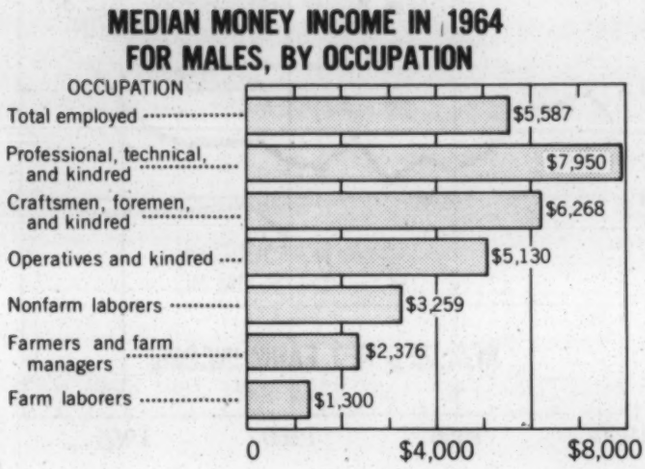
The average farm family counted about $5,000 as net income in 1966, about $800 over 1965 and two-thirds again as much as in 1960. The increase per farm is partly because there are fewer farms to divide the total among, but the total to be divided is much bigger.

But There Is Still an Income Gap to Close

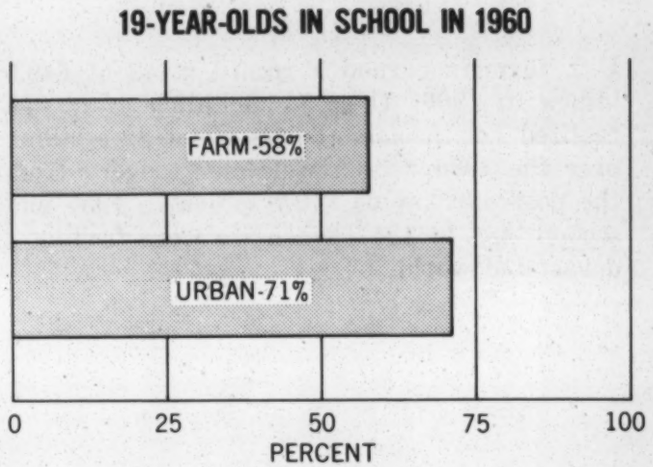
It's gratifying, of course, that farmers are doing better, compared with past years. But compared with what other Americans are earning today, there's still a gap. In 1966 people on farms still lacked $900 each of enjoying as much spendable personal income as non-farm people.



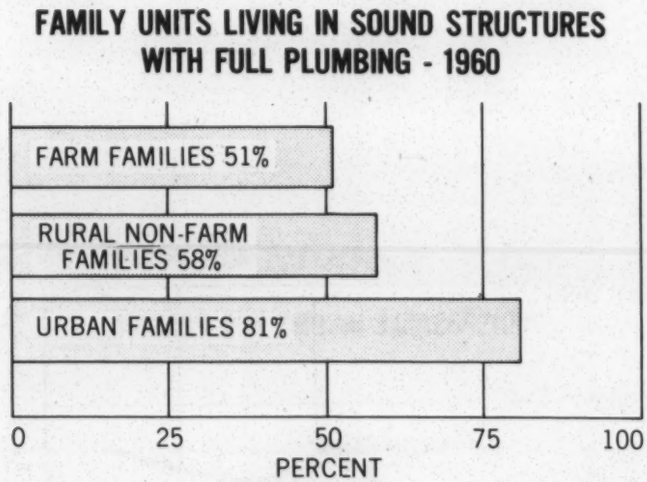
The Income Gap Forces Many Farm Families to "Do Without"



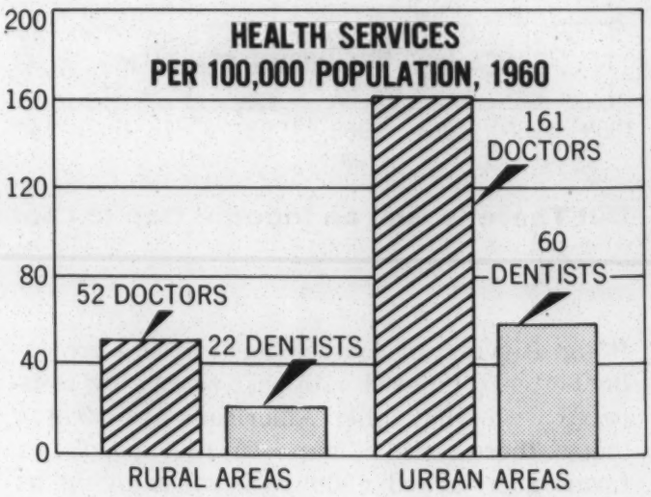
For his skill and experience, the farmer at midpoint of the farm income ladder (median) earns a little under half as much money as the midpoint factory worker. The farmer has to raise, risk and manage his own capital and operating cash. Yet his family may have less money than a laborer's.



Farm families' lower incomes leave many rural areas without enough school funds to afford the best educational opportunities. Farm children tend to leave school at earlier ages, too. In cities, 71% of 19-year-olds were still in school in 1960 but only 58% of rural youth.

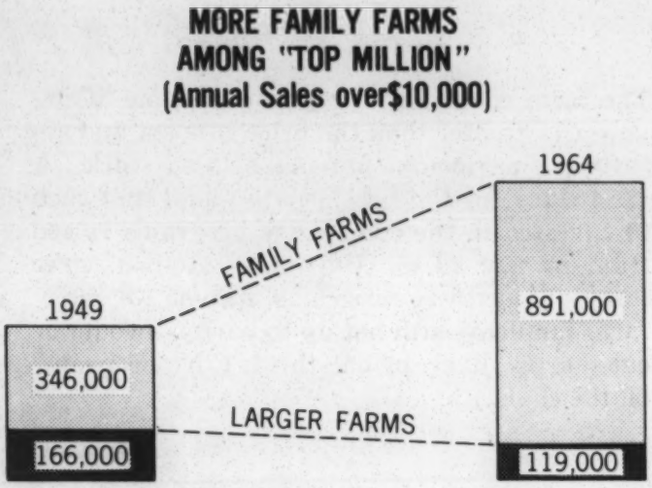


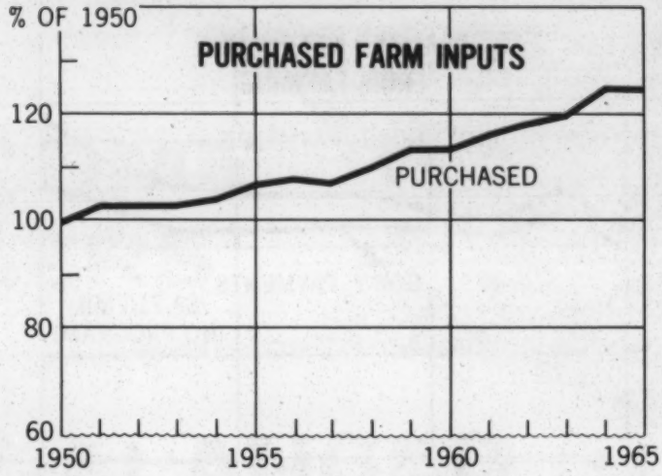
Many farm families lack what the Census Bureau calls an adequate house. In 1960 four-fifths of city families, but only half of farm families, lived in structurally sound houses with full plumbing.



Health services aren't as plentiful or convenient for farm people, either. In 1960, rural areas had only 52 doctors and 22 dentists per 100,000 persons. Urban areas had three times as many.

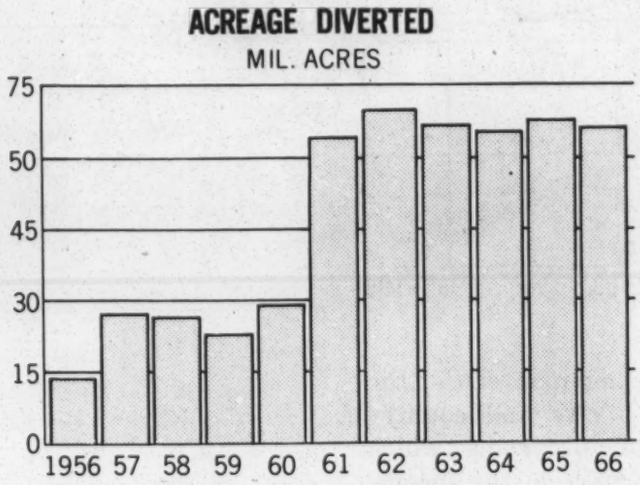
Everybody Gains From Closing the Farm Income Gap

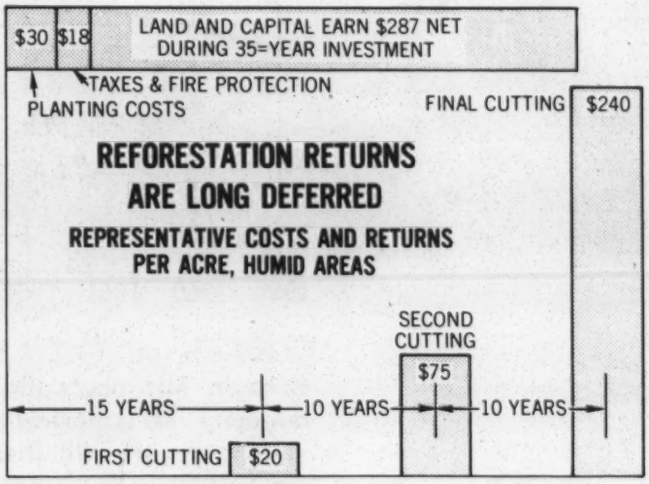




Every day there are more of us to be fed in America, and in the world. The job needs our most efficient farmers. They are on family farms, doing most of their own work. Family farms build the steadiest communities, too. Closing the farm income gap helps them to stay strong.

Thriving family farms generate business that also helps towns thrive. Six million jobs depend just on supplying farm production needs. Buying by prosperous farm homes swells the market. The nation's economy needs the strength of farm buying power.

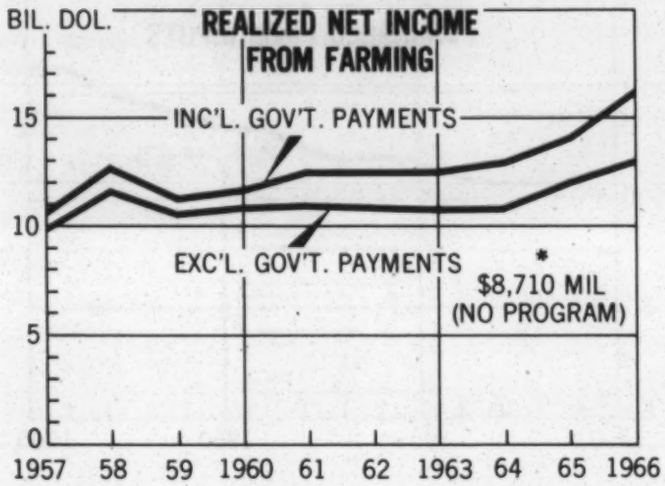




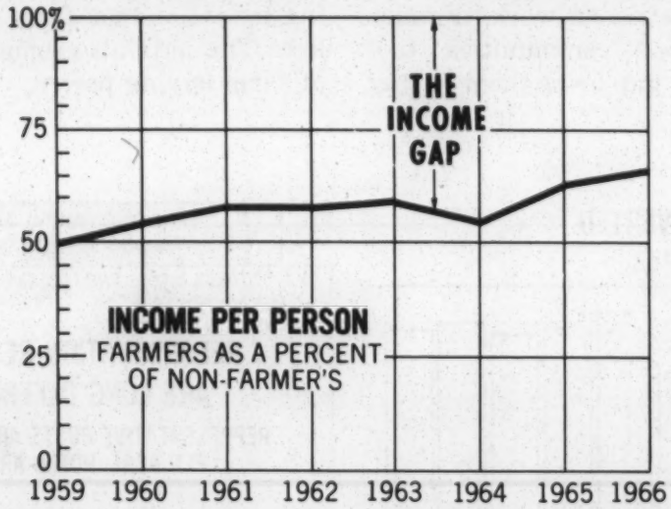
In the 1950's, surpluses rose while crops were harvested from up to 350 million acres. The 1960's greater needs have been met with up to 60 million acres shifted by flexible programs to uses which save soil for future needs—and help keep water clean and scenery green for all to enjoy.

If denied equal living conditions by an income gap, can farm families be expected to make conservation investments from which returns may be a generation in coming? As the whole nation gains, so the whole public shares the costs of soil and water conservation.

Farm Programs Are Helping to Close the Income Gap



The farm commodity programs' income-lifting power is greater than the price support and adjustment payments that make them work. A 1964 study for the U.S. Senate found that each $1 invested in the commodity programs raised farm income $2.36. University studies agree that without these programs, income for many farm families—still not up to parity—would be cut sharply, likely by one-third. ("No program" on the chart.)



Both in fair play, and in common sense, the majority of Americans, in city and country alike, support stabilization programs which since 1959 have helped to narrow the income gap. Such progress is evidence that more farmers have achieved parity of income. To close the gap is the goal of the farmers' programs.

A.S.C.S

ASCS

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

JUL 11 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture is making a continuing effort to encourage all farmers, and especially minority group farmers, to participate more fully in the benefits of its farm programs, as well as share in the administrative activities of the Agency.

Among other things, ASCS is revising its six-page pictoralized leaflet, "Vote for Farmers of Your Choice," to further clarify the election procedure. A copy is enclosed. It is available for distribution to farmers and others interested in ASC elections.

ASCS is also revising its slide set, narration and discussion guide on ASC elections. These can be used by our ASCS county offices, at public meetings in various communities, to explain election procedures to farmers. We hope you will assist us by encouraging farmers in your community to attend these meetings and become better acquainted with ASC election procedures. Also, we would welcome your arrangement and promotion of additional meetings in your county. The slide sets are limited, but if you will contact Mr. Victor B. Phillips, Assistant to the Administrator, ASCS, USDA, Washington, D.C. 20250, a week or two in advance of your meeting, a set will be loaned to you.

Available, also, through Mr. Phillips' office are slide sets and publications on the Agricultural Conservation Program, the Cotton Program, the Feed Grain and Wheat Programs and the overall operations of ASCS. These provide basic background information that most farmers need. Enclosed are copies of the publications, including, "Better Income for Farmers, Balanced Abundance for Consumers."

In the course of your work in your community, some ideas may have occurred to you as to how we may improve our methods of getting farm program and other ASCS information to minority group farmers. We would appreciate very much having your ideas and suggestions regarding this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

H. D. Godfrey

Horace D. Godfrey
Administrator

Enclosures

Acca

January 18, 1960

Mr. Jesse Hill
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
148 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hill:

As you undoubtedly know, the A.C.C.A. pamphlet is now at the printers. We have ordered 2,500 copies and, a as I told you, the estimated price is $755.00 plus tax.

According to our earlier conversation, the Council will contribute $400.00 to this undertaking in the expectation that Atlanta Life will pay the balance. When the printing bill is received, we shall pay it and then notify you so that you may reimburse us for your portion.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. I have just talked with the printer, who tells me that he expects to have galleys tomorrow, although he has not yet received from Mr. Harper all of the art work.

March 1, 1960

Ruth, this is the bill for ACCA

Les says paythe total bill, send copy to Mr. Jesse Hill, with letter or note saying we have paid total, but that agreement was we pay $400 of the first charge for $781.00 2,500 copies, and he is responsible for the remainder of the bill:

first 2,500 -	$381.00
add'l 2,850	300.00
plus Ga. tax	32.43
	$713.43

$1,113.43
400.00
-
$713.43

March 7, 1960

Dear Mr. Hill:

Enclosed is a copy of invoice from Higgins-McArthur Company for the printing of "A Second Look".

The Council is paying the total bill as agreed and assuming $400. of total cost. The remainder of $713.43 is due the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

rha/hs
Enclosure (Copy of original Invoice)

Mr. Jesse Hill
Atlanta Life Insurance Company
148 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 7, 1960

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
Institute of Human Relations
National Labor Service
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

The group in Atlanta who put out A Second Look will send you fifty copies, as you requested in your letter of February 25. They don't have much money, having scraped their pockets pretty clean to get it printed (with a little help from us); so they may ask for a reimbursement if you feel like it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

NEW ADDRESS
as of 4/26/63
Rm. 1224 City Federal Bldg.

December 14, 1961

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Paul has asked me to reply to your request, made for Fred Powell, on Negro policemen in southern cities. We have sent to the printers just today a manuscript entitled, "The Unequal Badge: Negro Policemen in the South." This study was conducted by Professor Elliott Rudwick, who, at the time of the research was on the faculty of the University of Florida. He is now Associate Professor of Sociology at Southern Illinois University.

You will, of course, receive a copy of this report as soon as it is published and if you will remind us at that time, we will be glad to send some additional copies to you, one of which may be forwarded to Mr. Powell.

From your letters and from other sources, many interesting things are happening in Alabama. Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

JM✓
MM
NL✓

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 15, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Fred Powell, a member of the Council who lives in Decatur is interested in collecting data on the hiring of Negro policemen in southern cities. It would be helpful to know who suggested the hiring of Negroes, and any limitations imposed upon them (ie - working only in Negro neighborhoods, power to arrest Negroes only). Perhaps I could prepare five to ten pamphlets for distribution to local groups in Alabama.

The Tuscaloosa Chapter discussed employment at their meeting last night. It was interesting to see six graduate students from University of Alabama at the meeting at Stillman. No students at Stillman attended the meeting. I would like some help in assembling a dozen pamphlets on reducing discrimination in employment.

This brings to mind the report on Ford at Sheffield. Would this report be suitable for mention in "New South"?

I am writing the other State Councils for samples of their Brochures to acquaint people with their organization. I will hope to remember to let you see a proposed draft before we have one printed for your comments.

Father Foley enjoyed the Annual Meeting of Southern Regional Council and has written the Board members to gear up for a financial drive after December 1st.

One hundred and eighty-nine leading business men signed a public statement in favor of law and order, obedience to law without distinguishing between Federal or state and municipal. It was printed in Birmingham News on Sunday, November 12, 1961.

Things are rolling along.

Sincerely,

Jim

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.)
Executive Director

NCJ:ac

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
205 PHONE 252-2722
Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSON, Executive Director

NM - file

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

October 31, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

This afternoon Paul Anthony asked me to write you a line about Head and Zukoski. Mr. James A. Head is president of the James A. Head & Company (office furniture). He has served as president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, Birmingham Rotary Club, Committee of a Hundred, and is currently vice-president of some group that I do not know the name of. He can be reached by phone at 323-8911. His address is 2013 First Avenue, North.

Charles Zukoski is retired vice-president of the First National Bank of Birmingham, and is now serving as a consultant to the First National Bank. He is president of a State Committee established to improve public schools. He will be out of town until Monday, at which time, I will call him and find out what we can say about him. Mr. Zukoski is now opening an office today, November 1, with David Vann and Vernon Patrick at 1910 City Federal Building, phone number 322-5721. Call

Mr. Head is out of town today, and I can not find out what organization that he has an office in, but I will check tomorrow. If you don't here from me by Monday, call me. Hope this is helpful to you. Keep up the good work.

Cordially,

Norman C. Jimerson

Norman C. Jimerson (Rev.) m. w.
Executive Director

NCJ/mw

December 2, 1963

Reverend Norman C. Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
2121 Building, Corner 8th Ave. & 22nd St.
Room 101
Birmingham, Alabama - 35203

Dear Jim:

As promised, in our phone conversation last Friday, I am enclosing a copy of President Johnson's personal Thanksgiving message to the American people.

Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

October 14, 1964

Reverend Edward Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2121 Building -- Room 101
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Winton M. Blount, Montgomery
Milton Cummings, Huntsville
Leroy S. Gaillard, Jr. Birmingham
Mayor Joseph N. Langan, Mobile
George LaMaistre, Tuscaloosa
Frank Newton, Birmingham
Thirwell Nolen, Gadsden
Arthur Shores, Birmingham
Sidney Smyer, Birmingham
Bierne Spragins, Huntsville
David Vann, Birmingham
Nat Welch, Auburn

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 14, 1964

Reverend Edward Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2121 Building
Room 101
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Ed:

As you know we were instructed by the SRC Board to notify the state council that is to receive the George Mitchell Award, not later than October 1 of the year the Award is to be made. We plan to make an award this year but cannot do so until such a time that we have your membership report.

The Award is to be based on percentage increase of a state council during the preceding year from September to September. We have reports from Florida, Arkansas, and Virginia, but no report from your state. Please may we have it as soon as possible so that we may determine the recipient and notify same pursuant to our instructions from the SRC Board.

May we hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 101 TWENTY-ONE TWENTY-ONE BUILDING, CORNER 8th AVENUE NORTH AND 22nd STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA - 35203
PHONE 252-2722
[redacted] Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

October 15, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for sending me the names of Alabama members of the Citizens' Committee for Community Relations. This should be very helpful.

As for the notice that you had not received our membership figures, I could be mistaken, but unless I am very much so these were sent to Marge Manderson or Paul Anthony -- exactly as requested by them. I suggest you talk to Marge, in Paul's Absence, and let me know if what was sent never arrived or was not what is needed.

At any rate, I can assure that Alabama is not in the running for the George Mitchell Award.

With all good wishes,

Ed

J. Edwin Stanfield

October 28, 1964

Reverend Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2108 Fulton
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

file

PA
LDA
PW

2108 Fulton Drive, N.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35810
November 11, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

This is just a word of appreciation for the splendid job you did, as usual, on the Brunswick report and the New South article on St. Augustine.

I am especially pleased with your conclusion in the New South piece that "the notion of a middle ground is a myth" in the context of a struggle for human rights. This has been impressed upon me these two months by the situation in Alabama in general and the sorry plight of the ACHR in particular. I have been describing it as "extreme polarization." The climate is such that white citizens who normally would be decent and progressive cannot afford to be linked even with an organization so mild in its methods as ACHR. Simply to be in favor of dignity for all, in favor not systematically insulting a large segment of the population, makes you a target of unbounded hostility and, if possible, retaliation.

Get Paul to tell you about the trouble I've had trying to get an office, if he hasn't already. (What makes it especially interesting, to my mind, is the high degree of probability that the threat of retaliation is coming from federal agency administrators.) In looking around Huntsville for some other office, I have run into several building managers and realtors who seem to be pretty decent sorts themselves. But it is always the same. When they find out that we would likely have an integrated staff and some "Negro traffic" -- they have to take it up with the owner, the bank holding the mortgage, and the other tenants. So far there has been no unanimity in our favor.

One such realtor, a retired army officer, told me that he had been on some board responsible for effecting integration in the service back in the forties. "It worked out fine," he said, "for the most part." He commented that they had the advantage of discipline which isn't available in civilian society. And he added, "You have to understand that I am a real estate dealer in Huntsville, Alabama. Regardless of my personal views -- and I don't think I'm reactionary -- if I ever tried to sell a Negro a house in a white neighborhood, I would be <u>through</u>! <u>Finished</u>! "

Within thirty minutes after I had talked to him, he was calling to tell me that he couldn't do anything for me. The survey didn't take long!

At least he was a pleasant respite after talking to the owner of a building downtown. He turned me down flat and offered gratuitously the advice that we and everybody else would be better off if we would get a converted house or some other office where we could be "to ourselves." As I was making departing noises, he said, "You know, we wouldn't mind having our own southern Negroes coming in here. But these northern trouble-makers are not welcome."

"Just a minute," I said, walking back to his desk. "Among the Negro members of my board are Dr. Lucius Pitts, President of Miles College; Dr. Herman Long, President of Talladega College; Dr. Foster, President of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, distinguished professor of political science at Tuskegee. I believe these men qualify as local citizens."

"What you have," he answered, "is what we down here call 'colored gentlemen.' They are Negroes who live decently and keep themselves clean. Then there's just plain old niggers. Know what I mean?"

Showing restraint of which I am proud, I said, "Good day. Thank you for your time."

I have been rambling a bit, I guess, but my point is only that I appreciate your insight about the St. Augustine situation-- which applies, it seems, to the whole state of Alabama -- that an agency for reconciliation, communication, negotiation, etc., is helpless in a racist climate. Helpless... and perhaps pointless, since, as you say, the true middle is what the community thinks is one extreme! It makes me wonder about the possibilities, for the near future at least, of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Anyhow, thanks for a thoughtful and thought-provoking piece.

With warm regard,

Ed

Ed Stanfield

Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive West
Huntsville, Alabama
November 23, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

At the state staffs' meeting in Atlanta last week we snatched a few moments' conversation about the approach of Milton Cummings, Brown Engineering, and the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors to the matter of equal employment opportunity. As I thought about it some more and talked to some of the staff folks from other places, I became more convinced that stories of this sort ought to be widely told. So I'm writing to suggest that you do a special report or something along this line.

What I have in mind, of course, is the fact that the section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on employment goes into effect on July 2, 1965. It seems to me that a report on the Huntsville story would help to elicit a response to the law, rather than a reaction. I hope that the Alabama Council can work up something like informal meetings that would bring together industry representatives in Birmingham or Mobile with AHAC representatives and, possibly, someone from the Community Relations Service who could explain and interpret the employment section of the law. The Brown Engineering-AHAC story should be especially helpful in Alabama, but I think it deserves telling throughout the South.

If you are interested, you could write to Mr. Milton Cummings, President, Brown Engineering Company, 300 Sparkman Drive, N.W., Huntsville and/or Mr. L. C. McMillan, Director, Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, 2205 E. University Avenue, N.W., Huntsville.

Let me know if I can help -- on this or anything else.

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin Stanfield

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Contractors' Racial Practices Praised

Huntsville Times 11/17/64

By PHIL GARNER
Times Staff Writer

Huntsville's effort to utilize the manpower of minority groups through the Association of Huntsville Area Contractors was praised here last night by Hobart Taylor Jr., associate special counsel to President Johnson.

Taylor, one of the highest ranking Negroes in federal government, spoke to the first annual meeting of AHAC, praising "the fine sense of dedication . . . which has made this community one of the first in the country where industry has combined to accomplish manpower utilization" of minorities.

The guest speaker said Huntsville's role in opening frontiers in space makes it "only fitting" that it should take leadership in conserving the potential of minorities.

There is still a "great deal of inertia" to combat here, said Taylor, who said he came to Huntsville to "express gratitude for your leadership."

The local association was organized last year to promote equal employment opportunities, and has grown from 16 to 32 member firms. It is comprised of aerospace and related contracting companies.

A. V. Pilling, vice president of Hayes International Corp., was installed as president at last night's meeting, succeeding Milton Cummings, president of Brown Engineering Co. Others installed were Ruffin Blaylock, vice president; W. T. Brooks, treasurer; Thomas Burkett, J. O. Schrimsher, Harry Wrange and Cummings as members of the executive committee.

Cummings said his group found no real discrimination in hiring practices, but rather a problem of a lack of qualified Negro personnel to take skilled positions in space related industry.

The past president of AHAC said the association at one time found it hard to bring Negro engineers and technicians to Huntsville because Negroes were not receiving equal favor in education, housing and employment here, and because of established policies of segregation and discrimination in public accommodations.

* * *

"We (AHAC) have established a good record," said Cummings. "We tried out new concepts and found new problems. I would like to challenge you not to rest on your laurels but to look on our position as one in which we have a great responsibility and opportunity not only to be of service to the community but to the United States and free men of good will throughout the world," said Cummings.

"All of us know the problem of Alabama and the South," said Cummings. "The greatest opportunity we can enjoy is to move out of the slave economy of the old South . . ."

In a year-end report, L. C. McMillan, executive director of AHAC, called time the group's greatest enemy and the bi-racial Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) its greatest friend.

* * *

McMillan said AHAC made new inroads in employment opportunities for minorities in the Huntsville area during the year.

Representatives of the group met with Federal Housing Administration officials, worked with the City's bi-racial committee, and gave refresher courses and advice on grooming and job interviews to members of minority groups, said McMillan.

Taylor compared human and natural resources, declaring that "only the application of labor and intellect of man gives value to minerals and fiber.

"Fifteen years ago, who would have dreamed a complex as mighty as Redstone Arsenal and the Marshall Space Flight Center would exist here?" Taylor asked. "But now it is a fact. The in-migrating of talent to the area raises the question to what extent the people native to the area are participating," said Taylor.

* * *

The same technology that brought prosperity to the community illuminates its failures, Taylor said, pointing to inadequate education which he said trains students for jobs which no longer exist.

Failure to use the abilities of those in the minority is hampering the entire economy, said Taylor, calling the lack of manpower utilization a nation-wide problem.

Taylor said it is time we stop dealing in abstractions and recognize that "it is only the individual we deal with."

This region and this country, said Taylor, are on the verge of "a new era of economic growth."

President Johnson's idea of the "Great Society" is a part of this local program, said Taylor.

"I know that the people of Huntsville will make a great contribution to this effort," he added.

READ THE WANT ADS

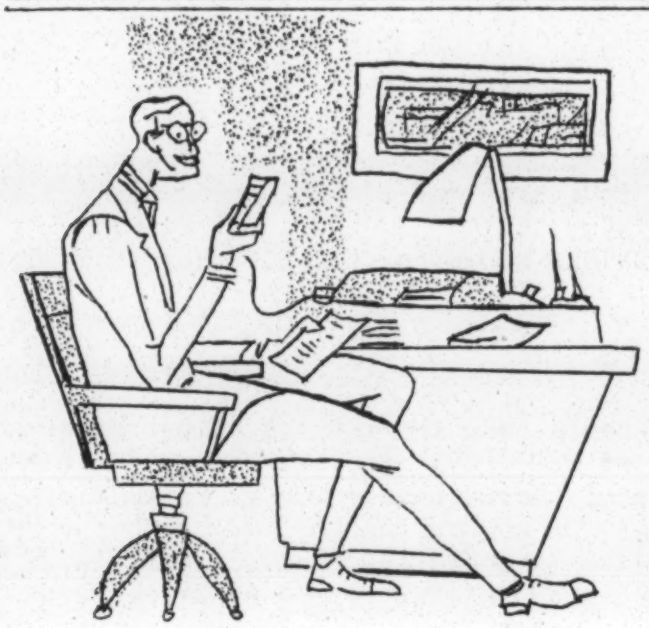
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, WEST
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA 35805

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

December 1, 1964



NEW STATE OFFICE ...

Yes, office space has been found and the headquarters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations have been moved to Huntsville at the above address.

Due to circumstances beyond our control it took a little longer than expected. So if you have not been getting your copies of the ACHR Newsletter, it isn't because they got lost in the mails. They didn't get sent!

The Board of Directors voted in late August to make this move. This was at the same time that the new executive director was hired. (See the story below.) In order to get a very desirable location, we chose to wait a little more than a month while it was being fixed up for us. We expected to move about October 15. But the landlord-to-be changed his mind (perhaps we should say "its mind"--corporations are so impersonal), and it took us nearly another month to find a different place.

But now at last we do have a nice office in another new building. Things are not fully sorted out yet, but the office and crew of one are at your service!

NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ...

Almost everyone concerned has probably heard by now that the Reverend Norman C. Jimerson resigned in August in order to accept a position as Director of the Career-in-service program of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan. He and his family moved to Kalamazoo during the first week of September and report themselves very happy in their new home and work. Their address is 116 Monroe Street, Kalamazoo.

The Reverend J. Edwin Stanfield was chosen by the Board of Directors to succeed Mr. Jimerson. Mr. Stanfield is a Presbyterian minister. He was born in Warren, Arkansas, and grew up in northern Louisiana and Arkansas. He attended Arkansas College and was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia. He holds B.D. and Th.M. degrees from Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. He pastored churches in West Virginia for seven years. He comes to Alabama Council after a summer of training with Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Mrs. Stanfield is the former Joyce Pauley of South Charleston, West Virginia. They have one son, Mark, age four.

ESSAY CONTEST DELAYED ...

We are sorry to report that the essay contest which we had planned to repeat this year has been postponed, by order of the Executive Committee, due primarily to the unsettled state of affairs resulting from the difficulty in locating an office. This turn of events is the more unfortunate in that Mr. Harry Golden, Editor of the NORTH CAROLINA ISRAELITE, had graciously consented to judge the finalists' entries. We hope to have another go at this program in the not-too-distant future.

DON'T FORGET THE ANNUAL MEETING. FEBRUARY 6. IN BIRMINGHAM. MARK THE DATE NOW.

NEW POLICY FOR "NEW SOUTH"

After Years and years of holding the line at $2.00 the Southern Regional Council magazine, NEW SOUTH, finally had to yield to inflation and raise the subscription price to $2.50. It would still be the best literary bargain in the South at twice that price, of course. More important for everyone to remember is another action taken simultaneously.

For some time the office staff at SRC have wrestled with the problems and confusion resulting from handling subscriptions at second hand, i.e. through the offices of the several state councils on human relations. Therefore, in order to simplify handling, and in order to avoid raising the membership fees of state councils, it was decided that ALL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND RENEWALS FOR NEW SOUTH WILL BE HANDLED DIRECTLY FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL OFFICE.

In other words, you can still be a member of ACHR for $5.00 (single) or $8.00 (man and wife), but -- we hate to tell you! -- NEW SOUTH is not included in the deal. Please take comfort in the thought that you will be helping your organization and its purposes a little bit more. And send your name and address along with $2.50 for a year's subscription to: NEW SOUTH...SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL...5 FORSYTH ST. ...ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303. (If you already get NEW SOUTH, wait until they send you a renewal notice -- then wait no longer.)

DR PITTS DOING BETTER

While we are passing along bad news, we should note the illness of our president, Dr. Lucius Pitts, who is also president of Miles College. Perhaps you already know about this, for it really is not "news" now. On September 30 Dr. Pitts suffered a mild heart attack. He was in the hospital for several weeks. We are happy to report that he is at home now and that his health is steadily improving. By late November he was able to get out briefly for the long-awaited ground-breaking ceremony for Miles' new science building.

MACON COUNTY PROGRESS

Turning to more pleasant happenings, congratulations are in order for the political pathfinders in Tuskegee and Macon County. The Reverend K. L. Buford and Dr. Stanley Hugh Smith, recently elected to the Tuskegee City Council, were the first two Negroes elected to public office against white opponenets in Alabama in almost a century. Dr. C. G. Gomillion was elected to the Macon County Board of Education and The REverend V. A. Edwards to the county commission. Both Dr. Gomillion and Mr. Edwards are members of the ACHR Board of Directors.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH?

Speaking of politics,the Southern Regional Council released on November 15 a very interesting analysis of the results in the South of the November 3rd national election. Here are a few of SRC's conclusions:

Of the six southern states carried by the Democratic Party in 1964 four, and possibly five, would have gone Republiaan had it not been for the Negro vote.

The southern states which Johnson carried have the highest Negro registration. Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina -- where Negro voter-registration efforts have had some success ---voted 54%, 57%, and 59% for Goldwater. Mississippi and Alabama gave Goldwater 87% and 69% respectively. Both states are notorious for intimidation and other blocks to Negro voting rights, with the result that Negro voter registration is abnormally low.

"The other issues of the campaign," says the report, "undoubtedly entered into the outcome in the Deep South, but the fact that they did not have the same effect on white voters as in the entire rest of the nation leads (along with other compelling evidence) to the conclusion that race was the controlling factor in this area where it has always assumed grotesquely disproportionate importance."

The report also made the point that "effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue...." The so-called "Negro bloc vote" does not exist unless racism dominates the election. Because the race issue dominated this election in the South, we saw the rejection by white voters of strongly conservative Democratic candidates who had tenure and presumably could have served more effectively the purposes of the voters who rejected them -- for example, George Huddleston, Jr., of Birmingham. On the other hand, Negroes so intensely rejected the Republican Party that Negro voting clearly accounted for the election of some strongly conservative Democrats, e. g., Robert Casey of Houston.

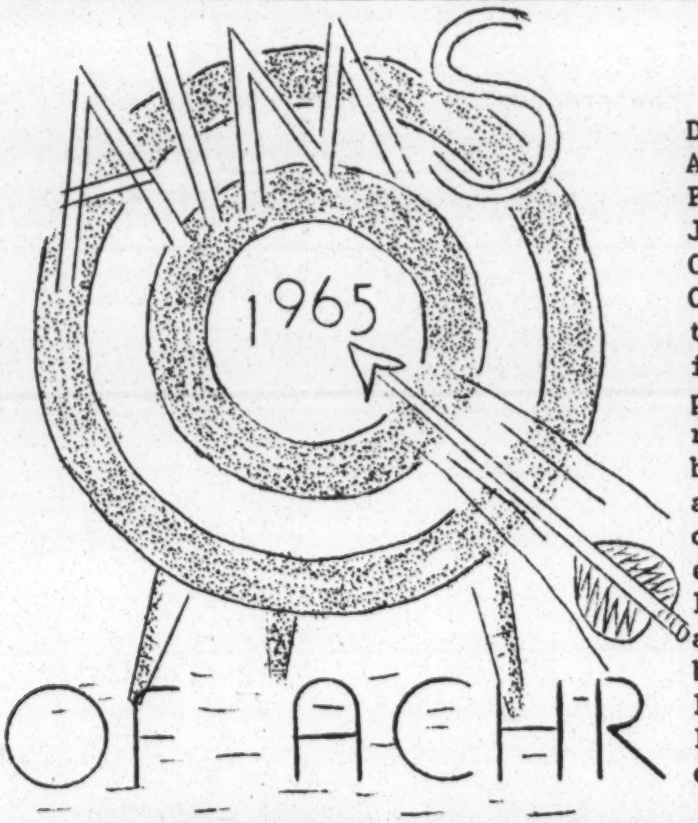
HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO AHAC

The Association of Huntsville Area Contractors recently celebrated their first anniversary. Speaker for the occasion was Hobart Taylor, Jr., associate special counsel to President Johnson. Mr. Taylor, one of the highest ranking Negro officials in federal government, commended the associatinn and "the fine sense of dedication... which has made this community one of the first in the country where industry has combined to accomplish manpower utilization of minorities."

Outgoing president Milton Cummings explained that AHAC was formed after Huntsville industries, responding to President Kennedy's executive order on fair employment practices for government contractors, found that local schools were not turning out technically qualified Negroes -- and that qualified Negroes from other parts of the country were reluctant to move to Huntsville because of discrimination in h housing, the poor educational facilities generally, and policies of segregation in public accomodations. AHAC seeks to help Negroes to qualify for better jobs through refresher courses, tutoring, and advice on job interviews through their Technical Advisory Committee. The association also works to improve housing and public education.

Executive Director of AHAC is Mr. L. C. McMillan. The new president is A. V. Pilling, Vice President of Hayes International Corporation, who was installed at the anniversary celebration.

IF YOU DID NOT RECEIVE THIS COPY OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL BULLETIN THROUGH THE MAIL, BUT WOULD LIKE TO RECEIVE IT REGULARLY, PLEASE WRITE TO US. IF YOU ARE A "PAID UP" MEMBER, LET US KNOW, FOR YOU SHOULD BE ON OUR MAILING LIST. IF YOU ARE NOT A PAID UP MEMBER, USE THE APPLICATION BLANK PROVIDED ELSEWHERE IN THIS ISSUE.



THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF PRACTICES AND POLICIES WHICH HOLD FORTH THE PROMISE OF A JUST REWARD FOR ANY MAN'S LABOR OR STUDY. On July 2, 1965, the section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act on equal employment opportunity will take effect. Unless the matter is given creative thought and advance preparation there may be more reaction than response to the law. Many industries and businesses, in Alabama and elsewhere, have already taken noteworthy steps and adopted constructive policies with regard to the employment of minority-group applicants. In 1965 the Alabama Council purposes to sponsor at least one seminar, and possibly more, for business and industrial leaders and labor leaders to promote understanding of the law and its purposes and to share ideas for constructive responses.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF BETTER USE OF AVAILABLE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES BY ALL CITIZENS, AND OF IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES NOW EXISTING. The Alabama Council supports every effort at improving public schools and democratic instruction in Alabama. One of our goals for 1965 is the development, in cooperation with the National Student Association, of an active student organization to participate in tutorial programs and school readiness programs for disadvantaged children. Also, in 1965, our local councils will be asked to support a democratic system of education by encouraging Negro students who would like to enroll in technically integrated schools, but are hesitant.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF THE USE BY THE COMMUNITIES OF THIS STATE OF THOSE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AIMED AT ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT FOR ALL PERSONS. If financial resources can be found, ACHR plans to sponsor a meeting for civic leaders and officials with administrators of the Economic Opportunity program, the Manpower Development and Training program, the Higher Education Facilities Act, and others, to find out how communities can take advantage of these resources. (On November 25,

(continued on page 4)

AIMS OF ACHR FOR 1965 (cont. from page 3)
1964, it was announced by the office of Economic Opportunity that 120 community projects in the nation had already been approved under the anti-poverty program. These projects will cost a total of 35 million dollars. Atlanta, for instance, has already received approval for a one million dollar plan. So far Alabama has received a grant of $30,000 "to determine how -- or if -- Alabama would make use of the anti-poverty campaign." Governor Wallace has appointed Mr. Claude Kirk of Montgomery to make this preliminary survey and report to him. In announcing this grant and Kirk's appointment, Governor Wallace's press secretary emphasized that Kirk was only to conduct the study and report to the governor, "who has veto power on the program within the state.")

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT ---OF HONEST, CREATIVE EFFORTS BY CIVIC LEADERS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS TO WORK OUT INTER-GROUP RELATIONS PROBLEMS IN THEIR COMMUNITY. In 1965 the Alabama Council plans to sponsor in as many communities as possible meetings through which Negro leaders in education, religion, business and industry, and community affairs could convey to members of the Community Relations Service, municipal officials, and other appropriate persons and agencies the problems they perceive in housing, education, employment, and use of public facilities.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT -- BY COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION, BY PERSUASION, AND BY MORAL SUPPORT -- OF EVERY DESIRE FOR JUSTICE AND OPENNESS TOWARD ALL PERSONS. To this end, in 1965, a major effort of the ACHR will be the organization of new local councils on human relations and the enrollment of many more members. There are many people who are looking for some way to express creatively their concern for wholesome human relations. Now is the time.

A NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR

Dear friends:

I believe that the goals set forth in the preceeding statement constitute a constructive program which will appeal to you.

We are attaching a sheet on which there are three membership applications. I hope that you will use one for yourself and the others to enlist friends.

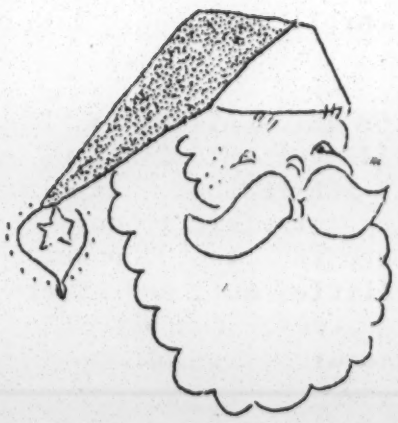
And do it now! Under our new policy all membership renewals are due January 1. This is in order that we may plan more meaningfully at the beginning of each year. All new memberships or renewals received after October 1 are valid for the following year.

The Alabama Council needs your support. Your membership does more than you may realize. Our finding resources with which to carry out our proposed program depends in large measure on the response to it from within Alabama -- and from concerned friends elsewhere.

But -- more important -- you need the Alabama Council. Something can be done about the unhealthy climate of human relations in Alabama. The stunning and thrilling setting-forth of a national consensus against bigotry and racism in 1964 has given creative people, even in Alabama, a chance to take the initiative. It is a chance that may pass quickly. Not to seize this opportunity would be stark tragedy, not only for our state, but also for the negligent persons. For, as Justice Holmes once said, "A man should share the action and passion of his times at peril of being judged not to have lived."

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield



MERRY CHRISTMAS !!

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, S.W. HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

YES, I am for the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and I would like to lend my support to the 1965 program of the Council by becoming:

1. A Single Member ($5.00).....( ) New ( ) Renewal ( )
2. A Joint Member, Husband and Wife ($8.00)...( ) Check enclosed ( )
3. A Student Member ($3.00).....( ) Cash enclosed ( )
4. A Contributor ($).....( ) Bill me ( )

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP CODE _____ COUNTY _____

OCCUPATION _____ DATE _____

NOTES: Memberships and contributions to ACHR are Federal Income Tax deductible.
If you sent a membership application after October 1, 1964, your membership will be valid for 1965. Otherwise, please renew as soon as possible. We would like to have as many members as possible enrolled before the annual meeting (Feb. 6).

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Ala, Huntsville

File

FROM:
Alabama Council on Human Relations
J. Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

For release on
Thursday afternoon
April 22, 1965

"ONE GREAT MONTH OF PROGRESS" PROPOSED

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, noting that Alabama is "compelled to go the mile of justice under the law," appealed to Alabamians this week to "go the second mile" toward creating better relations between races in the state.

The appeal is contained in a proposal calling for "one great month of progress" in Alabama.

The proposal appeals for simultaneous action on Alabama's racial ills by the state's industrial business, labor, government, religious and professional leaders, the press, and all civic groups.

The proposal was adopted by the 850-member council's executive committee on April 19, according to J. Edwin Stanfield, executive director of the organization, which has its headquarters in Huntsville.

In its proposal, the council's executive committee appeals to the legislative and administrative leaders of the state to "take cognizance of the urgency of the current situation in Alabama and act within the next 30 days in response to those complaints about our voting laws and the administration thereof which may seem to them, on earnest consideration, to be justified."

(more)

Following is the text of the proposal:

The time now seems exceedingly short within which Alabama may greet inevitable change with any grace at all.

We, the executive committee of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, believe that the great majority of white citizens of Alabama are now ready to accept and facilitate change, but are afraid to advocate it because the climate of opinion is determined by a vociferous minority which makes bold a lunatic and criminal fringe who commit acts of violence and intimidation.

We, therefore, call for ONE GREAT MONTH OF PROGRESS in which all of Alabama's fair-minded citizens may speak and act for change with a reasonable expectation of mutual support.

Specifically, we urge:

(1) That within the next thirty days executive officers at all levels of government--state, county, and municipal--take appropriate action to remind all law-enforcement officers that officers of the law are the impartial servants of all citizens under the law, that firm law enforcement is not incompatible with courtesy, and that abuse of any citizen will not be tolerated.

(2) That legislative and administrative leaders of the state take cognizance of the urgency of the current situation in Alabama and act within the next thirty days in response to those complaints about our voting laws and the administration thereof which may seem to them, on earnest consideration, to be justified.

(3) That within the next thirty days all city and county governments publicly commit themselves to definite plans to employ and/or upgrade minority-group citizens in law enforcement and other community

(more)

services, and to appoint to official planning commissions, zoning commission, housing boards, and the like, Negro citizens accepted as leaders by the Negro communities.

(4) That within the next thirty days all church judicatories, ministerial associations, clergymen, and local church boards declare themselves anew, by endorsement of this resolution or a similar one, in support of those laws, governmental policies and social customs which affirm the worth of every person; and that they affirm or re-affirm that their houses of worship and church programs are open to all.

(5) That within the next thirty days businessmen, industrial leaders, and labor leaders take steps to eliminate discrimination in employment in response to the spirit of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, mindful that Title VII takes effect on July 2, 1965.

(6) That within the next thirty days owners and managers of business establishments of the same category, such as department stores or bowling alleys, meet to arrange simultaneous changes of policy designed to remove discriminatory practices in employment and service.

(7) That within the next thirty days chambers of commerce, bar associations and other professional organizations, civic clubs, and women's groups endorse this or a similar resolution and, in order to facilitate inter-group communication, open their organizations to members of minority groups.

(8) That within the next thirty days community relations groups be formed, either as municipal commissions or voluntary associations, through which Negro and white citizens may work together as peers on

(more)

community problems; and that such groups seek the guidance of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Commerce.

(9) That within the next thirty days all communications media begin or continue to facilitate orderly transition in Alabama by means of constructive editorials and thoughtful review and correction of any prejudicial policies.

Our concern is for better human relations. The Alabama Council on Human Relations seeks for all persons that human understanding and sympathy without which any life is blighted indeed, and which lie beyond all that good laws can require. Convinced that Alabama is shortly to be compelled to go the mile of justice under the law, our concern prompts us to offer so ambitious a program and to ask of our fellow citizens thoughtful consideration of it. Let us go the second mile.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations seeks to attain, through research, education and persuasion, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama. It is a voluntary association of Alabama citizens which includes in its membership many educators, clergymen, businessmen, and professional persons.

Members of the council's executive committee are Nat Welch, President, Auburn; Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, Vice President, Birmingham; Rev. J. C. Wilson, Vice President, Tuskegee; Father Brice Joyce, Vice President, Sheffield; Mrs. Lois Reeves, Secretary, Tuskegee Institute; Mrs. Moreland Smith, Treasurer, Montgomery; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Herman Long, Talladega; Rev. Powers McLeod, Mobile; and the Rev. Mr. Stanfield, Huntsville.

June 23, 1965

Dear Ed:

You may already know about them, but I am writing on behalf of some temporaty constituents in your fair state, a group of the SCLC summer volunteers. They are in what sounds like as bad a place as possible, Lisman, in Choctow County. Address: % Miss Dorothy Wright, P. O. Box 226. Phone: 398-3683. A young man named Charles Dent is another of their number.

I had this group in a workshop at the orientation here last week, and got right fond of them. If you can help them in anyway--maybe by just letting them know there are friendly whites in the state, it would be good. If you know of any friendly whites near them, that would be even better.

I keep hearing great things about Alabama, which I largely discount, and great things about your work, which I always expected.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

File

June 29, 1965

Miss Dorothy Wright
Post Office Box 226
Lisman, Alabama

Dear Miss Wright:

A letter from Mr. Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council tells me that you and some others were in a group that he led in Atlanta, and that you are working in Alabama with SCLC this summer. This is to let you know that if the Alabama Council on Human Relations, which is affiliated with SRC, can be of service to you, we shall be glad to do so.

Unfortunately, we do not have organized groups closer than Tuscaloosa or Mobile. I do know some friendly folks in Selma, of course, but I imagine you know as many as I do by now.

I hope that your work progresses well and that you are not subjected to any personal hardships.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

cc: Mr. Pat Watters

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

Telephone 539-4277

June 29, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Thank you for letting me know about the young folks in Lisman. That does, indeed, sound like a God-forsaken place.

As you can see from the carbon, I probably won't be very much help to them. I am sorry to say I don't know anyone within 50 miles of the place.

It is always good to hear from you. Let me know if you can think of anything specific that I could do for these or any of the other volunteers that are here this summer.

Cordially,

Ed

J. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director

JES:llr

Enclosure

September 22, 1965

Dear Ed:

Thank you very much for letting me see the excellent report on the not so excellent First Year of Desegregation Under Title VI in Alabama. It is a beautiful job.

I hope you are sending copies to the various representatives of the national press here in Atlanta (New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Newsweek, Time, and Wall Street Journal). If it would help any, I would be glad to deliver a stack to them from here.

You keep on doing these great things.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:nm

Mr. Ed Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Dr. S. W.
Huntsville, Alabama

MAXIMUM INCOME LIMITS FOR ADMISSION AND CONTINUED OCCUPANCY

1. LIMITS IN NET FAMILY INCOME AFTER EXEMPTIONS

Number of Persons	Regular	Continued Occupancy
1	$ 3000	$ 3750
2	3400	4250
3	3600	4500
4	3800	4750
5	4000	5000
6	4300	5375
7	4400	5500
8	4500	5625
9	4600	5750
10 or more	4700	5875

2. LESS THE FOLLOWING EXEMPTION

All amounts paid by the United States Government for disability or death occurring in connection with military service.

AHA RELEASE NO. 102-5

December 16, 1960

(Supersedes Release dated August 26, 1959)

ELIGIBILITY FOR CONTINUED OCCUPANCY

All tenants, with the exceptions noted, must meet requirements under the following five headings:

1. FAMILY (Section 402.1; para. 2a) (Section 403.1, para. 4a)

Except that for single persons:

A. Under Sixty-five Years of Age

(1) The individual must be the residuum of a family.

(2) The separation which brought about the residuum situation resulted from death or disability necessitating institutional care away from home.

and the person remaining is:

(3) Fifty years of age or older; and

(4) Unable to relocate satisfactorily; and

(5) Meets the low-income limitations shown under 2A below:

B. Sixty-five Years of Age or Over:

(1) The individual need not be the residuum of a family.

(2) The single person must meet the low-income limitations shown under 2A below.

(3) The provisions of this paragraph apply also to single women tenants between the ages of 62 and 65 who were admitted under the provisions of AHA Release No. 101-4, para. 3d.

Who is the E.D.?

These requirements may be waived by the Executive Director. The Housing Manager may present a written recommendation for waiver of one or more of these requirements, accompanied by a full justification.

All single persons will be housed in LBR (0-BR) or LK units only, unless such persons were originally admitted to 1-BR units under the conditions set out in AHA Release No. 101.4, para. 8B.

Common law marriages are accepted, if the couple can prove that they have lived together seven (7) or more years.

AHA RELEASE NO. 101-4

December 16, 1960

(Supersedes Pages 1 and 2 of Release dated February 11, 1960)

ELIGIBILITY FOR ADMISSION

All applicants, with the exceptions noted, must meet requirements under the following eight headings:

1. FAMILY (Section 402.1, para. 2a)

A. Maximum size of families is governed by the following occupancy standards:

Size of Unit	Maximum No. of Persons
0-BR	2
1-BR	3
2-BR	5
3-BR	7
4-BR	9
5-BR	11

Cases of oversize families involving special considerations are to be submitted by the Tenant Selection Office to the Executive Director for decision.

2. LOW-INCOME (Section 403.1, para. 3b)

A. Maximum Income Limits for Admission

(See AHA Release No. 103.2, Net Family Income and Net Capital Assets - Definition).

Special Limits for Applicants from Urban Renewal Areas Only:

1 or 2 persons	$3000
3 or 4 persons	$3200
5 or more persons	$3500

Limits for All Other Applicants:

1 person	$2500
2 persons	$3000
3 or 4 persons	$3200
5 or more persons	$3500

less the following exemptions:

(1) $100 for each minor other than the head of the family and his wife.
(2) Amounts received by a family from the U. S. Government for service-connected disability or death.

B. Maximum Amount of Net Capital Assets - $5000.

(See AHA Release No. 103-2, Net Family Income and Net Capital Assets - Definition).

These Pages replace Pages 1 and 2 of preceding edition. Page 3 is still in effect.

3. HOUSING CONDITIONS (Section 403.1, para. 3c)

Except in the following cases:

A. Urban renewal displaced families.

B. Families displaced by other governmental action.

C. Veterans or Servicemen.

D. Single elderly persons (65 or over). EXCEPTION: Women applicants from urban renewal areas may be 62 or over.

The phrase "actually without housing" (Item 3 of the above reference) includes families separated because of inability to obtain accommodations (but see 7 below).

4. NON-SUBVERSION

In signing the lease, the applicant certifies that he and the other occupants of the dwelling belong to no subversive organizations.

5. CITIZENSHIP

At least one of the applicants who will become a signatory of the lease must be an American citizen.

Except where a waiver of this requirement is granted by Board action. Requests justifying the exception will be submitted by the Tenant Selection Office.

A. Applicants claiming to be naturalized citizens must establish proof of their citizenship.

6. TENANCY STATUS

A family owning a dwelling unit in Metropolitan Atlanta is not eligible for admission.

7. LOCATION OF FAMILY GROUP

The applicant family group must:

A. Be physically present in the Atlanta area; and

B. Be available for examination by the Tenant Selection Office; and

C. Be able to show affirmatively in cases of doubt that the family group intends to continue in Atlanta.

NOTE: This provision applies primarily to new inmigrant families to the Atlanta area.

Common law marriages are accepted, if a couple can prove that they have lived together seven or more years .

The policy does not state the least amount of money a person can make. The head of the household would have to have some kind of employment.

Jobs where there is seldom or any work in cold or rainy seasons of the year (Construction, or outside work) does not **disqualify** a person.

If the head of the house is not able to work, then he has to be receiving money from some source. (Welfare, Social security, disability check or other)

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ACHR

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

February 14, 1966

Rec'd 2/15/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat,

How goes all? Missed seeing you while at SRC a couple weeks ago.

Lewis Black, our new Rural Advancement Project Director and I will be in Atlanta on Thursday and Friday of this week. We will spend Thursday with Jac Wasserman and FRiday knocking around SRC.

I'm wondering if you would be available sometime on Friday to talk to Lewis and I about your job, what you do, what kinds of services and information are available from SRC's Information Department and things of that nature. I should think this could be brief if your schedule so dictated.

Rather than write to me could you check with Ed Stanfield? I've asked him to coordinate our Friday schedule with the SRC staff.

Hope you can fit us in.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

Note!
The ACHR representatives come + were taken care of by Ed.

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Sam: I wont be here friday. could you handle? if not, pass on to bob. as to what i do, i am at this point sure you could tell him as much as i might be a ble to. mostly i think succintly you could ~~xxy~~ say, runs around in circles, and answers telephone calls. Pat.

OK
Sam

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF
GREATER ATLANTA
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 523-1581

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MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 21, 1966

Mr. Duane Beck, Executive Director
Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.
Palmer Building
Marietta Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Beck,

The Human Relations Council of Greater Atlanta has been asked by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to take part in a study in support of equal opportunity in housing in Atlanta.

We realize that action on the attached request may require consultation and action by other individuals and/or groups, but we would very much appreciate some reply from you by the end of February, with a fuller reply to follow where necessary. It seems that the Atlanta study is behind the others and we have been asked to rush things along as fast as possible.

We would like to have (1) a statement of any prior activity in housing and (2) a statement of support, within the limits of your program or organization, of the project described on the attached sheet.

Sincerely,
Eliza Paschall
(Mrs.) Eliza Paschall
Executive Director

EP:h
Encl.

February 25, 1966

Mrs. Eliza Paschall,
Executive Director,
Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta,
5 Forsyth Steet N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Dear Mrs. Paschall:

This is in reply to your request of 22nd February for a statement anent support of equal opportunity housing in Atlanta.

The American Friends Service Committee is pleased to advise that it has added an open occupancy (fair housing) dimension to its employment on merit program in Atlanta. The Atlanta Advisory Committee is awaiting only the appointment of a staff associate to initiate this activity.

It should be noted that while decent, dignified housing for low income families is of concern to us, our major thrust will be directed toward the elimination of discriminatory housing practices irrespective of income level. Both the Judeo-Christian ethic and a sense of moral integrity are factors motivating efforts to press for the establishment of a national policy of open occupancy. There are also other determinants. Of especial importance is the adverse effect which discriminatory housing has and will continue to have upon full implementation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Because of discrimination qualified minority applicants in increasing numbers are prevented from accepting non-traditional jobs with conscientious employers in commerce and industry who are endeavoring to be in compliance with Title VII. It is impossible or frustratingly impractical for minority personnel to enjoy the same access to job sites as that available to the white employee. Where public transportation is either completely non-existent or at its best inadequate, the Negro simply cannot get to the job, whereas the white worker has the opportunity of moving nearer to it... an opportunity denied the Negro worker by discriminatory housing practices.

Mrs. Eliza Paschall.

Close observers of the housing dilemma are of the opinion that the federal authorities already have ample directives and legal backing for moving more vigorously toward the elimination of every vestige of discrimination in most areas of the public sector. There are also some who maintain that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 gives the administration power to move against discrimination in both the public and the private sector.

The American Friends Service Committee is a member of the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing. AFSC's Atlanta Advisory Committee and staff will cooperate with persons and organizations participating in the Atlanta study sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. They will be pleased to receive and/or share such information and data as may be available and which, hopefully, may be useful in developing the Service Committee's Atlanta housing program.

Sincerely yours,

Noyes Collinson, Executive Director
Atlanta Community Relations Program

Copies to:
Barbara Moffett
Charlotte Meacham
Wilton Hartzler
Harry Adley
Louis Schneider

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has contracted with the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington to prepare studies in 4 cities - Rochester, Providence, Denver and Atlanta.

The contract calls for the following:

1. "Examine the needs, resources and potentialities and determine the feasibility of implementing a program to open new housing opportunities for residents of these city's poverty areas ...

   a. Dimensions of the local minority housing market.

   b. Characteristics of the local housing supply

   c. Local laws and ordinances

   d. Local leadership & support for fair housing

   e. Special conditions in local situation.

   f. Examination of local needs and resources in light of national experiences.

2. If found feasible, develop a plan for each city surveyed for implementation by existing fair housing resources or by organizations to be established utilizing community leadership."

Mr. Robert Thompson of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Mr. Moreland Smith of the Southern Regional Council and Mr. Harry Adley of Adley Associates, Inc., have been asked to prepare certain portions of the study.

The Human Relations Council has been asked to prepare the section on "Potentialities", including "a documentation of local agencies and organizations whose program objectives and policies are compatible with achieving full equality of opportunity in housing."

We will include in our report a statement from representing agencies and organizations in support of our effort towards equality of opportunity in housing in the City of Atlanta.

February, 1966

Community
Council
of the
Atlanta Area inc.

215 PALMER BUILDING, 41 MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA TELEPHONE 525-7695

March 9, 1966

Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Executive Director
Council on Human Relations of Greater
Atlanta
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Paschall:

In order to respond to your letter of February 21, 1966, I sought the advice of the C.C.A.A., Inc., Executive Committee. This has delayed our reply to you.

Our organization participated in the early discussion with Mr. Wood of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing at the Economic Opportunity Atlanta office when this study was proposed for Atlanta by his group and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Our staff indicated, at that time, that any barrier to the free choice of housing hampered the community's effort to supply adequate housing for its citizens.

The C.C.A.A., Inc., has not specifically been involved in solving the housing problem, although we are a subcontractor with the City of Atlanta in the Community Improvement Project. Our job is to study and evaluate the social resources available to people in renewal areas and recommend a plan for providing social resources for future renewal action. Also, we are to present a plan for citizen involvement in Urban Renewal.

This activity, to some extent, addresses us to the housing of people. Our Executive Committee directed me to provide your organization or the N.C.A.D.H. with whatever information would be helpful in the study or plan being formulated.

Our staff will continue to meet with the study sponsors as we are informed of meetings and will supply whatever information we have

which may be pertinent to the effort.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Duane W. Beck
Executive Director

DWB:rs

cc: Mr. James Furnise
Mr. Robert Thompson
Mr. Harry Adley
Mrs. Inez Tillison
Mr. Jack Schmitt

Rec'd 3/22/46

INTRODUCTION

In anticipation of probable urgent need for a program to improve relations between the races in Atlanta, various private agencies have voluntarily joined together to develop an assessment of the present situation in the community and of the steps that might be taken to solve particularly pressing problems. Their focus has been upon the tensions arising from the penetration of previously segregated neighborhoods by Negroes in search of adequate housing and from "ghetto" conditions existing in most Negro residential areas.

The analysis is rooted in four assumptions:

First, that social tranquillity is necessary to the orderly development of any community (in Atlanta, in particular, economic progress has been directly related to improved relations between the races);

Second, that prospects for continuing interracial harmony have been sharply reduced by a rapid rise in Negro population that is pressing on a limited supply of low quality [illegible] housing;

Third, that relations between the races can be improved by a forthright approach to an issue that is a major source of interracial tension -- the inevitable integration of housing that will result as Negroes migrate from substandard segregated neighborhoods into parts of the City where surplus housing is available;

Fourth, that if this migration is abetted by inducements that make newly integrated neighborhoods desirable and attractive, a situation that might exact high social costs could be converted into one that produces substantial social assets.

In order to measure the extent of the problem and the potential for its solution, each participating organization assumed responsibility for evaluating a major aspect of the [redacted] housing situation and of the means whereby present inequities might be reduced. These reports follow. They deal with the following considerations: that are fundamental to the successful operation of any program in this field:

1. A background review of Negro residence in Atlanta, the trend of racial housing shifts and influences of governmental activities on change;

2 1. The presence of "Ghetto" housing ~~exists~~ in Atlanta, ~~and~~ the extent to which it is occupied by racial minorities and by other disadvantaged elements; its quality, ~~[redacted]~~

3 2. ~~Ample~~ The numbers of vacant residences ~~and~~ available in other parts of the City in which to house members of these disadvantaged groups; their quality; the availability of community facilities in these areas;

4 3. The willingness of significant numbers of voluntary associations representing large and diverse memberships ~~[redacted]~~ to lend their support to an effort to ensure more equitable access to adequate housing for disadvantaged elements in the population;

5 4. The ~~an~~ organization ~~and program~~ ~~for~~ implement~~ing~~ fair housing regulations, ~~[redacted]~~ and to accomplish this purpose with minimal social disturbance.

2 lines

THE HOUSING PREDICAMENT OF ~~THE~~ Atlanta's NON-WHITE RESIDENT ~~OF ATLANTA~~

Atlanta, ~~is~~ the key ~~city~~ metropolis in the Southeast, ~~It~~ is one of the twenty-five largest cities in this area, with over one million persons ~~resident~~ residing in its five-county metropolitan area. It is a city going places and doing things, but its achievements have been limited by one critical factor. Its residential pattern has made it a rigidly segregated city.

Atlanta's industrial and commercial growth [redacted] attracts thousands of (low income) newcomers annually. Many, especially the non-whites among them, must seek shelter in deteriorating sections of the city. Their homes are the dilapidated and threadbare structures left behind by more affluent white citizens migrating to other neighborhoods and other communities. In this process, Atlanta's beauty has been defaced, its growth hampered and its security threatened.

Statistical evidence to support this conclusion is found in Table 1. It reveals that the city is predominately Negro and the surrounding suburban communities predominately white; but it shows more than this: nearly 187,000 Negroes are competing feverishly for space in the segregated neighborhoods now open to them.

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

The situation is getting worse. While the 1960 U.S. Census figures and the April, 1965 estimates of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission show a significant rise in the total population for the

Table I

Number and Percent Distribution of Nonwhite and White Population Living Inside and Outside of City Limits of Atlanta, Ga., 1960

see next page - do not agree with what you use data on table 2 here.

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside city Limits	Percent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Nonwhite	232,169	~~186,820~~ 186,464	~~45,349~~ 45,705	80.5
White	785,019	~~300,635~~ 300,991	~~484,384~~ 484,028	38.3

Atlanta area, they also show a slight decline in the number of white city residents and relatively large increases in Negro city residents. (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

Population of Atlanta

	1960*	1964**	1965***	Net Change 1960-1965
Total	487,455	506,200	504,600	+ 17,145
White	300,991	298,658	284,719	- 16,272
Negro	186,464	207,542	219,881	+ 33,417

see previous page - do not [illegible]

*U. S. Census, 1960.
**Estimates of Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission (ARMPC).
***Source: computed by SRC from census tract estimates of ARMPC.

Negro Housing Lag - Contrasting with the increased Negro share of the total city population is the lagging growth in the number of Negro housing units. Despite a drop in the percentage of whites in the total population, white housing units increased significantly (see Table 3). This suggests a continuing shift of families with children to suburbia and a counter movement of childless couples and single persons into high rise apartments in the central city. At least one of these high rise apartments[1] in the upper middle-income brackets was built on land from which deteriorating Negro housing was removed in urban renewal projects, and some of the cleared land was converted to industrial use.

The pinch that this trend and the concomitant restrictions against open occupancy are making on Negroes is accentuated by removals from highway construction, renewal and other bulldozing in the Negro community and the accompanying increase of multi-dwelling units, especially along newly developed tracts near railroads in the Negro ghetto.[2]

Negro overcrowding - Evidence that [redacted] highway construction and urban renewal are among factors influencing crowding of low income Negroes is reported in the 1963 annual

---

[1]At least two Negro families live in this high rise apartment building constructed in an area formerly called Buttermilk Bottom. Rental rates put the facility out of the economic reach of most Negroes, for few can pay as much as $175 or $200 a month for rent.

[2]Examples of this are about a dozen multi-unit apartments recently built along Gordon Road near the Atlantic Coastline Railroad on the West Side. Most single units have four rooms, two of which may serve as bedrooms. Some families use living rooms both as a parlor by day and sleeping room by night.

report of the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services. Entitled, "Appalachia in Atlanta," the report states that bulldozing for renewal and highways, [redacted] has indeed [redacted] cleared [redacted] away some [redacted] slums, [redacted], but a result has been the pushing of many slum dwellers back to the fringes of the areas cleared, making their overcrowded conditions even more crowded.

This is not reflected in overall figures by U. S. Census tracts. Nevertheless, field trips to hard-core poverty pockets suggest increasing density of the poorest families. For example, the Welfare Department's report discloses that, " . . . . for five years prior to 1960, 102 welfare recipients lived on Merritts Avenue, Northeast (adjacent to an urban renewal area), while during the last five years, 192 welfare recipients have lived on the same street" -- about a 90 per cent increase in the density of Merritts Avenue's welfare recipients.

Inspection of working maps reveals that the Negro population, which represents 43 per cent of the city of Atlanta's total, [redacted], occupies only about 20 per cent of the city's land area. These [redacted] figures imply [redacted] dense ghetto living for Negroes -- especially in low income districts, but they are somewhat relieved by [redacted] the rapid pace of housing construction for both whites and Negroes (see Table 3). For those who [redacted] can afford [redacted] better housing, the [redacted] situation seems to be improving [redacted]

TABLE [redacted] 3

Housing in Atlanta*

	1960*	1964	1965	Net Change 1960-1965
Total	154,224	168,717	164,492	10,268
White	97,967	103,928	103,111	5,144
Negro	48,044	55,793	61,381	13,274
Vacant	8,213	8,996	9,040	827

*Source: Calculated from data supplied by Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission.

Housing Conditions - While the overall quantity of Negro housing units is inadequate and the Negro's proportional share of land use falls far below Negro population percentages, a more important problem is the condition of housing in the Negro ghetto.[1] [redacted] A study now in process suggests [redacted] that when data relating to condition of housing is introduced, Negro housing balance is far out of kilter.[2]

[1]Some of the census tracts in the corporate city of Atlanta are not contigious with the city limits. There are 10 of these split tracts at the edge of the city. They include F-77 through 79; F-81 and 82; F-98; and F-100 through 103. For population breakdown within the city, we have used the city-county estimates of all the split tracts. For economic data and housing listings, including vacancies, we have used the estimates of whole tracts which roughly represent the city completely, omitting three of the split tracts (F-101 through 103) and including the other split tracts in their entirety.

[2][redacted] Report [redacted] being developed under the direction of the Atlanta Planning Department, with the help of private research consultants Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates.

The 1960 U. S. Census reports 46 of each 100 Negro homes surveyed were deteriorating, dilapidated, or lacked amenities. When applied to the total of Atlanta Negro housing, this suggests that 28,235 Negro residences are substandard, in one degree or another.

According to "Appalachia in Atlanta,"[1] "The physical condition of the shelter occupied by 54.4% of welfare recipients is classified as ranging from fair to very poor; 76.84% of them are living in unsanitary conditions and 55.08% are residing in housing needing renovation or repairs." (Plunkettown, near the city's south corporate limits, is a pocket of Negro housing with outside privies and slum dwellings.)

Moreover, since much of the Negro housing migration [redacted] tends to be into low-income white fringe areas, old formerly white homes newly purchased by Negroes ~~"new" Negro homes~~ are likely to deteriorate rapidly. This is especially true of borderline homes like those in Atlanta's West End and Kirkwood areas and, more recently, Center Hill.

---

[1] Annual Report of Fulton County Department of Children and Family Services, 1963.

[redacted]

High Cost of Negro Housing - Not only is the Negro disadvantaged from the standpoint of availability and quality of housing, he must pay premium prices for the inadequate facilities available to him. These prices are rising. Between 1950 and 1960, median rentals to Negro families in the Atlanta area more than doubled, rising from $23.72 to $52.00 (most Negro families pay from $40,00 to $59.00 a month in rent). See Table 4.

Table 4

Amount of Gross Rent Paid by Nonwhite Renters in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta in 1960

Amount	Number	Percent
Less than $20.00	1,153	2.9
20 - 39	8,617	21.7
40 - 59	15,357	39.0
60 - 79	10,096	25.4
80 - 99	2,625	6.6
100 - or more	426	1.1
No Cash Rent	1,299	3.3
	39,673	100.0

In absolute terms, cost of housing does not seem to be high for the Negro in the Atlanta area, but when these costs are related to his meager income they are seen to constitute a heavy drain. Average income for all families in Atlanta in 1959 was $5,758, but average non-white family income was only $3,033. Although non-white family income is about half the average for all families, the non-white family pays only $15.00 less than the average rent - $67.00 - paid by all families. In other words, on a proportional basis, the non-white family pays substantially more rent than does the white Atlantan. [redacted] See Table 5.

Table 5

Income of Nonwhite Persons in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1949 and 1959 and Family Income for 1959

Amount of Income	1959		1949		Family Income for 1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	110,363	100.0	78,415	100.0	50,020	100.0
Under $3,000	90,407	81.9	76,395	97.4	24,714	49.4
$3,000 - 3,999	10,413	9.4	1,385	1.8	9,044	18.1

See Table 5.

Table 5

Income of Nonwhite Persons in Standard Metropolitan Atlanta, 1949 and 1959 and Family Income for 1959

Amount of Income	1959		1949		Family Income for 1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	110,363	100.0	78,415	100.0	50,020	100.0
Under $3,000	90,407	81.9	76,395	97.4	24,714	49.4
$3,000 - 3,999	10,413	9.4	1,385	1.8	9,044	18.1
4,000 - 4,999	5,295	4.8	305	0.4	5,915	11.8
5,000 - 5,999	2,604	2.4	100	0.1	3,910	7.8
6,000 +	1,644	1.5	230	0.3	-	-
6,000 - 6,999	-	-	-	-	2,213	4.4
7,000 - 7,999	-	-	-	-	1,494	3.0
8,000 - 8,999	-	-	-	-	965	1.9
9,000 - 9,999	-	-	-	-	642	1.3
10,000 & Over	-	-	-	-	1,123	2.3
Median	1,510	-	-	-	3,033	-

Costs of building or buying homes in Negro areas also are markedly higher than ~~are~~ (are costs of) equivalent accomodations in the white community. For example, housing experts interviewed estimated that "other things being equal," a $20,000 house in the all-Negro Collier Heights district would cost about $18,000 in Chamblee, a white suburban area.

Conclusions - Neither the corporate city of Atlanta nor any governmental unit of the metropolitan area has laws prohibiting racial discrimination in housing. Consequently, many of the persons displaced by slum clearance and/or other public projects such as highway construction and schools face heavy burdens in their search for standard housing. Many with very low income end up more poorly housed and [redacted] cramped by overcrowding after displacement. This is due partly to the building of a smaller proportion of homes for low-income (clientele) and (partly to) the limited availability of homes for large families, especially those needing three or more bedrooms. For large poor families, the city's oldest supply of houses ~~offers~~ best prospects for obtaining enough room, (and this is likely to be deteriorating rapidly.)

[redacted] In sum, the predicament of the Negro resident of Atlanta is seen to be ~~[illegible]~~ (that of rapidly expanding) population pressing on limited and inadequate (housing) resources. Its consequence is crowding, high costs, and personal and social disturbance and dislocation. ~~Nor has~~ There has been ~~an~~ no effective effort to relieve this situation by public or private interests. Migration into contiguous previously white neighborhoods and a limited movement of wealthier Negroes into previously segregated suburbs has occurred, but these shifts serve merely to highlight the basic problem - large numbers of Negro residents who remain compacted in dreary and relatively costly quarters, a blemish on the City and a threat to the community.

RESOURCES FOR HOUSING RELOCATION

The preceding section of this report confirmed the assumption that a sizeable segment of Atlanta's Negro population has grave housing needs that are not presently being satisfied. Ironically, these needs exist in a dynamic, fast growing city where housing resources outside the [redacted] ghetto areas are substantial. These resources include: a good supply of vacant homes of standard quality; and, adequate basic community services (schools, libraries, health, fire and police protection) adjacent to this housing.

As was mentioned in the concluding paragraph of the previous section, Negroes are moving into some of these areas. This migration is increasing in volume and destinations are becoming more varied. Table #6 catalogues this trend:

TABLE ~~1~~ 6

Change in Non-White Housing in Atlanta by Area*

Year	Central	W	E	S	NW	SW	N	NE
1960	35,256	4,631	2,061	3,249	1,954	456	270	167
1965	34,738	9,760	4,136	3,315	2,420	987	267	170
Net Change	-518	5,129	2,075	66	466	531	-3	3

*Three areas in the table increased over 100 per cent -- SW, 116; W, 111 per cent, and E, 101 per cent. The pattern of Negro migration is lateral -- East and West.

Vacant Houses and Economics - Scattered throughout the city, according to housing estimates of the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Council, [redacted] are some 9,040 vacant houses [redacted]. In addition, 11,732 units are available outside the city limits but within the metropolitan area, [redacted] for a total

[1] The table was prepared by Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates. Respective letter symbols are for west, east, south, northwest, southwest, north, and northeast.

of 20,772 vacant units.[1] About 300 of the vacant units are in public, low income projects.[2] These are, in the main, still segregated (16 to 20 Negro families live among white families in these projects). The projects have long waiting lists, yet many poverty-stricken Negroes cannot qualify for admission because they have no job, cannot prove marriage, or some other reason. All eleven of Atlanta's public housing projects are situated either within or adjacent to predominantly Negro communities. To some degree, they serve as buffers to expansion of the ghetto at some fringes of Negro sections.[3]

There is no way, short of actually surveying rental residences and earnings of potential Negro renters,[4] to determine whether ill-housed Negroes could afford the vacant dwellings in the various census tracts. However, it has been demonstrated that Negroes tend to pay more than whites because of the artificial market created by ghetto barriers and that the rentals they pay for much inferior accommodations are quite close to rent paid by many white families.

[1] All of these figures are computed from estimates of each census tract by ARMAPC.

[2] Atlanta Daily World, February 17, 1966.

[3] This is shown best by the location of projects in West End. Express highways, West View Cemetary and the lack of road access from Negro to white areas also serve as buffers.

[4] See attached economic data on Negro districts.

There also is evidence that some Negroes must decline offers (of jobs) in outlying districts because they either are unable to solve problems (of transportation) to and from the job or are not free to move nearer (the place of employment).[1] This highlights another of the complexities that relate housing to socio-economics. Even the federal government, like some other equal opportunity employers, unwittingly builds a bias against potential Negro employees by locating plants far from the areas where most Negroes live.

Conclusions.- Moneywise and otherwise, Atlanta has the resources for providing the needed housing. In 1963, Atlanta's retail sales reached

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[1] Noyes Collins on of the Atlanta Friends Service Committee (Atlanta Community Relations Programs) said several unemployed and underemployed Negroes he contacted were unable to accept jobs near Chamblee because of transportation difficulties.

$1,618,757, up 75% from the $1,229,461 figure of 1958.[1] It has one of the nation's lowest unemployment indexes when compared with other cities of its size.[2] It has some political awareness of its urban problems and has commissioned studies to develop criteria for a workable program for community improvement. It also has volunteer groups which have expressed interest in helping to solve problems.[3] Most important of all, surplus housing is available, and available in significant quantity. But the bulk of the Negro housing migration is to deteriorating residences at the fringes of the Negro areas, thus change represents an extension of the Negro ghetto or the creation of new Negro enclaves. If the hypothesis is valid that there must be a dissolution of the ghetto if the causes of socio-economic and housing problems are to be removed, it follows that a bold program of corrective action is needed to break housing barriers, and that the entire metropolitan area must be included in such a program.

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[1] Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

[2] Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen and the Atlanta Constitution.

[3] These include civil rights groups and other civic and religious organizations.

A Proposal for a Fair Housing Center

The concluding sentence of section three of this report called for "a bold program of corrective action". The preceding section suggests that support for such a program exists among the voluntary organizations in the community. This portion of the study proposes the creation of a mechanism to accomplish constructive change in present discriminatory housing practices, to be identified as a Fair Housing Center.

The Fair Housing Center would provide the means of focussing the imagination and energies of various voluntary associations on the challenges generated by present barriers preventing non-whites from seeking better housing and by the friction that might attend the migration of Negroes into previously segregated neighborhoods. It would serve two functions: first, it would bring together the client in search of adequate housing and the landlord, realtor or private owner with housing for rent or sale; second, it would be the means of developing and disseminating information relating to techniques for easing tensions in newly integrating neighborhoods; third it would provide the stimulus and guidance for intensive conservation and upgrading of housing

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In carrying out these functions the agency would maintain detailed records of housing availabilities, of clients seeking housing, of placements of clients and of neighborhood responses. It also would service the needs of a low income clientele, including: providing legal advice on matters relating to leases, to dispossession and foreclosure procedures, and to urban renewal acquisition processes; advising agencies responsible for selecting public housing sites; helping indigent tenants to formulate and present code complaints; and, assisting home owners planning to upgrade their properties by suggesting appropriate sources of assistance.

The agency also would be responsible for developing means of carrying out this program so as to minimize social tension. In this connection, it would serve as a point of review, clearance and control of various projects proposed by public and private agencies. These projects would have as their purpose the testing of devices and techniques that could induce present residents of segregated neighborhoods to accept desegregation.

To accomplish these purposes, the agency would retain a staff qualified by reason of its familiarity with the composition,

purposes and operating methods of various agencies and programs of public and private housing and with the problems and aspirations of low income urban residents, to effectively plan and direct this activity. The initial composition of this staff would be as follows:

Executive Director - a person of broad background in the housing field, stressing housing for low income groups; and, possessing a record of administrative accomplishment, with clearly demonstrated skills in public relations;

Assistant Director - a person firmly rooted in the City and well acquainted with local regulations, ordinances and procedures, particularly as they affect minority groups; and, with a recognized capacity for making sound and independent judgements while at the same time retaining the respect both of client groups and of community dominants;

Field Representatives (2) - One, a person qualified to interpret local ordinances and regulations and capable of transmitting this information effectively to a disadvantaged clientele group; the other, a person with a substantial background in social service and with a particular competence and interest in the housing problems of low income groups and their relationship to more general personal and social problems (each of these staff members would be expected to participate in and to direct certain phases of office operations and to visit various neighborhoods to lead discussions and to inform and instruct residents in matters relating to housing);

Secretaries (2) - each qualified by reason of interest and background to assist clients by directing them to appropriate sources of information and counsel and to receive clients with sympathy and understanding (each of these secretaries also would be expected to be a capable professional with an understanding of office procedures and possessing appropriate mechanical skills).

The funds necessary to establish and maintain this program and to finance the various special projects that would be administered by this agency would be requested of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The proposed commitment for fiscal year 1967-1968 is $141,460. It would comprise the following items:

Personal Services:	$59,000	Executive Director:	$15,000
		Assistant Director:	12,000
		Field Representatives (2):	16,000
		Secretaries (2):	11,000
		Other Personal Services:	5,000
Travel:	11,000		
Communications Services:	500		
Rents and Utilities: (@ $4/sq. ft.)	3,300	Single offices (2) @ 150 sq. ft.:	300 sq.ft.
		Double office:	200
		Reception room:	250
		Records room:	100
Supplies:	300		
Printing and Reproduction:	360		
Contractual Services:	75,000		
OPERATING, TOTAL:	80,460	$139,460	
CAPITAL OUTLAY (Equipment):		2,000	
GRAND TOTAL:		$141,460	

A ~~[illegible]~~

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FAIR HOUSING CENTER AND THE CITY OF ATLANTA

Atlanta already has established an enviable record in the field of race relations, but there is need for a new and dramatic effort. The forces that generate the tensions that can flare into Watts-like social explosions can be identified in many parts of our City: inadequate schooling, health problems induced by improper diet and poor sanitation, hostilities generated by lack of economic opportunity, neighborhoods lacking any amenity to relieve the dreariness and monotony of the physical environment. Moreover, many of these potential danger points are adjacent to Atlanta's arteries of industry and trade.

What is proposed is not a new and radical departure from previous practice, but a re-doubling of effort and a structural innovation that will make this effort more effective. This effort is to single out and focus upon a major problem of the community - extreme disparities in conditions of living generated by inequalities in the treatment accorded to the races.

Fortunately, Atlanta possesses the resources that can provide the means of attacking this problem. Its citizens' associations and its public agencies have been imaginative and energetic in their search for solutions. City government, in cooperation with State and federal agencies has invested heavily in slum clearance and in social services aimed at reducing interracial tensions.

The broadest inducement to the City to participate in this endeavor is its interest in reducing the potential for social explosions that could delay or frustrate its economic growth. Supplementing this motive, is the opportunity to share significantly in the benefits available under the federal Demonstration City Program. The effective operation of a Fair Housing Center could be expected to place the City in an advantageous position with respect to eventual involvement in this activity.

But we recognize that the present political situation mitigates against formal involvement of city government in this activity. Consequently, we must assume that its participation will be passive and permissive; that it will not overtly oppose projects proposed or undertaken by the Fair Housing Center. At the same time, the obvious connection between this proposal and the formal responsibilities of government dictates that some form of continuing liaison be established. This, we suggest, can be accomplished by informal, "ad hoc" meetings between key city officials and officers of the Center. Moreover, from time to time certain members of the Atlanta power structure will be invited to present their views informally at these meetings in order that the programs developed by the Center may, so far as possible, represent broad community consensus as to appropriate content and methodology.

ADDENDUM: PROCEDURES, POLICIES AND OPERATING METHODS GOVERNING THE FAIR HOUSING CENTER

INTRODUCTION

The proposed program for selective neighborhood desegregation in Atlanta has three purposes. First, it will investigate the feasibility and applicability of certain action approaches to housing desegregation that may have significant and constructive long-range effects. Second, it will develop and test [redacted] specific incentives that may encourage segregated neighborhoods to initiate programs of orderly desegregation of housing, thus stabilizing populations that otherwise might migrate in search of segregated housing. Third, by [redacted] supplementing facilities, improving housing conditions, and providing amenities in certain neighborhoods, it will encourage [redacted] residents in segregated areas to move into these [redacted] sections.

To meet the first requirement, it proposes the selection of certain "testing points", i.e. neighborhoods now integrated or with socio-economic characteristics that should make housing integration a likely prospect in the immediate future. At these testing points, certain specific inducements that should further accelerate the process of desegregation would be introduced. The goal of this phase of the study would be to determine the effect upon neighborhood acceptance of the various techniques employed.

The "testing point" is to serve two functions. First, it will be the administrative device through which a project will be introduced into the selected neighborhood and maintained in that neighborhood for the life of the project. Second, it will provide the mechanism through which information on resident reaction to the project being tested will be fed back to the reviewing body. The staffing of a "testing point" will be highly variable, depending on the content of the project. In some cases it may involve the part-time services of one person; when more complex activities are involved, a full-time staff - professional and clerical - may be required in order to conduct the activity and feed back the results.

In developing this program proposal, the following assumptions have been made:

- The city cannot force integration on previously segregated neighborhoods but it can help provide conditions under which housing desegregation will make possible improvement in quality of housing, amenities and community facilities and in morale rather than accelerate residential decay and neighborhood decline.

- The city cannot prevent the distress and economic loss that may accompany integration of housing forced by ramdon migration of Negroes but it can help offer an alternative that insures that the social and economic dislocation that can accompany this integration no longer has its primary impact on its most defenseless citizens - Negro and White - and that these citizens are afforded the chance to convert apparent social crisis into opportunity.

- We cannot discipline a total population or even large groups of people - therefore we must motivate individuals;

- We cannot enforce a quota system, even if it might be desirable, but we can work actively toward placing some Negro families in virtually all segregaged neighborhoods;

- We cannot control the actions of communities abutting Atlanta, but we can provide an example of peaceful desegregation that they may later choose to follow;

- We cannot ask a political person to act "un-politically", but we can expose him to the opportunities to acquire support that are implicit in long range applications of desegregation policies;

- We cannot ask an "economic man" to do something that is unprofitable, but we can suggest the form and extent of the compensation that housing desegregation may provide.

Moreover, we assume that this program will be effective only if:

- The program is constantly subject to review and revision by competent private and public agencies;

- The program developed is considered to be only one facet of an overall activity aimed at changing Atlanta's institutional patterns over at least a decade;

- The voluntary flow of Negro families into previously all white neighborhoods continues at no less than the present pace;

- Certain fundamental structural changes take place at the governmental level (e.g., that a Fair Housing Code will be enacted, that an official "City Position" will emerge).

In its content and approach, this program will deal with barriers to housing desegregation as a complex of technical problems amenable to solution by rational means. Its orientation will be to the development of techniques for solving these problems. In its recommendations, it will stress the involvement of agencies and individuals now active in the fields of race relations, housing and urban development.

Data to support various study elements, e.g. condition and value of housing, scope and direction of Negro migration, current levels of public services and facilities, are becoming available as various elements of the Atlanta Community Renewal Program are completed. This information will be fed into the various preliminary studies proposed as part of this program.

The final product of this program will not be an official Proposal for the Integration of Housing in Atlanta, but a set of tools that should provide those interested in speeding housing desegregation with the means of making the process as rapid and as free of controversy as possible.

ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

The proposed organization for the implementation of this proposal consists of four elements:

1. Program Guidance and Support: to be placed at the highest possible professional level in order to elicit power structure support for the public and private measures necessary to accomplish program goals. ~~This~~ Direction and coordination of this function will be the responsibility of the Executive Director of the Fair Housing Center and dictates the selection of a person of outstanding quality for this role.

   Function: To provide overall program guidance and to serve as principal point of contact and clearance between the Center and the Office of Economic Opportunity and its Atlanta counterpart, and (informally) with the mayor and various community leaders. In order to ensure continuous and close liaison between operational and administrative phases of the Program and the political leadership of the community, this officer will serve as "ex-officio" member of the Steering Committee (see below). In this connection, he will report from time to time to official and to informal community leaders as to progress made toward achieving the objectives of the Center; ~~and~~ on any unusually complex and significant problems that may arise in connection with its implementation; and, ~~from~~ as to new directions he expects the Program to take.

2. Program Selection and Policy Formulation: To be the function of a Steering Committee broadly representative of community interests and composed of [redacted] officials of various cooperating public and private

agencies and of members-at-large selected on the basis of professional qualifications and/or access to important bodies of public opinion.

Function: To serve as the principal deliberative and decision-making body and the point of clearance for [redacted] substantive activities undertaken under the Program; and, to provide the channel for communication between the political leadership of the community and the various professional associations and the publics that members of the Committee represent. For this purpose, the Committee will meet regularly to review the content of current and recommended projects and the activities proposed for or underway at the various "testing points." On the basis of this review, the Committee will suggest neighborhoods in which projects should be initiated, or terminated and the specific projects that should be initiated, or terminated in these neighborhoods. The Committee also will serve as the point of review and approval of proposals for city-wide research. The Committee may also, from time to time, request that the staff of the [redacted] or consultants or advisors retained by the [redacted], undertake special studies of existing or proposed programs. [redacted]

Center

Center

3. Administration of Continuing Program Activities: To be the responsibility of [redacted], to insure program continuity and close cooperation among those working at the action level, and to simplify disbursement and accounting procedures. This function will encompass all Program activities ranging from records administration to [redacted] administrative backstopping for grants in support of specialized research and development projects undertaken under contract in support of the Program.

the Fair Housing Center,

Function: To provide for initiating, directing and controlling all activities undertaken under this Program, including developing background data in support of proposed activities, and presenting these data at conferences

of the various Panels (see below). On approval of each component project, the Center will assume responsibility for staffing, budgeting and orientation phases of project implementation and will report regularly to the Committee on the rate of progress of each project. In relation to the research projects undertaken under this Program, the Center will recommend contractors, both governmental and private, and will provide supporting data indicating the scope and probable duration of the proposed project, areas of competence of potential contractors, and appropriate levels of financial support. It also will, at the request of the Committee, enter into contract negotiations with private contractors and on approval of these contracts will maintain necessary administrative records and controls.

4. Neighborhood Selection and Research Project Screening Activities: To be the responsibility of Technical Advisory Panels composed of appropriate members of the various public and private agencies represented on the Steering Committee, ~~to be chaired by representatives of the cooperating federal agency and to receive technical backstopping from the same Agency.~~

Function: To examine the various neighborhoods that may be eligible to become "testing points" including their socio-economic characteristics and their respective needs, in order that meaningful priorities among alternative Program sites and categories of projects can be developed. In this connection, the various Panels will review data dealing with these elements that are compiled by the Agency for this purpose and, as necessary, will conduct field investigations to supplement its knowledge of neighborhoods and projects under consideration. When projects are underway, the Panel may conduct further investigations to determine in general the effectiveness of the project and to judge the feasibility of supplementing the activity, or terminating it. The Panel also will serve as the point of initial review of proposed new projects in the general area of research and will recommend to the Committee, on the basis of its investigations, those research activities that should receive priority consideration and the contractors it considers to be best equipped to complete the task.

PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

The selection of neighborhoods as "testing points" will be accomplished in three stages - definition, comparison and selection.

1. Definition: In this stage, criteria will be developed that will distinguish those neighborhoods that appear to be especially appropriate as sites for the study of housing desegregation from other parts of the city. Among the factors to be considered are:

   a. "Newness" of community/neighborhood, ratio of "immigrant" to indigenous residents - an indicator of extent to which patterns of relationship and attitude are rooted in tradition;

   b. Age level in community/neighborhood - in part reflecting item a (above) and in part indicating probable ability to adapt to change;

   c. Education level in community/neighborhood - in part reflecting a and b (above) and in part a criterion of acceptance of change (assumption: those with formal education are more likely to be concerned with objective fact than with emotion-rooted opinion);

   d. Economic level in community/neighborhood - in part reflecting items a, b, and c above, and in part suggesting that reduced anxieties over economic conditions and decreased competition for scarce jobs creates an atmosphere more conducive to housing desegregation;

e. Extent to which educational system and public facilities and services are desegregated and degree to which this desegregation is generally accepted by the community/neighborhood - suggests existing pattern of acceptance of desegregation that can be extended to include housing desegregation;

f. Extent to which public officials and informal leaders in community/neighborhood accept desegregation as an operating principle and reinforce their position by overtly supporting programs of desegregation;

g. Extent to which housing desegregation programs are undertaken on a moderate and rational basis with ample and skillful advance preparation for change, and with due respect for the rights of owners of private property.

2. Comparison: In this stage the various neighborhoods (Census Blocks) in the community will be examined on the basis of criteria developed under Item 1 above. From these data the first sort will be conducted and neighborhoods classified along a continuum ranging from "very high acceptance potential" to "very low acceptance potential". This step may also involve interviews with neighborhood leaders and/or survey research studies of attitudes of residents toward de-segregation.

Selection: In this stage members of Panels appointed on the basis of their special knowledge of various areas of the City or familiarity with attitudes toward housing integration will review the information accumulated (item 2, above) and select specific neighborhoods to serve as "testing areas". Their recommendations will be presented to the Steering Committee in general

session. Formal approval of these proposals by this body will constitute a commitment to institute an action program in the designated neighborhoods(s).

The selection of projects for introduction into neighborhood action programs will also be accomplished in three stages - investigation, testing and application:

1. Investigation: Various alternative proposals as to means of providing support to neighborhoods selected as "testing points" will be presented to Panels representing various functional fields, e.g. health, education, physical planning, welfare, transportation, recreation, urban design. These proposals will be researched, primarily through experience surveys, and estimates of probable impact and of cost and duration will be prepared. On the basis of this information, the Panel will suggest that certain projects be tested in various neighborhoods and will assign these projects specific priorities. These recommendations will be brought to the full committee for approval. Formal approval of specific project proposals and of the priority assigned to them will constitute a commitment to institute the testing process.

2. Testing: Those proposals approved for testing will be introduced into existing or newly established neighborhood centers on the basis of recommendations of Joint Panels composed of neighborhood and functional specialists to the Steering Committee and the Committee approval of the program. Regular reports on their progress, supplemented by inspections in the field, will be submitted to the Joint Panels by project personnel. At the conclusion of the period assigned for investigation, a report on the project, its apparent success and special problems it generated, together with recommendations for continuing or terminating it will be presented to the Committee by the Joint Panel.

3. Application: Approved projects will be assigned to various additional neighborhoods (within limitations imposed by availability of funds and personnel) where their use appears to meet local needs and in accordance with the priority roster of eligible neighborhoods prepared by the Committee (see above).

The selection of programs of research to be undertaken on a city-wide basis will be accomplished in two steps - review and selection.

1. Review: Various agencies, public and private, will be asked to submit research proposals to the Committee. These proposals should specify purpose, research methodology, probable duration and cost. These proposals will be reviewed by the cooperating federal agency and by members of the appropriate functional Panel, which then will recommend to the Committee that certain proposals be accepted and will suggest the priority to be assigned to the various approved proposals.

Selection: Within the limits of the funds made available for City-wide research, the Committee will recommend specific priority programs, contractors and levels of support. These recommendations will be forwarded to the cooperating federal agency for action. From this point, responsibility for developing mutually satisfactory administrative and substantive arrangements will be in the hands of the [redacted] Center and the proposed contractor

31

PROJECT CONTENT:

The following are examples of projects that might be undertaken in various neighborhoods in the City under the proposed program:

Project: Consumer Education

Purpose: To inform low income residents of "testing point" neighborhoods of the differentials in cost and quality of basic consumer goods; to advise them of the costs of credit purchases and of alternative sources of credit; to assist them to develop simple budgeting and bookkeeping skills; and, to provide continuing financial and tax information if particular interest to low income groups.

Project: Property Maintenance and Improvement

Purpose: To instruct owners and tenants in the methods of reducing deterioration and of improving appearance, design and marketability of residential structures, including simple carpentry, painting, papering and decorating and, within limits of city codes, simple plumbing and electrical repairs.

Project: Spot Renewal and Physical Uplift

Purpose: To produce immediate and marked improvements in the physical appearance of the neighborhood by introducing certain specific amenities, e.g., small parks, kiosks, playgrounds, planting, significant handling of color or architectural design and by reducing or eliminating outmoded, dangerous or visually offensive structures.

Project: Clearing House

Purpose: To inform potential residents of desegregating neighborhoods of vacancies existing; of costs and special benefits that may accrue to residents of these neighborhoods under the proposed coordinated program. (Note: Recommended contractor: The Urban League.)

Project: Augmented Public Services

Purpose: To provide levels of supportive services, e.g., trash pick-up, street cleaning and maintenance, public safety, that meet the highest standards established for these services in comparable urban areas.

Project: Augmented Public Facilities

Purpose: To construct, rebuild, or refurbish public structures and facilities, e.g., libraries, schools, fire stations, parks and playgrounds, in order that their overall quality and appearance will be consistent with that in the most favored neighborhoods in the City.

Training and Placement Services

Purpose: To instruct residents in the skills and techniques required to practice certain vocations and trades, stressing those for which effective demand currently exists; and, to assist qualified residents to obtain local employment that will enable them to use these skills and techniques.

Project: Transportation Services

Purpose: To make available public transportation services, and to encourage the development of auxiliary private transportation services that will link the "testing point neighborhood" with principal complementary employment and shopping areas.

Project: School Up-Grading Program

Purpose: To supplement the instructional program with special activities and projects for the purpose of strengthening special talents and abilities and broadening economic and social perspectives of pupils and parents.

The following are examples of research programs that might be undertaken on a city-wide basis that could generate broad and wide-scale changes of attitude toward housing desegregation:

Project: Public School Teachers' Education Program

Purpose: To inform public school teachers of the goals of programs of housing desegregation and of their accomplishments; and, to encourage active participation in, and support of, these programs by these teachers.

Project: Real Estate Agents' Education Program

Purpose: To acquaint real estate agents with profit potentials of service to Negro clients; with the techniques that can be employed to introduce members of minority groups into segregated communities with minimal friction; and with effective methods of working with Negro tenants and clients.

Project: Influence of Property Tax Structure on Viability of Blighted Residential Areas

Purpose: To examine and report upon the characteristics of

municipal and state tax codes that may act to subsidize the investments of owners and administrators of slum properties, and, to specify changes in these codes and ordinances that might remove these special benefits and subsidies.

Project: Fair Housing Act

Purpose: To secure the enactment of a local ordinance consistent in content and philosophy with the goals and intent of the Federal Act; in this connection acquiring comparable acts and ordinances from other municipalities, preparing appropriate proposals as to content and presentation of such an ordinance, and encouraging significant organizations and individuals to support such legislation.

Project: Public Housing

Purpose: To evaluate needs for additional public housing, including demand, appropriate location and design and structural characteristics preferred by potential consumers; and, to determine applicability of present and proposed Federal actions—support of expanding public housing availabilities.

Project: Workable Program for Community Improvement

Purpose: To determine the extent to which the city is conforming in its housing and urban development activities with the increasingly rigorous standards that have been

developed and now are being invoked by the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and, to encourage the city so to enforce its housing codes and ordinances as to meet or exceed these standards.

Project: Policies and Practices in Enforcement of Eviction Ordinances

Purpose: To conduct a comparative study of eviction ordinances in various communities, their provisions and their apparent influence on landlord - tenant relations; and, to examine the policies and procedures for enforcement of these ordinances in order to develop recommendations as to changes in present practices that would protect the owners equity while at the same time protecting the tenant from arbitrary, abrupt eviction practices taking place under cover of legal sanction.

Project: Proposal for a Demonstration Grant in Support of Neighborhood Improvement

Purpose: To acquire information pertaining to the standards that must be met by a neighborhood wishing to be considered as a site for a Neighborhood Demonstration Grant (or for the Demonstration Cities Program), and to conduct an inventory of Atlanta neighborhoods that might be eligible for such assistance; to develop a plan for the implementation of such a program and, with appropriate support, to present this plan to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for approval.

Project: Survey Research re. Neighborhood Desegregation.

Purpose: To elicit responses from residents of various neighborhoods that will reveal the following perceptions: the attitudes of Negroes toward moving into "white" neighborhoods; the attitudes of whites toward moving into Negro neighborhoods; the attitudes of white and Negro residents in integrating neighborhoods toward continuing to live in such a neighborhood, i.e. Peyton Road Area.

Project: Economic Impact of "Block-busting" on Home Owners.

Purpose: To investigate the long-term effects on property owners of neighborhood desegregation. In particular, to estimate the costs, both to emigrating white residents and immigrant Negro residents, of sales of housing below fair market price and of acquisition of housing at inflated prices, including such factors as extension of mortgage payments, increased costs for equivalent facilities and increased interest charged on mortgage obligations payable over longer periods of time.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR HOUSING PROGRAM

~~ASSESSMENT OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT~~

The fourth phase of this study surveys the content and quality of citizen support that could be expected to accrue to an effort to reduce discrimination in housing. ~~Letters~~ To obtain information for this assessment, letters were sent to key members and to officials of various voluntary organizations and public agencies, inviting their sponsorship and participation in a joint effort aimed at encouraging fair housing practices. (See Appendix I.) In some cases, this was followed up by telephone calls. Several agencies already have responded favorably, among them the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

A partial listing of other groups that ~~have volunteered to take part, or are~~ by ~~their~~ prior expressions or actions, might be expected to support the objectives of ~~to join~~ this endeavor ~~include~~ include: Empire Real Estate Board, Unitarian Universalist Congregation, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta's Summit Leadership Conference, United Church Women of Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta Region Metropolitan Area ~~Metropolitan~~ Planning Commission, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, American Society of Friends, Atlanta Council on Human Relations, and Georgia Council on Human Relations.

~~The following summary of supplies replies in from some of the organizations and agencies contacted indicate support and express the sentiments interest of some others~~

Summaries ~~below~~ are examples of ~~is a summary of~~ the replies ~~of two dozen~~ from representatives of the agencies and organizations contacted:

indent replies

Name

Name

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEGRO RESIDENCE IN ATLANTA

Atlanta is fast becoming a predominantly Negro city, as did Washington, D. C., some years ago. Atlanta's leading politicians now are fighting such undesired development. They also are attempting to annex Sandy Springs and possibly other white suburban communities. The annexation of white communities would not automatically change the separateness of the two races here, but it would dilute the growing Negro political power within the corporate city. The percentage of Negroes in the combined metropolitan area is holding steady at around 22 per cent, but the proportion of Negroes within the city has jumped from 38 per cent to 43 per cent in the last five years. Increase in the Negro percentage in the city stems mainly from the movement of whites to bedroom communities outside the city limits.

This racial shift is even more pronounced when it comes to the school population. The major portion of white families moving to the suburbs are those with children. While the number of Negro children in Atlanta public schools was increasing 20,000 during the last five years, the over-all number of white children was decreasing 2,000, according to Atlanta School Superintendent John Letson.[1]

This trend started about two decades ago when the Negro population began breaking out of a tight belt that cramped it in too little space in the central city. In the early years of

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[1] The Atlanta Journal, March 15, 1966.

expansion of the Negro community, the movement was mainly westward, the direction the city's political and financial determiners decreed. Negro and white real estate coalitions sometimes agreed on peripheral constructions such as cemeteries and public housing units which served as buffers to Negro expansion in undesired directions.

It was clearly understood in the early '50's that Negroes were to have a corridor to the west for housing growth. The Butler Street Young Men's Christian Association and the Citizens Trust Company, both Negro institutions, planned and later built west side branches. Negro real estate interests developed fabulous Collier Heights.

But even in some agreed-upon growth directions, some of the affected whites took matters into their own hands and resisted Negro encroachment. Explosives were planted near several newly purchased, fringe area homes as late as the mid-1950's in the Edgewood and Bankhead areas, in the east and west parts of the city respectively. Isolated instances of vandalism or violent resistance in more recent years have been less serious.

Early movement of affluent Negroes to the west brought other action from nonviolent and more sophisticated whites. Though sometimes living on a common thoroughfare with Negroes, they tried to retain the prestige of not living on the same street with Negroes in some cases by changing the street's name in their area. Hunter Road, for example, becomes Mozley Drive at Chicamauga, and from Anderson Avenue westward it is called Gordon Road. As Negro expansion crept toward Ponce de Leon in the central northeast

area a few years ago, the part of Boulevard beyond Ponce de Leon was renamed Monroe Drive and the extension of Parkway beyond that barrier was renamed Charles Allen Drive.

Movement of a Negro doctor into the Peyton Forest area led to the erection of a barricade across Peyton Road to prevent direct ingress and egress of Negroes there and to deter further Negro housing expansion in that sector. This so-called Berlin Wall was installed with the political sanctions of white city fathers, but it had to be removed because of Negro political and legal pressures.

Whites in the Peyton Forest area and in some other communities organized to resist Negro encroachment and offered to buy homes of those insistent on moving.

Before the courts struck down laws and policies excluding Negroes from certain "white" public swimming pools and parks, the creeping expansion of the Negro community left the alternative of abandoning some formerly white parks and schools now surrounded by Negro residents or of converting them for minority use. Georgia Avenue School on the East and Mozley Park on the West are good examples. Both were turned over to Negroes.

During much of the last decade, government activity has increased both population and housing change. Public construction such as urban renewal and highways have displaced thousands of families, according to information from various studies, reports, and proposed urban renewal and highway project projections. As reported by the Atlanta Journal on November 4, 1965, "Government activities have displaced 15,500 families during the past nine-and-one-half years, statistics show. From 9,000 to 12,000 of

of these families were in income brackets low enough to qualify for public housing. Yet during the same period, from Janaury 1, 1956 to June 30, 1965, only slightly more than 4,000 new low-cost units of housing were made available. That leaves a housing deficit of 5,000 to 7,000 units for poorer Atlanta families." Enforcement of the city's minimum housing code displaced approximately 2,240 additional families, according to the Journal article by Raleigh Bryans.

Actually, the deficit is even higher. The figures do not reflect what is generally accepted as a significant population increase among poor Atlanta Negro families. The data were gathered from the 1958 relocation plan of the city of Atlanta, the city's Workable Program, Atlanta's Urban Renewal Status Report of June 30, 1965, urban renewal project applications and other sources, and may be questioned by some.

Since the bulk of those forced to relocate are of the lower economic rung, it becomes apparent that greater economic problems are created for low income families. Especially hard pressed are those Negroes of poverty means who need, but are unable to qualify (some qualify but are unable to gain admittance) for the inadequate supply of public housing. Private Atlanta rentals run approximately 20 per cent higher than low-rent projects charge for comparable facilities. And developers have built few new homes in the city for prices less than $10,000. In a spot check of the cost of lots in the Negro community we found none selling for less than $3,000, even though some land we priced was of minimal size. The high land cost tends to make construction of modest homes more expensive to buyers and less

profitable to builders.

These facts suggest that special attention is needed for the housing problems of the poor, especially Negroes. The following pages of this report take a hard look at Atlanta housing needs, the resources for supplying some needs by dissolution of the ghetto, the attitudes and availability of groups to work for solutions of housing problems, and an innovative proposal for solving some of the problems. The urgency of some action in this connection is signaled by the restiveness and violence of Watts in California and other erupting poverty pockets of the Northeast and Midwest. Even more important is the social degradation that ghetto living and substandard conditions create.

SLA:js

Memo

Add footnote...to last sentence of paragraph 3 (Issolated instances of vandalism or viol nt resistance[1] ...")

[1]See "The Fire That Time," New South; Southern Regional Council, November 1965, pp. 5-6.

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to be the policy. The Atlanta Branch NAACP is in complete and absolute accord with this position, also suggest that the Atlanta Branch NAACP does not see the need to create any new organization or group to coordinate efforts in the field of fair housing or fair housing in this city. It would be our judgment that an existing organization as the Atlanta Council on Human Relations could carry out adequately the functions of such a group. We have confidence in the Atlanta Council on Human Relations and would, therefore, recommend that the council undertake this very necessary and responsible activity."

Summary of replies:

1. Mayor Ivan Allen: "suggest you contact Atlanta Housing Authority".

2. United Church Women of Atlanta: "we think the project is a good one, but that is all I can say at this time"; president will refer to Board meeting on March 25th.

3. Atlanta Chamber of Commerce: "interest in housing has not revolved around racial considerations, but rather on a general upgrading of housing for Atlanta citizens in general...interested in eradication of all of Atlanta's slums...primary raison d'etre is production of new jobs and new dollars, with no concern as to who the final recipient of either shall be".

4. Metropolitan Planning Commission: "works closely with all of the groups in the community who are concerned with housing, but we are not directly involved. Within the limits of our program we certainly are anxious to support the objectives of the study as outlined in the attachment to your letter".

5. League of Women Voters of Atlanta-Fulton CO: " Thus far, Urban Renewal is the only item related to housing which we have studied and this did not touch the aspects to which your study addresses itself...we would like, if permitted, to send an Observer to your meeting".

6. Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.: .."any barrier to the free choice of housing hampers the community's effort to supply adequate housing for its citizens.. The C.C.A.A. has not specifically been involved in solving the housing problem, although we are a subcontractor with the City of Atlanta in the Community Improvement Project. Our Executive Committee directed me to provide your organization or the NCADH with whatever information would be helpful in the study or plan being formulated...staff will continue to meet with the study sponsors as we are informed of meetings and will supply whatever

~~#8~~

7 ~~14.~~ Atlanta Urban League: (oral reply) "favor open occupancy: consider role of Urban League one of conference and mediation; will work with study".

8 ~~15.~~ Unitarian Univeralist Congregation: (oral reply) "generally favor open occupancy; will work with study; of the opinion that metropolitan Atlanta is not ready to initiate fair Housing Program, ~~they~~ but probably would not actively oppose one".

9 ~~16.~~ Empire Real Estate Board: (oral reply) "favors open occupancy; will work."

10 ~~17.~~ Summit Leadership Conference; (oral reply) "favors open occupancy: will work with program".

11 ~~18.~~ Southern Christian Leadership Conference: (oral reply) "favors open occupancy; will work with program; favors working through existing groups rather than organizing new one".

12 ~~19.~~ Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee: (oral reply) "favors open occupancy; will work with program; favors working through existing groups rather than organizing new one".

13 ~~20.~~ Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta: Board decision not to initiate formation of new organization, eager to intensify present program as resources become available; present program includes information and education about housing conditions and resources (i.e. which agency does what); listing of FHA property and any other groups from various parts of metro Atlanta on specific problems; consultation with CIP staff.

14 ~~21.~~ Atlanta Real Estate Board: "no reply"

15 ~~22.~~ YMCA:

16 ~~23~~ Atlanta Jewish Welfare Fund:

17 ~~24.~~ National Conference of Christian and Jews:

Conclusions - Enthusiastic support for a fair housing program in Atlanta comes mainly from groups committed to furthering civil rights. Cautious interest is seen in the replies of the more broadly-based community organizations and public agencies commonly described as "the power structure". There is no expressed hostility in the replies of any responsible community organization, but a few groups have delayed answering, pending action by policy-making boards or committees.

Atlanta's general attitude toward a program in housing obviously is about the same as it has been to other facets of civil rights gains: "Do with dignity that which we are required by law to do." Groups and individuals who were in favor of school desegregation also support fair housing and equal opportunity as ideals and goals, but there has been little discussion, much less agreement, on the definite steps needed to accomplish these ideals.

Atlanta has no restrictive laws against fair housing, just as there are no laws favoring fair housing. The Atlanta Public Housing Authority and other public housing housing authorities in the metropolitan area have signed civil rights compliance agreements. But none has taken any affirmative action to encourage more than token desegregation of low-rent housing projects.

The all-Negro Empire Real Estate Board openly favors a fair housing program. The all-white Atlanta Real Estate Board claims to have no regulations prohibiting open occupancy, but the realtors also are non-committal when questioned about a positive program for eliminating the artificial Negro housing market caused by housing segregation. There has been little or no public discussion by them as to whether the provision in their code against action to change the general character of a neighborhood would preclude selling property to Negroes in all-white areas.

There is wide preoccupation with the desirability for "good housing" as distinguished from "fair housing". There is general approval of movements for eliminating slums, but little acknowledgement of any relationship existing between segregated middle and high cost housing, and substandard low cost housing.

The statements of respondents include a positive one from the regional AFL-CIO's civil rights office, supporting fair housing programs. But this is interpreted to be support from the top down rather than from the bottom up. Local labor groups

of the Atlanta region are less noted for support of this sort.

The letter sent to Atlanta's mayor, asking for support of a program of equal opportunity in housing, was followed up by a discussion with the mayor's executive assistant regarding the kind of statement that could realistically be made. Realizing he might be reluctant to endorse a specific program without knowing details of the approach, we suggested the mayor might simply state that activities designed to promote equal opportunity in housing would meet no opposition from the city government. His answer finally received asked that the Atlanta Housing Authority be contacted for "such a statement". See letters in appendix.

The executive director of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., has stated that his board is on record favoring a housing study. However, no action of the EOA board to date would support a conslusion that the board is willing to deal publicly with the question of racial desegregation in housing. It is likely that the agency would prefer avoiding public reference to any relationship between substandard housing and racial segregation.

The choice might well be between an aggressive program involving a few interested organizations and a token program involving a broad cross-section of community groups. An aggressive program would more than likely enjoy the silent blessings of a great many groups and individuals that are glad "somebody is doing it."

March 23, 1966

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Sam Adams

FROM: Paul Anthony PA

To send to our Executive Committee in early April, may I have a report from you of no more than one page, double spaced, of your work during the period January 1-March 31.

There may be little, if any, opportunity at the Executive Committee Meeting of April 18 for individual staff members to report on their work, but I am anxious that the Committee be brought up-to-date on the work of each of our professional staff and each of the departments.

Please mark April 18 on your calendar and plan to be here for the meeting.

Ed Stanfield: Difficulties getting office in Washington.. Planning: Best hope: Economics and ~~go~~ fed. gov't.

Arkansas: Wm. Townsend: Big biz opened doors as an employment..

① Dr Clayton Williams
② Ed Lewis

Fla - ① Parts = not enough probl to stimulate interest; other parts = other ways around.
Coaching deseg kids... Employment... (Skill banks (4) + Placement svcs)

②

Ga: Mrs. Frances Pauly: Have very good; very bad... Perimeter...
Have compliance in Albany.. People enjoy movies more
Chatter p.a. statewide... Penny = O complying at all...
Wherever is compliance, has been grassroots -
need to be more clear small grp mtgs relating other power
structures... Need to work out + tell more people -
underemph opposit... use same tactics as we have
effectively... as Sav. ladies in hotels lines urging ~~[illegible]~~
seg at restaurants... Cy of 100 in Penny... Sophisticated
~~the~~ longer law classes... Scarcity of succ case etc.... Pers
we did have...

Miss - seeks full-time exec dir: ① Dr. Don Beitel, ② Mrs. Jane Schutt } ① Meeting in Jan... McComb (Ringgold-Hotel)
deseg... Laurel labor union...
Marks of progress... Jan actions... working on getting mbrs...
② Don't underestimate opposit... Shift in climate, interest alone...

NC: Mrs. Helen Adams: accelerated gradualism... Planning... KKK stamp
in news... self-readiness... Tutorial meeting for college stds...

Tenn: Won long-fought battle on token deseg... Need now to work on
roots of seg... Deals - formally made... Bridge for more relationship and other needs -

Houston, Tex.: Has city civil grant... also Humble Oil grant...
Dallas, Tex.: Cy of 19 - learning Cy on H.R....

S.C. Fred Reese: as in Fla, NSC coah r... Pors for open relats dnt: probs also... Hitring: ~~xxx~~:
New opp for a new day...

Va. Dr Aubrey Brown: challenges: Billboard project: Jobs: 30:
reinstate fr ~~[illegible]~~ men at first: hier ups chgd —
chapters extended... 33 locals --- incl just recently
Prince E dropped... open occupancy covenant signatures...
adult educat _ Find "competents" for jobs [illegible] pr: man fund raising
ties in w merit employment... Big biz men on bd of dir...

Suggestions: Put Negro books in libraries: day-seminar...
expelam @ offensive books...
Committees keyed to new laws...
Problem of new mayor's ex... Mary = just to hash
up real Negro leadership...
Get on econ opp program...
> act & let power str fr inside tax set it to act — Include in membership ~~[illegible]~~ Consider etc

Claude Dean
mayor's commission
Chattanooga

SPECIAL MEETING ON INTERESTS OF THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

10:00 A.M. Welcome - Leslie Dunbar

Comments on Purpose of Meeting - Paul Anthony

Introduction of:

State Presidents
State Directors
All Members and Guests
SRC Staff

10:45 A Review of State Councils

Status, problems, programs
(Representative from each state reports)

12:30 P.M. Lunch

(A report of special committee of three state Council directors.)

2:00 Small groups for special discussions:

Role of Board of Directors - Mrs. Alice Spearman
Ed Stanfield
Local Council Programming - Mrs. Frances Pauley
Ed Lewis
Fund Raising - Mrs. Helen Adams
Presidents meeting with Paul Anthony

3:30 Discussion, entire group

The Relationship of SRC and State Councils

5:00 Adjournment

6:30 Visit to SRC offices

State Councils on Human Relations: Membership

	1964	1963	1962
ALABAMA	400	420	350
ARKANSAS	751	503	322
FLORIDA	1,451	718	400
GEORGIA	1,241	1,023	913
MISSISSIPPI	196	45	0
NORTH CAROLINA	648	514	534
SOUTH CAROLINA	1,050	945	600
TENNESSEE	775	676	570
VIRGINIA	2,423	2,367	1,243
HOUSTON	610	509	239
TOTAL:	9,545	7,720	5,171

MR. MORGAN STANFORD
CHAIRMAN
DR. JACOB ROCHSCHILD
1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN
DR. EDWARD WEAVER
2ND VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. SUJETTE CRANK
SECRETARY
MR. HUBERT JACKSON
TREASURER

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF
GREATER ATLANTA

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 523-1581

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Active enthusiastic support for a fair housing program in Atlanta comes mainly from the civil rights ~~and those interracial~~ groups — Some interracial — formed primarily for the purpose of furthering civil rights. Cautious interest and non-commital observation comes from the broader community organizations and public agencies which reflect what is commonly described as "the power structure". There is no expressed hostility from any responsible community organization.

Generally speaking, Atlanta's attitude towards a program in housing is the same as it has been to other facets of civil rights and equal opportunity, to "do with dignity that which we are required by law to do". Those individuals and groups who were in favor of "open schools" are in favor of "fair housing" and "equal opportunity" as ideals and goals but there has been little discussion, much less agreement, on the definite steps to accomplish these ideals.

There are no laws against fair housing, just as there are no laws for fair housing. The Atlanta Public Housing Authority, and [redacted] other housing authorities in the metropolitan area, have signed civil rights compliance agreements. None of them has taken any affirmative action to minimize the full potentialities of the bill. There are still two real estate groups in Atlanta, one white and one Negro. The Negro one favors a fair housing program. The white one claims not to have or has had any regulations which prevent open occupancy. Whether the provision in their code against action to change the general character of a neighborhood would preclude selling property to Negroes in an all white area has not been discussed.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF
GREATER ATLANTA
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 523-1581

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MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

#2

Those individuals and groups which in other communities have formed the backbone of a fair housing group are presently preoccuppied with "good housing" as distinguished from "fair housing". There is general approval of the position that it is important to eliminate slums, but little ackhowledgement of the relationship existing between segrated middle and high cost housing, and substandard low cost housing.

The regional AFL-CIO civil rights office responded with a positive statement of support for a program in fair housing. This reflects more of support from the top down rather than support from the bottom up. Local labor groups have not been noted for their liberalism in this area.

The letter to the mayor asking for support of a program for equal opportunity in housing, was followed up by a discussion with his executive secretary about the kind of statement which he could realistically make. We realized that he could not endorse a specific program without knowing about it, but we suggested a statement indicating that activities designed to promote equal opportunity in housing would not meet with any opposition from the city government. The letter which we finally received simply suggested that the Atlanta Housing Authority be contacted for "such a statement", (i.e., as was asked for in the letter - see attached.)

The Executive Administrater of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc., has stated that the EOA Board is on record in favor of the study. No actions of the EOA Board to date would lead one to expect that organization to deal with the question of racial desegration publicly. Regardless of the private

feelings of individuals concerned, the agency would be more likely to avoid public reference to the relationship between substandard housing and segration. It would be unlikely to provide community leadership in this respect.

One is faced with a choice of an aggressive program involving comparatively few organizations but probably enjoying the silent blessings of a great many who are glad "somebody is doing it" and a token program actually involving a broad cross-section of moderate to liberal groups.

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 20, 1961

TELEPHONE
525-6468

Mr. G. Arthur Howell, Chairman
The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Incorporated
Candler Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Howell:

We have noted with interest the recent announcement in the press of an "extensive survey of health and hospital needs and resources in the metropolitan Atlanta area", to be undertaken by the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Incorporated and the acceptance by Council of the responsibility for making receommendations to the Georgia Department of Health for Hill-Burton projects.

On the basis of the information stated in the announcement, the "citizens committees" named as responsible for this community wide study did not seem to be representative of the racial groups in the population of the area included in the survey, and we wondered if there are other members who were not included in the announcement.

We would be interested in knowing also whether the Hospital and Health Division of the Community Council, Inc., includes in its membership representation of both racial groups which make up the population of the area. Many inequities and disparities are known to exist in the health and hospital services available to Negro and white citizens in the area surveyed, and we feel that it is vital that the inventory indicate these facts: We sincerely urge that the survey include inquiries which will (1) determine the extent to which private and public health and hospital services are restricted on the basis of race, color or creed; (2) determine what facilities, services and training opportunities are denied to which race; (3) determine which existing services, facilities and training opportunities are presently assisted by federal grants; (4) enable estimates to be made of the cost of duplicating services and facilities made necessary by segregation. In fact, we urge that it be determined of all facilities studied, the extent to which they are open to all who need them.

Many citizens believe that federal assistance for construction, research and training purposes should be available only to institutions serving the public without restrictions based on race, creed or color.

The Council on Human Relations during the past few months has compiled certain information in the field of public hospital facilities which we would be happy to report to you. We hope that all community groups interested in this vital undertaking will have an opportunity to work with the Committee of the Community Council, and that the group which makes up the real working end will include persons of varied backgrounds and experiences in these fields.

With all good wishes for your success in this important community venture,

Samuel W. Williams
Rev. Samuel W. Williams

Kay Hoffman
Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Chairman
Hospital Committee

C
O
P
Y

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 16, 1961

Mr. Fred Turner, Chairman
Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority
William-Oliver Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Turner:

On October 25 Mrs. Paschall wrote to you making two requests for the Council and others who presented statements to the Hospital Authority on October 2. We asked, one, that you answer one specific question concerning applications for internships, and two, that you meet with members of these groups in a conference to be arranged at your convenience to "secure accurate information" about operations of Grady and Spalding Hospitals.

Your reply of October 27 stated that since one of the persons for whom she was writing had "filed charges" with the Civil Rights Commission, you did not think it proper to meet with any of us.

Although we fail to see how correspondence with the Federal Civil Rights Commission on the part of any citizen or citizen's group in any way lessens the need for conference between citizens and local officials, it so happens that the Council on Human Relations itself, has had no communication with the Civil Rights Commission about this matter.

Your reply made no reference to the question asked, and we should like to repeat the question and our request for a direct answer:

> Will the Hospital Authority consider applications for internships for the 1962-63 academic year submitted by Negro medical students?

It has now been seven (7) weeks since the requests were submitted to the Authority, and there has been no report of any action taken. We find ourselves at a loss to understand this lack of response on the part of public officials to an expressed concern on the part of citizens.

Sincerely,

Ken Hoffman

Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Chairman
Hospital Committee

CH/wlh

ACTIVITIES OF GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
IN RELATION TO GRADY HOSPITAL

1. August, 1961. A routine attempt by Mrs. Walter Paschall, Executive Director of the Council, to be an observer at a meeting of the Hospital Authority was unsuccessful. Although the Authority was not in session, Mrs. Paschall was able to interview Mr. Frank Wilson.

2. Sept. 24, 1961. The Council held a meeting to discuss medical care and education in Greater Atlanta. Representatives from the Georgia Dept. of Health, Emory Medical School, Atlanta Medical Association, and the Hughes Spalding Pavilion served on the panel. Both Mr. Fred Turner and Mr. Frank Wilson were asked to serve on the panel, and all members of the Hospital Authority were invited to attend. None did attend nor served on the panel.

3. Mrs. John Stanley read a statement before the Authority requesting that the Authority requesting that the Authority "adopt and make known. . . a policy of accepting and giving equal consideration, without regard to race, to all applicants for staff positions and at all levels of graduate training at Grady Memorial Hospital". The statement specifically requested that immediate action be taken so that present senior medical students would have the information in time to apply for intern assignments for 1962-63. Mr. Turner gave assurances that a committee would be appointed to study and report on these matters.

Oct. 12 - Oct. 25 - "specific charges filed with G.R.

4. A sixteen-page brochure containing the Council's statement before the Authority Board, a summary of the Council's September panel discussion, and general information on hospitals in Fulton and DeKalb counties was circulated to 90 groups and individuals.

5. Letters from the Council to Mr. Turner requested:

   a. Information about scheduled meetings of the Authority in order to allow the Council to send observers to future meetings. This information, and the "permission" to observe was denied.
   b. Names of the committee Mr. Turner had said he would appoint. These names were refused.
   c. An answer to the question "Will the Hospital Authority consider applications for internships for the 1962-63 academic year submitted by Negro medical students?" No answer received.
   d. A conference with Mr. Turner and any other members of the Authority Board named by him to secure accurate information about the operation of Grady and Hughes Spalding. This conference refused.

6. A memorandum was sent on November 16 to all members of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority seeking answers to the above questions. Only one member answered.

Jan. 22 -
Letter on Meeting

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FORUM ON

MEDICAL CARE AND EDUCATION IN THE GREATER ATLANTA AREA

Sunday, September 24, 1961, 3:30 P. M., Auditorium at

THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER*

PANEL: Dr. Arthur Richardson, Dean of the Medical School of Emory University

Mrs. Grace Hamilton, member, Advisory Board of Trustees, of Hughes Spalding Pavilion Hospital

Dr. Heyward Hill, former President Medical Staff, Hughes Spalding Pavilion Hospital

Dr. Clinton Warner, President, Atlanta Medical Association

Mr. W. E. Uzzell, Hospital Services, Georgia Department of Health

We regret that neither Mr. Fred Turner, chairman of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, nor Mr. Frank Wilson, administrator of Grady Hospital, was able to accept our invitation or to send a representative. We have invited the other members of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, which is responsible for the operation of Grady Hospital; the members of the DeKalb Authority, which is responsible for the operation of the new DeKalb General Hospital; and the members of the TriCity Authority, which is responsible for the new Southwest Fulton Hospital, now under construction, to attend the meeting.

Each member of the panel will be asked to state briefly his evaluation of the present state of medical care and medical education available in the Atlanta community. This presentation will be followed by a question and discussion period.

This is a good opportunity to show your friends "what the Council does". Do come and bring an interested visitor with you.

* * * *

*New Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith St., S. W. (Turn right off Northside Expressway on Hunter, turn left off Hunter on Walnut, turn right off Walnut on Beckwith. Drive into the campus to Park. The Auditorium is in the Classroom Building.)

* * * *

FRANKLIN SIMON'S RESTAURANT IS NOW SERVING ALL CUSTOMERS (CONFIRMED BY TELEPHONE). REMEMBER THE YWCA (EDGEWOOD & IVY) CAFETERIA IS OPEN TO ALL.

Now to - Dept of Health -
Mr. Jim Sitton

Jan 1964

Atlanta Area Projects - Federal Share
Hill-Burton Program

NAME	FEDERAL SHARE
*Hughes Spalding Pavillion	$ 1,035,590,41
DeKalb General Hospital	1,762,485.08
South Fulton Hospital	1,225,504.72
Elks Aidmore Hospital	19,242.46
*Grady Memorial Hospital (Psychiatric Unit)	13,200.00
*Grady Memorial Hospital (Negro Nurses Facility)	462,000.00
Georgia Department of Public Health - Laboratory	83,333.33
DeKalb County Health Center	65,072.00
Fulton County Health Center (Atlanta City)	158,960.33
Fulton County Health Center (New)	599,930.00
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Lakewood	12,645.06
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - South Fulton	11,037.05
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Alpharetta	12,551.17
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Sandy Springs	12,090.23
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Center Hill	14,040.09
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Adamsville	14,333.82
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Howell Mill	10,559.54
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Fairburn	13,565.36
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Collins	13,126.60
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Buckhead	12,908.71
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Red Oak	14,028.59
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Rockdale	10,966.96
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Perkerson	12,729.93
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Atlanta	35,000.00
DeKalb County Auxiliary Health Center - Kirkwood	25,854.02
DeKalb County Auxiliary Health Center - Stone Mountain	28,597.40
DeKalb County Auxiliary Health Center - Tucker	27,515.29
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - West End	54,274.09
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - Northeast	62,773.92
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center - East Point	67,128.60
DeKalb County Auxiliary Health Center - Southwest DeKalb	35,804.12
DeKalb County Auxiliary Health Center - North DeKalb	35,312.00
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center Add. - College Park	889.36
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center Add. - East Point	889.36
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center Add. - Lakewood	889.36
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center Add. - Center Hill	889.36
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center Add. - Atlanta	8,912.59
Fulton County Auxiliary Health Center Add. - East Point	38,893.61
*Grady Memorial Hospital - Diagnostic & Treatment	278,928.89
Emory University - Diagnostic & Treatment	135,671.14
Highview Nursing Home	896,643.00
A. G. Rhodes Home	236,350.10
The Cerebral Palsy School - Clinic	285,070.59
Elks Aidmore Hospital - Rehabilitation	300,393.50
	$ 8,146,581.74

FACT SHEET
(On hospitals)
March 15, 1962

1. AVAILABLE HOSPITAL FACILITIES:

Total number of hospital beds in Atlanta		4,000*
Available for Negroes:		
At Grady and Hughes Spalding	457	
At private Negro hospitals	135	
At DeKalb General Hospital	16	
At Aidmore Hospital for Crippled Children**	30	
Total Number Available for Negroes		638

St. Joseph's (Catholic) Negro nurses but no Negro doctors

Therefore, only one private white hospital and two public hospitals in Atlanta accept Negro patients.

2. NEED FOR EXPANDED MEDICAL CARE:

Negro death rate***	11.7
White death rate***	8.3

Therefore, for every eight out of 1,000 whites who die, almost 12 Negroes die.

Although better than one out of four persons in Atlanta is Negro, 27%

only one out of seven hospital beds is available to him, 14%

and these, for the most part, are concentrated in a single hospital (457 at Grady and Spalding).

YET NEGROES ARE MORE LIKELY TO SUFFER SICKNESSES REQUIRING HOSPITALIZATION THAN WHITES.

---

*Information about hospital beds is taken from a fact sheet of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, October 18, 1961, except for the information about DeKalb General Hospital and Aidmore Hospital which was received through telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

**Admits Negroes under 15 years of age.

***The death rate was found in A Second Look published by the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, January, 1960.

Diseases*	Deaths	White	Non-white
Heart	1608	1089	519
Vascular Lesions	733	384	349
Cancer	716	463	253
Infant Deaths	404	166	238
Influenza and Pneumonia	226	100	126
Accidents other than motor vehicles	171	105	66
Birth Injuries	91	42	49
	3949	2349	1600

Therefore, while Negroes comprise only one-fourth of the population in Atlanta, they account for almost one-half of deaths from more serious illnesses.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN FULTON AND DEKALB COUNTIES**

White	Negro
$1,800 - $2,400	$700 - $800

This reflects an expanding need of Negroes for hospital facilities and care, particularly among lower-income groups.

In addition to the shortage of space for medical care, Negro patients suffer an acute shortage of trained professional personnel to service their needs:

While there is one white doctor for every 469 white patients in Atlanta,

there is one Negro doctor for every 4,500 Negro patients, and

*The number of deaths from various diseases was obtained in a telephone conversation with the Health Department of Fulton County.

**The per capita income was arrived at by finding the average median family income for all the census tracts that were predominantly white or Negro and dividing this by the average number of people in a family. Data was obtained from the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

While there is one white dentist for every 1,708 white patients,

there is one Negro dentist for every 12,526 Negro patients.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that:

There are no facilities for the training of Negro doctors or dentists in Georgia although there is both a medical and dental school for whites at Emory University in Atlanta.

In a public hospital in Atlanta:

only one Negro doctor has been accorded visiting privileges, and

approximately 500 white doctors and dentists have the same privileges.

Both Negro doctors and dentists are denied full membership in their respective professional societies. These limitations seriously restrict and hamper the Negro physician's professional career.

The employment of Negroes as technicians and technologists in public hospitals is extremely limited as evidenced by the following figures:*

1 Negro tissue technician at Grady.
2 Negro laboratory technicians at Spalding.
2 X-ray technicians at Spalding.

*Obtained from telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

BREAKTHROUGH—Although Atlanta's school desegregation is only token in nature so far, it has had great psychological effect. Shown above, a school lunch line.

Atlanta's Example: 'Good Sense and Dignity'

'It's a changing world,' and Atlanta is changing in it—showing the South a way to deal rationally with the racial adjustments dictated by necessity.

By CLAUDE SITTON

ATLANTA.

"REGARDLESS of our personal feelings or past habits, we are living in a changing world," says William B. Hartsfield, who recently stepped down after more than two decades as Mayor of Atlanta. "To progress, Atlanta must be part of that world."

His words help to explain why this city—the commercial, industrial and transportation capital of the Southeast—is today setting an example for its Deep South neighbors in making the racial adjustments dictated by necessity.

The millennium has by no means arrived for the Negroes who account for two out of five of the central city's 496,000 residents or one out of five of the more than 1,000,000 persons in its metropolitan area. Their gains in such fields as public-school desegregation and equal job opportunities have been token at best. Only eight Negro students, for example, now attend four previously all-white high schools.

No important advance has come without pressure. Sometimes it has been exerted by the Negroes, who wield considerable political and economic power. Sometimes it has stemmed from the Federal Government. On other occasions, it has come from the city's white liberals or from a combination of these three forces.

THE result is the virtual end of segregation by law—but not by custom. Few Negroes have exercised their newly won rights. Some have been discouraged by the actions and attitudes of whites. The reluctance of many others can be attributed to the apathy bred by a substandard cultural and economic status, the fear rooted in past experience and the inability to overcome the subtle inhibitions built into the social system through the years.

Nevertheless, the advances made by Atlanta are far greater than the most optimistic observer would have predicted ten years ago. There has been no defiance of the Federal courts. In fact, Atlanta waged one of the most determined fights yet seen in the region against a rurally dominated state government over the issue of local option in public-school desegregation. Nor has there been any attempt to prolong resistance to demands for change made outside the courts once it became clear that to do so would be futile, dangerous or both.

Once a concession has been agreed upon, a majority of the city's professional, civic and business men have sought to persuade the white community that it should be made gracefully. Officials have asserted time and again that they would brook no disorder. And the threats of mob rule evoked by desegregation elsewhere in the South have never arisen here.

As a result, civic leaders from more than a dozen other Southern cities have come here in recent months to learn whether Atlanta's experience might be helpful in resolving racial difficulties in their communities. One leading Atlantan—by no means a liberal—recalls that he told one such visitor that it often proved helpful to invite Negroes to lunch to discuss interracial problems.

"You mean to say you actually sit down and eat with them?" came the startled reply.

"Oh, sure. You don't even notice the difference after just a few minutes."

The reasons that underlie this shifting social pattern are many and complex. Racial change has posed a problem for Atlanta since Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's legions freed its slaves and put the city to the torch in 1864. Twenty-five years later, Henry W. Grady, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, told the merchants of Boston:

"The problem of race * * * is so bound up in our honorable obligation to the world that we would not disentangle it if we could. * * * I would rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than to see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Catiline conspired and Caesar fought."

FOR the city's Negroes, the years from 1906—when a four-day race riot brought death to ten Negroes and two whites—to 1946 might well be called "the lean forty" from the standpoint of civil rights. Their goals were no more ambitious than to obtain streets, sidewalks and sewers, schools and funds *(Continued on Page 123)*

CLAUDE SITTON is a reporter on the staff of The New York Times, based in Atlanta.

Atlanta's Example: 'Good Sense and Dignity'

(Continued from Page 22)

with which to operate them, police and fire protection.

Moreover, there was the sporadic reign of terror carried on by the Ku Klux Klan. The hooded knights never controlled the city. But their floggings, cross-burnings and parades struck fear into the hearts of Negroes and the few nonconformist whites.

Even then, however, the picture had its brighter aspects. A group of Northern whites arrived only a year after Sherman's departure to establish educational institutions. These grew into the complex of six predominantly Negro colleges and universities found in the city today. As a result, a well-trained group of business and professional leaders emerged in the Negro community.

BARRED from the counting-houses and law offices of Peachtree Street, Negroes established their own business and commercial colony along Auburn Avenue. There was the Citizens Trust Company, which weathered the Great Depression while banks throughout the nation were failing. Next door was The Atlanta Daily World, for a time the only Negro daily newspaper in America. Fortunes were made and the city's Negro community became, and remains today, one of the most wealthy —perhaps the wealthiest—in the nation.

Residents recall that the late John Wesley Dobbs, a prominent political leader and father of Mattiwilda Dobbs, the operatic soprano, often sang the avenue's praises in a speech that become something of a classic.

"It takes sugar to sweeten things," Dobbs would say, "and as you know it takes money to buy sugar. The acquisition of this kind of wealth along Auburn Avenue has caused us to call it 'Sweet Auburn.' Sweet Auburn Avenue, ladies and gentlemen, is not a slum street; it's not over behind the railroad tracks. It runs straight into Peachtree Street. When you go up Sweet Auburn, you're going to town, that's all."

BECAUSE of Auburn Avenue's economic weight, good race relations became good business for some influential whites. After the Federal courts struck down Georgia's white primary law in 1946, they became good politics as well. There was little opposition, then or now, to Negro registration in Atlanta. And because the Democratic nomination was tantamount to election, participation by Negroes in the primary brought a realignment of the political balance of power. "The lean forty" was coming to an end.

A year after the primary breakthrough, the city's aldermen approved the hiring of Negro policemen for Negro neighborhoods. A more sizable share of expenditures for public facilities began flowing into those neighborhoods. Other changes followed. But none involved a major breach in the wall of segregation.

Then came the 1954 Supreme Court decision against public-school segregation. Negroes' grudging acceptance of the status quo here and throughout the South dissipated almost overnight. The pressure on white Atlanta grew in depth and intensity.

Slowly, then with increasing rapidity, racial barriers began to fall, though not equally in every field. Public golf courses were desegregated under a Federal court order. The city library's main branch began admitting Negroes after it became apparent that legal action was inevitable otherwise. A test case, described as "more or less friendly," ended Jim Crow seating in public transportation.

The Freedom Riders rolled through Atlanta without incident en route to a riotous greeting in Alabama. A Federal court order opened a restaurant in the old municipal air terminal to Negroes, and when its jet-age replacement went into operation not a vestige of discrimination could be found in its waiting rooms, cocktail lounges, rest rooms or restaurants.

Restrictions have been removed in the legitimate theatre and desegregated groups attend functions in the municipal auditorium. When the city's new A. A. A. baseball team, the Atlanta Crackers, opened the season at Ponce de Leon Park, there was no segregation on the playing field or in the stands.

THE Metropolitan Opera performed last week before a racially mixed Atlanta audience for the first time. Downtown movie theatres have indicated that they will make the change after the opera leaves town. And the issue of hotel desegregation is under negotiation.

In some other areas, progress has been slower. Lunch counters in drug, department and variety stores ended segregation only after eighteen months of sporadic sit-in demonstrations, scores of arrests, picketing and a highly effective boycott. Negro physicians and dentists still are generally barred from the city's public hospital, although one doctor has been admitted to practice.

Public-school desegregation which took place peacefully last August, has been the most significant advance in psychological terms. It also shows most clearly the reasons for Atlanta's measure of success—and the shortcomings of its achievement.

Throughout this period of difficult change, most white Atlantans have shown calmness, common sense and respect for the law. Possibly typical of their attitude were the remarks Chief of Police Herbert T. Jenkins addressed to his men as they began special training in preparation for school desegregation.

"I AM prepared to yield to the judgment of the Supreme Court," he said. "Why? As law - enforcement officers, there is no other position we can honestly take."

A significant factor in Atlanta's success has been the willingness of many whites—city officials and private citizens—to risk public displeasure while working to assure a peaceful change-over. The city's two white daily newspapers, The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution, its clergymen and a group of housewives — the last organized under the name of HOPE (Help Our Public Education) —pioneered in a drive to keep the schools open even if doing so meant the end of segregation.

It has been said that self-interest is the touchstone of social change and the city's white business leaders soon came to see the danger inherent in a refusal to compromise. They had a powerful influence in assisting not only Atlanta but Georgia to escape from the trap of massive resistance.

(Continued on Page 128)

Crisis

When Atlanta city officials passed the word quietly to Negroes that racial barriers in the public library's main branch had been dropped, even the library staff was taken by surprise. Shortly after the first group of Negroes entered the building, Chief of Police Herbert T. Jenkins received a frantic call from a librarian. He recalls that the conversation was something like this:

"Chief Jenkins! I want you to send some men over here to arrest these people!"

"Why, are they destroying the books?"

"No."

"Are they tearing up the furniture?"

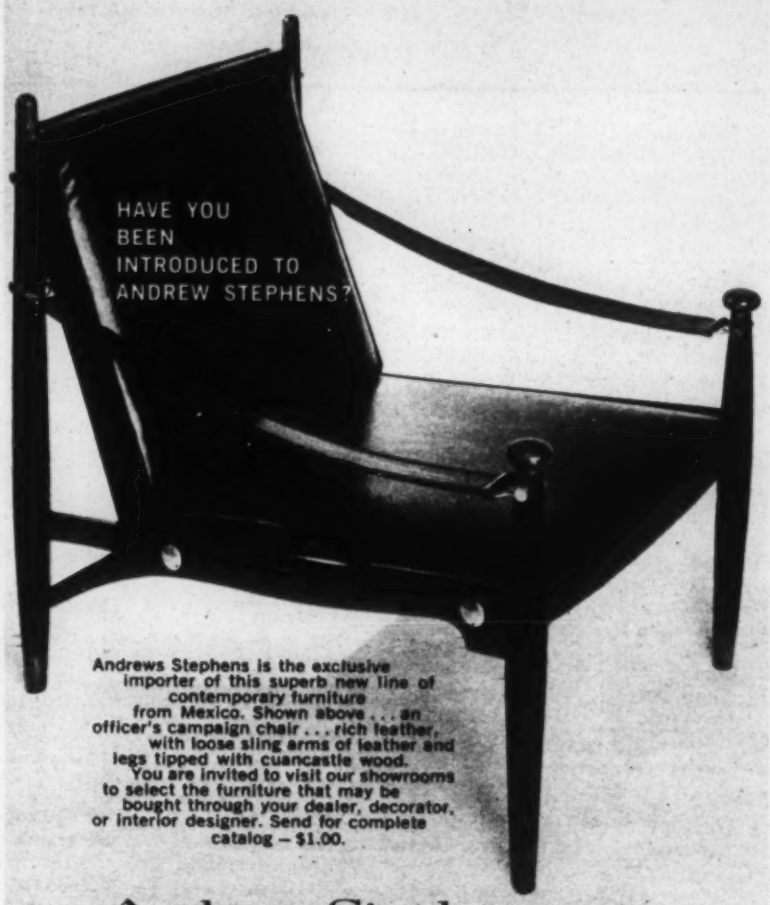
"No."

"Are they disturbing the peace?"

"Uh, no."

"Well, what are they doing?"

"They're looking in the card catalogue."—C. S.



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ATLANTA BUS—Segregation on public transportation was ended by a "more or less friendly" test case.

(Continued from Page 123)

Negro leaders, too, played an important role in averting a number of crises. They have, if anything, erred on the side of patience. This is particularly true of the business men in the seats of power along Auburn Avenue and West Hunter Street.

Yet, for all its symbolic importance, school desegregation remains no more than a token, although education officials have indicated that substantial extension of the process will take place next fall. A report to the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, an interracial group, describes the treatment received at times by the eight Negro pupils:

"No doubt there are other junior and senior transfer students in the Atlanta schools who do not eat lunch with their classmates. There may be others who have had various articles, including food, thrown at them. There may be others who cannot recall a single instance of association with a classmate outside of school. There may be others who have 'thought up things to say when people speak to me' but never had a chance to say them. We do not happen to know about them."

NEGROES are proud of the strides made by the city toward equal opportunity for all—proud, but not satisfied. They are fully aware that future progress, as has been true of that in the past, depends more on their own efforts than on white beneficence. This is the impression left by such leaders as Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, who for seventeen years headed the Atlanta Urban League's work. Her husband is registrar of Morehouse College.

THE Hamilton's small, modern house looks out on a view somewhat symbolic of the distance that Atlanta has come —and that it yet has to go. On the heights near by stand the buildings of the Atlanta University complex and a few of the fine old homes of some of the more wealthy Negroes. The valley below is a tangle of slums. Across it to the east rises the skyline of the white business district, gleaming prosperously in the afternoon sun.

Mrs. Hamilton has praise for some of the city's white leaders. "But the thing that I resent is that we, the deprived people, must be eternally grateful for the crumbs that are thrown. This galls me."

The whites know that new demands will be made upon them in the days ahead. But this shakes their confidence in the future not one whit. The new Mayor, Ivan Allen Jr., past president of the Chamber of Commerce and a former office-supply company executive, slaps his desk for emphasis as he declares:

"I don't think there's any doubt that we are going to have stresses and strains on the racial problem for a long time to come. But we will continue to meet these problems as they come up and we will try to treat them with good sense and dignity and thus find a solution to them."

Cities—even Southern cities —have such varied social, political and economic structures that few valid parallels can be drawn between them in the field of race relations. However, Atlanta's neighbors might find something of value in its pattern of change. The significance does not lie so much in the extent of the progress made here as in the fact that Atlanta has achieved this change with relatively little disruption or lasting bitterness. It has demonstrated an ability to learn from its own mistakes and those of others. It has produced leadership capable of applying those lessons. And its whites and Negroes have created a working relationship which promises to serve them well in dealing with the demands for more substantial adjustments likely to come in the future.

IN a small law office in the heart of the business district sits the man who played perhaps the key role in this social drama, former Mayor Hartsfield. He believes Atlanta's booming economic growth, if nothing else, should convince other Southern cities that it provides a stimulating example.

"We've accepted what is world opinion," he says. "We're not consumed with hatred of each other. We are free to use our talents and energies to grow and to attract industry.

"The leaders in these other cities can see the difference in the approaches of Atlanta and Little Rock to the problem, but they're afraid to speak out. They've got to assume leadership.

"Hate never built anything. There's nothing to be gained from hate but stagnation. Let's forget about fighting and go to work."

3-5-63 Const

More Power Behind Manpower Training

It's a little late now to be worrying about who's to blame for Georgia's slow-motion start in manpower retraining and instruction for illiterates.

The thing to do now is to make sure that these programs are pressed forward more vigorously in the future.

The state applied too late for federal funds to teach functional illiterates. Other states snapped up the money. However, additional funds might become available in the next few months.

Meanwhile, Georgia is behind in the retraining program. Nextdoor South Carolina has (according to federal figures) programs going or planned for more than 5,000 trainees. Georgia has programs for only 450.

The difference seems to be the energetic personal shove that Gov. Donald Russell has given the program in South Carolina.

Gov. Carl Sanders would do well to see that the program gets equally vigorous attention in Georgia.

5-17-63 Atl Journal

slowly toward desegregation of all its public, and some of its private, facilities. In almost every case, the change came about through lawsuit, threat of lawsuit, or other pressure from the Negro community.

A chart prepared by the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations gives this timetable for the desegregation of Atlanta facilities:

POLICEMEN, 1948; golf course, 1955; library and buses, 1959; Chastain Park and the auditorium, 1960; airport restaurant, bus drivers, taxicabs, public schools, some downtown lunch counters, one major restaurant, and one hotel, 1961; the opera, motion picture houses, and parks, 1962; a vocational school, the legislature gallery, a second hotel, and the Atlanta Art School, 1963. The city's swimming pools are scheduled for desegregation next month.

Sixteen stores in the downtown area admit Negroes as well as whites at their eating places, and two hotels now accept Negro guests.

THE NEW

3-5-63 Const

Politics

Democrats To Survive Districtitis?

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

Congressional redistricting has left Atlanta with two districts which would be relatively safe Democratic seats if the 1962 vote charts hold true.

Reg Murphy

Rep. Charles Weltner would have won his "new," smaller district by 6,798 votes in the election two years ago.

In the district which was split off (DeKalb and Rockdale Counties, (plus part of Atlanta), he polled 4,761 more votes than Jim O'Callaghan in the previous race.

To be sure, new candidates and new issues could mean changes by the time we get to the general elections this fall.

It is interesting, nevertheless, that some parts of the Atlanta area, with 60 per cent or more

Comment and analysis.

Democratic votes, were placed in the Fourth District to keep down the chances of DeKalb electing a Republican.

SOME HELP LIKELY

This apparently means that James Mackay of DeKalb will get some help in his race against whatever Republican is nominated.

The DeKalb figures in the 1962 race showed a strong upswing in Republican strength. Weltner carried it by only 735 votes over O'Callaghan (17,776 to 17,041).

It is clear there was no Weltner gerrymander in the Atlanta area. The portion of Fulton County he lost to the new suburban district gave him a 3,445-vote advantage over the Republican in the last election.

BACK OF GRADY

One single precinct he lost in Atlanta (6-H) gave him 1,027 votes to 288 for the opposition. That is the area generally back of Grady Hospital.

The re-districters also added a bit to the voter confusion that already has some precincts voting on three state senators.

They split Precinct 8-B, east of Buckhead between the Southern Railway and the DeKalb line, into both districts. (For purposes of these figures, 70 per cent of the vote was added to Weltner's new district.)

BOTH MAY RUN

Perhaps of major significance is the fact that the two Atlanta Republican aldermen now will be in separate congressional districts — with the possibility that both may run.

Alderman Rodney Cook is in the Weltner district, and Richard Freeman lives in the new fourth.

There are unfulfilled wishes in both political parties as a result of the redistricting, but as they say in the mountains, "If wishes were horses, we'd all take a ride."

Segregation in
Decatur, Ga.
1963

September 3, 1963

Miss Eleanor Richardson
755 Park Lane
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Miss Richardson:

Thank you for calling to tell me that you had received information from Mrs. Paschall. I have checked with her to be certain that our information and figures were from the same sources and therefor not contradictory, and have filled in the form you sent. I did not go into more detail, since Eliza sent you such a detailed resume of the total picture.

It is interesting that the national League is concerned about this subject, and if and when they publish any sort of report we would very much like to have a copy for our research files.

Sincerely yours,

Montes G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

August 30, 1963

Mr. F. William Brooms
Executive Director
DeKalb Chamber of Commerce
Decatur Federal Building
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brooms:

The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations was recently asked by the League of Women Voters of DeKalb County for information which would help them in conducting a "Know Your Community in the Field of Race Relations" project. We appreciate the fact that it is difficult sometimes to get a total picture of these things, and so I am taking the liberty of sending to you a copy of my answers with the request that if the Chamber of Commerce has information which would correct or supplement these answers, you might make this available to us.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Elisa Paschall
Executive Director

EP/jb

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Roy Blount

Also sent

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 30, 1965

"KNOW YOUR COMMUNITY IN THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS"

I. Population: 1960 U. S. Census: Total 256,782; Negro 22,171; other races 241.

Schools: See attached report on DeKalb Schools. Completely segregated in county and city. There have been efforts to enroll Negro students in white schools as follows: In Decatur, in the summer of 1962, no summer school was scheduled for Negro students, who were advised that they might attend in Atlanta. When Negro students attempted to enroll in the white summer school, classes in the Negro school were hastily scheduled. When Negro students attempted to register in a nearby white school, they were told that they must obtain the approval of the Principal of the school in which they are enrolled as a first step. This school of course, is a Negro school, with a Negro Principal who might feel some diffidence in approving such a request in the light of known practices and preferences of the administration and the Board.

Housing: Both DeKalb County and the city of Decatur are engaged in applying for urban renewal projects which would affect primarily Negro residential projects. Any racially restrictive housing regulations would no longer be valid, but practices are such that housing is segregated and regulations regarding the cost of houses in certain areas have made it prohibitive for some Negroes who own property to build on it.

Our experience has been that Negroes do not feel secure of police protection if they attempted to purchase and occupy dwellings in presently white neighborhoods.

Jobs: A survey of Employment Opportunities in the Greater Atlanta area about a year ago showed that at that time, Federal Government installations located in DeKalb County and some industrial plants which are covered by government contract regulations had begun to hire Negroes in non-menial jobs. The general rule, however, as any casual trip through the businesses in the area will support, is that Negroes are not hired in any but menial jobs. They are hired as professionals in the Negro schools but there is no integration of staffs and we know of no Negroes in positions where they supervise whites. The County is beginning to make a real effort to recruit Negroes and to provide for employment on a non-discriminatory basis. I know of no such positive program in any of the municipalities.

Transportation: Provided by Atlanta Transit System, which was ordered by court some years ago to desegregate passengers. I've never seen a Negro driver on a DeKalb or Decatur bus (though there are a few hired by the Transit System).

Recreational Facilities: Public recreation of county and city on segregated basis, though Negroes have been admitted to programs at Decatur Recreation Center. Not sure whether county parks facilities which do not involve swimming pools are segregated. Private facilities such as the YMCA are not open to Negroes. Neighborhood theater at Emory desegregated; not one in Decatur (Public Library has been desegregated within past 2 years).

Restaurants: The only "white restaurant" which we know of that will serve Negroes is the Food Service Center at Emory University. Inquiries about taking a group of African students to eat at public places in Decatur recently got "no" answers. There is no really adequate "Negro" restaurant. We know of no hotel or motel facilities which are desegregated.

No local ordinances or state law covering public accommodations, except that there maybe some city of Decatur ordinances which require segregation but which would have been invalidated by courts. The Mayor of Decatur says that there are plans for a revision of the city code, which we hope would eliminate these provisions.

II. None except a tradition of barriers. Negroes must be convinced that these opportunities for registering and voting really are open and provisions must be made, and are being made, for schedules at registration and voting which will permit individuals who work long hours to participate. County officials are cooperating to the utmost in this, but there is no representation of minorities in the public groups which deal with these matters and sometimes their interests are not served because of lack of understanding rather than lack of concern. Voter registration and education programs in Negro communities will help. Effort now being made to promote such a program which will include all groups interested (political parties, NAACP, LWV, etc.)

III. I have often discussed with Negroes in the city of Atlanta their explanations for the small Negro population in DeKalb. Without exception they attribute it to the reputation through the years, born out they claim by experience, that Negroes have not received proper police protection in DeKalb County, that they have not been treated with respect by public officials (Called "boy" by tax clerks, etc.) and that the whites have made it clear they do not want them -- one of the chief efforts of the Council on Human Relations has been to bring together Negroes and whites, both public and private individuals, in an effort to break down this distrust and build mutual respect.

The statement which was adopted by the DeKalb Commission (and which was not simply a statement by the Chairman to the Commission) as part of the official business of that body, provides a solid basis on which to move forward in all areas.

As far as we know, the only public bodies which include Negroes as members are Urban Renewal Advisory Committees.

August 15, 1963

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The attached questionnaire has been sent to Local Leagues by National as one of the many things that might be done at the present time. Our DeKalb Board appointed Sally Danieland myself to make a "survey of the surveys" to find out what had already been determined re these questions, report back to September 4th Board meeting and get direction as to how to proceed further. (I will attach to our report a copy of Mr. Emmerich's recent statement before the Board of Commissioners after a series of similar questions were asked him by a group from Greater Atlanta Council.)

Would your office have available surveys we would be able to examine and find out anything specific that pertains to DeKalb County alone? Sally is contacting Eliza and Kay Hoffman for what their office might have.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Eleanor Richardson

MA
Could we help Eleanor with this?

755 Park Lane, Decatur ME 6-5892 or work---873-4211, ext. 209

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

OCTOBER 11, 1962

INFORMATION ON DEKALB SCHOOLS

THERE HAVE BEEN SOME EFFORTS MADE THIS FALL BY NEGRO PARENTS TO HAVE THEIR CHILDREN TRANSFERRED FROM HAMILTON HIGH SCHOOL TO SOUTHWEST DEKALB, WHICH IS MUCH CLOSER TO THEIR HOME. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, THE PARENTS HAVE NEVER BEEN GIVEN AN ANSWER BY THE SUPERINTENDENT BUT HAVE BEEN ASKED TO REQUEST AN APPLICATION OR TRANSFER FROM THE PRINCIPAL OF THE PRESENT SCHOOL. IT HAS BEEN DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO ARRANGE THE NECESSARY APPOINTMENTS, PARTLY BECAUSE THE PARENTS HAVE JOBS WHICH MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO HAVE DAYTIME APPOINTMENTS.

THESE ACTIVITIES HAVE RAISED THE QUESTION OF RACIAL SEGREGATION IN DEKALB SCHOOLS. THERE IS NO REFERENCE TO RACE IN THE "BY-LAWS AND POLICIES" OF THE DEKALB BOARD OF EDUCATION. THE SECTION ON "ATTENDANCE" INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:

ATTENDANCE AREAS

THE ATTENDANCE AREA FOR THE DEKALB SCHOOL SYSTEM IS THE DEKALB SCHOOL DISTRICT. ATTENDANCE AREAS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND FOR HIGH SCHOOLS SHALL BE DESIGNATED WITHIN THE DISTRICT.

A PUPIL SHALL ATTEND THE SCHOOL SERVING HIS ATTENDANCE AREA, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE PUPIL WHO MAY, FOR JUSTIFIABLE REASONS, RECEIVE PERMISSION FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT TO ATTEND ANOTHER SCHOOL.

THERE IS NO EXPLANATION OF THE CRITERIA USED FOR ESTABLISHING ATTENDANCE AREAS NOR IS THERE ANY LISTING OF THEM. THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS WROTE TO SUPERINTENDENT JIM CHERRY ASKING FOR THIS INFORMATION, MR. CHERRY REPLIED AS FOLLOWS:

DEAR MRS. PASCHALL:

"IT IS A PLEASURE TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS WHICH YOU INCLUDED IN YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 2. THE DEKALB BOARD OF EDUCATION ESTABLISHES ATTENDANCE AREAS FOR THE SCHOOLS. THERE IS A MASTER MAP AVAILABLE IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF TRANSPORTATION AND ATTENDANCE.

ATTENDANCE AREAS ARE ESTABLISHED BY THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES. AFTER CONSIDERING THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN, AN ATTENDANCE AREA IS DEVELOPED TO RELATE THE ENROLLMENT TO THE CAPACITY OF THE SCHOOL. IN A GROWING SCHOOL SYSTEM THIS IS MOST DIFFICULT TO DO.

IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ATTENDANCE AREA BOUNDARIES, NATURAL

BOUNDARIES, ACCESSIBILITY, AND SAFETY FACTORS ARE CONSIDERED."

SINCERELY YOURS,

JIM CHERRY

THE 1961 ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEKALB BOARD OF EDUCATION LISTS FOUR CATEGORIES AS OF SCHOOLS, AS FOLLOWS:

WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS - 50 WITH A TOTAL OF 31,817 STUDENTS

WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS - 11 WITH A TOTAL OF 14,222 STUDENTS

TOTAL WHITE - 46,039

NEGRO ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS - 5 WITH A TOTAL OF 2,530 STUDENTS

NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS - 3 WITH A TOTAL OF 1,067

TOTAL NEGRO - 3,597

(81.27% OF THE WHITE STUDENTS GRADUATE, AS COMPARED WITH 54.18% OF NEGRO STUDENTS)

IT APPEARS THAT WHILE DEKALB DOES NOW IN FACT OPERATE A RACIALLY SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEM, THIS IS NOT REQUIRED BY THE POLICIES OF THE BOARD AND THAT WITHIN THE PRESENT POLICIES, THE SUPERINTENDENT MAY AUTHORIZE TRANSFERS. WITH THE LOCATION OF PRESENT WHITE AND NEGRO SCHOOLS AND THE SCATTERING OF THE NEGRO POPULATION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTY, IN MANY INSTANCES, PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF HIGH SCHOOLS, THE COUNTY NOW TRANSPORTS STUDENTS PAST ONE SCHOOL TO ANOTHER SCHOOL MUCH FARTHER FROM THEIR HOMES. AVERAGE 1960-61 COST PER PUPIL FOR TRANSPORTATION WAS $14.12. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE STATEMENT IN THE BY-LAWS AND POLICIES ("A PUPIL SHALL ATTEND THE SCHOOL SERVING HIS ATTENDANCE AREA, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE PUPIL WHO MAY, FOR JUSTIFIABLE REASONS, RECEIVE PERMISSION FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT TO ATTEND ANOTHER SCHOOL".) DOES NOT CONFINE REASONS FOR TRANSFER TO LOCATION.

THESE FACTS RAISE SOME INTERESTING QUESTIONS:

IS IT LEGAL TO OPERATE A DEFACTO RACIALLY SEGREGATED SYSTEM?

DO DEKALB CITIZENS WANT TO PAY FOR A COURT SUIT WHICH THEY ARE FAIRLY CERTAIN TO LOSE?

IS IT FAIR TO LEAVE UPTO THE INDIVIDUAL NEGRO STUDENT, PARENT OR PRINCIPAL THE INITIATING AND FOLLOWING THROUGH ON TRANSFERS WITHIN THIS CONTEXT?

WOULD EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR CITIZENS HELP SCHOOL OFFICIALS TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHTS TO ASSIGN STUDENTS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE?

SEP 6 1963

Atlanta

County in Georgia 'Integrates'

By Joseph H. Baird
Staff Correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

The De Kalb County school system, second largest in Georgia, is opening the new academic year with a policy that might be called "integration in principle."

Specifically, the board of education, reaffirming previous policies governing the assignment and placement of pupils by the superintendent and his administration, added significantly:

"In the administration of this policy, the superintendent shall apply it without regard to race."

And Superintendent Jim D. Cherry, commenting on the board's statement said that it was a "clarification" of a policy dating back to 1958 rather than the announcement of a new one. Then he added:

Legality Underlined

"The policy adopted in 1958 for the placement of pupils did not specify race as a condition for placement. The statement of the De Kalb Board of Education merely clarifies this policy by stating that the superintendent shall not use race as a condition for placement of a pupil.

"The policies and administrative procedures of the De Kalb school system provide for the appeal and review of the assignment and placement of any child. The policies and procedures of the De Kalb Board of Education will be administered in accordance with the law."

So far no Negro pupil has been admitted to an all-white school in De Kalb County, part

Negro Applications Awaited

of Metropolitan Atlanta but with a school system entirely independent of Atlanta's, which was integrated three years ago. On the eve of the opening of the De Kalb schools Sept. 3, officials said no applications by Negro children for transfers to white schools were pending.

The policy declaration of the De Kalb schools, which have about 65,000 pupils compared to the City of Atlanta's 125,000, is unique in two respects in comparison with the pattern of desegregation elsewhere in Georgia:

1. The board of education's statement did not result from a federal court order, as no suit has been filed against it.

2. The board announced a legal principle without any specific plan to implement it.

By contrast, City of Atlanta schools were integrated in 1961 in response to an order of the United States District Court and after submitting a long and detailed plan of gradual desegregation over 12 years which the court approved.

Unofficial Pressures

The only sort of pressure exerted on the De Kalb Board of Education to integrate the schools has been purely unofficial. Twice last summer representatives of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, a local affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, appeared before the board and asked for a clear-cut statement of policy on racial integration. No threats were made.

John L. Morris, board chairman, politely assured the representatives that the board would consider their request. Nothing further was said until the board's present statement.

Last September several Negro parents appeared with their children at two white elementary schools and requested that they be enrolled. The principals explained that transfers could not be effected without the approval of the pupils' previous principals. There the matter ended.

The racial situation in De Kalb County is radically different from that in the neighboring City of Atlanta. There Negro pupils compose about 30 percent of the total. De Kalb County, whose 280,000 residents have the highest per-family income of any in the South except Arlington County, Va., has relatively few Negroes. They compose 8 percent of the total population and about the same percentage of the school population.

With a few exceptions, De Kalb County Negroes live in neighborhood "pockets" which are served by Negro schools. Segregation very nearly could be accomplished—with minor exceptions in two neighborhoods — merely by assigning pupils to the schools nearest their homes.

And this, significantly, is exactly the criterion which the United States Court of Appeals in New Orleans recently ruled was acceptable in Atlanta.

Under the original court-approved formula, Atlanta in 1961 used about 18 criteria in deciding the application of Negro students to enter white schools. Gradually the list was cut down until this year only two were employed: 1. Proximity to the school the student wished to attend. 2. His estimated mental ability to do satisfactory work in the school.

Ruling Issued

Acting on an appeal by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from a decision of the United States District Court in Atlanta — in which the NAACP has sought to have the Atlanta plan "speeded up" — the New Orleans tribunal ruled that the second criteria was unacceptable, but validated the first.

As a result Atlanta school officials on Sept. 26 advised 32 Negro applicants for transfer who had been rejected on the second grounds that they might enter the school of their choice. This increase means that 153 additional Negroes are entering previously all-white Atlanta school.

De Kalb County school administrators now are in a position to say, in view of the board's declaration, that they are abiding by the United States Supreme Court's school decision of 1954.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NEIGHBORING CITIES, COUNTIES GAIN

Metropolitan Herald Atl. weekly 9-11-63

City of Atlanta Shows Loss Of 29,305 White Residents From 1957 Through 1962

There is considerable speculation around town these days regarding the distribution of population in the City of Atlanta. With this in mind the Herald obtained the most accurate figures available (from the U. S. Department of Commerce) to determine just how many people are listed as residents of the City and what proportion are white and colored.

The most recent figures show that almost 2 out of every five Atlanta residents are colored and, even more startling, that of the 1,069,500 residents of Metropolitan Atlanta (the five counties, Clayton, DeKalb, Cobb, Fulton and Gwinnett) more than half live OUTSIDE the Atlanta City limits.

While Atlanta was gaining only 11,500 residents in the five year period from 1957 to 1962 and Fulton County gained only 3,700, the Metropolitan Area showed a whopping gain of 164,900, which seems to prove that while there is actually a flight of city dwellers to the suburbs, it is the other four counties in Metropolitan Atlanta which are attracting the newcomers and not Fulton County or Atlanta.

Of the four other counties, counted in Metropolitan Area, even Gwinnett showed a gain in the five year period of 11,200, or a gain of 7,500 more than Fulton.

DeKalb led the list, gaining 87,400 with Cobb showing a net gain of 43,700 for the five year period, which makes Fulton's 3,700 gain look rather puny.

The flight of the whites to the suburbs and the rush to the cities by the colored has never been better pointed out than by examining the population figures for Atlanta and Metropolitan Atlanta over a period of five years, 1957 through 1962.

Department of Commerce figures should awaken civic minded citizens of Atlanta to the necessity of consolidating the overlapping governments in the area.

During these five years, according to Department of Commerce figures Atlanta was showing a net gain of 11,500 in total population, while actually showing a decrease of 29,305 white inhabitants and an INCREASE of 40,805 colored.

Meanwhile, the picture is the reverse in the Metropolitan area which includes the five counties of Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton and Gwinnett. During that time, the Metropolitan area gained 130,000 new white residents but only 34,900 colored. Actually the net loss of colored population for Metropolitan Atlanta was 6,905 despite the 40,805 increase inside Atlanta.

Further illustrating this flight of white population to the suburbs, the total figures show Metropolitan Atlanta gaining 164,900 more white citizens while Atlanta was losing 29,305.

Broken down by counties, white and colored, the figures were as follows:

CITY OF ATLANTA

	Total	White	Colored
1957	488,400	332,505	155,895
1962	499,900	303,200	196,700
	11,500 gain	29,305 loss	40,805 gain

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA AREA BY COUNTIES

1957	Total	White	Colored
Clayton	32,600	27,700	4,900
Cobb	81,699	74,400	7,200
DeKalb	194,500	176,000	18,500
Fulton	561,000	387,000	174,000
Gwinnett	34,900	31,600	3,300
1962			
Clayton	51,500	46,900	4,600
Cobb	125,300	116,700	8,600
DeKalb	281,900	259,400	22,500
Fulton	564,700	361,100	203,600
Gwinnett	46,100	42,600	3,500

These figures show that while all but Clayton actually gained in colored population only Fulton and DeKalb showed much appreciable increase. Meanwhile as the colored population grew almost 6,000 less than the gain shown in Atlanta alone, the overall increase in Metropolitan area white population was 164,900 despite a net loss of 29,305 whites in Atlanta alone.

Another startling fact these figures reveal is that while Atlanta boasts of being a "city of a million" less than 50 per cent of the claimed inhabitants actually live within the city limits of Atlanta — 499,900 Atlanta, 1,069,500 Metropolitan Atlanta.

Atlanta, leading light of the area as a result of the shift in population finds itself in the unhappy position of housing fewer inhabitants than the metropolitan area which unquestionably lives on the city's business activity.

Meanwhile, Atlanta residents also face the unhappy prospect of having to continue to pay increasing taxes to "support" the municipal improvements our suburban neighbors need and constantly demand of the City.

Food for thought?

THE OTHER SIDE

Metropolitan Herald Atl. weekly 9-11-63

Voter Registration In Atlanta Shows Negroes Outregistered Whites By 1,225 During 1962

Registration records at the close of 1962 revealed some interesting facts. White registration in the City of Atlanta increased 15,518, colored registration showed an increase of 16,743.

At the year end close there were 99,322 white people on the eligible voters list with 44,893 colored.

The Seventh Ward had the largest number of eligible voters by far, with 17,279 white and 10,339 Negroes on the voters list.

The largest increase in voters in the last five years also is credited to the Seventh Ward. In this ward 4,185 more whites are eligible to vote and 4,188 more Negroes.

At the end of 1962 approximately 23 per cent of the Negro population were eligible voters and approximately 33 1/3 per cent of the whites were registered.

The 1960 census figures showed that approximately 33 1/3 per cent of the population in the United States were under 18 years of age.

Apparently either these figures do not hold true in Atlanta or we have an exceptionally large percentage of white residents registered to vote.

The Eighth Ward has the smallest number of Negro voters for in 1962, despite the fact that 70 had joined the circle of registered voters, there was a total at that time of only 196 Negro voters in the entire ward.

There were 16,095 white voters in the Eighth, making it the third largest number of white voters in any ward, with only the Fifth and Seventh having more.

The summary of the list of registered voters at the end of 1962, by ward and color were as follows:

	White	Colored
Ward 1	8,386	5,627
Ward 3	9,614	17,570
Ward 4	15,850	5,565
Ward 5	19,449	220
Ward 6	12,649	5,376
Ward 7	17,279	10,339
Ward 8	16,095	196
Totals	99,322	44,893

 Metropolitan Herald All weekly 9-11-63

Time City, County, Civic Officials Face Facts of Population Pattern In Atlanta

Like the ostrich which, when in trouble or faced with danger, hides his head in the sand, while exposing 99% of the rest of his makeup to the world, Atlanta and Fulton County have been blithely ignoring the facts of life.

Cold statistics, obtainable from the U. S. Department of Commerce, reveal that while the Metropolitan Area has been increasing in population by leaps and bounds, the Atlanta-Fulton area, the one from which the taxes to finance the expressway bonds for roads leading into the city from the four surrounding counties are acquired is dragging behind.

As pointed out in a story printed in this issue, even Gwinnett County, the smallest of the five Metropolitan area counties, showed a much larger population increase in the five-year period from 1957-62, than did Atlanta and Fulton County.

Still more alarming, from the tax standpoint, while Atlanta showed a net gain of over 1,000, during the period, the city actually lost substantial numbers of white residents to surrounding counties and through transfer to other cities. Figures are not available but it is probable that many of the 44,000 new Negro residents actually added to the financial plight of Atlanta-Fulton in that they, instead of becoming additional tax payers became recipients of relief money.

Fourteen-fifteen years ago, when the City Administration was urging "progress" by annexation, a number of Northside residents were severely criticized when they urged consolidation of governments instead.

We can kid ourselves just so long—then the showdown comes. It is time that some serious thought be given to a permanent solution to this flight to the suburban areas in the Metropolitan Atlanta compound before the taxpayers left inside the city and county throw in the sponge.

Let's talk sense awhile instead of concentrating on political action on racial matters, which everyone knows is pointed toward national publicity and not progress.

Constitution Must Not Become Worthless

So-called modern liberalism, which is something the genuine liberals of the past, whose principal fight was against the powers and oppressions of government, would never recognize, seems to travel on the idea that because an end is good almost any means of obtaining it is good.

This is true in almost every field. Because we need to expand and improve education, medical care, easy retirement, farm production, more jobs, civil rights for *all* our people, highways, etc., the modern so-called liberals demand that the federal government provide these things and provide them immediately regardless of the cost.

Many proposals which these so-called modern liberals espouse contain clauses and restrictions which they never read. Many give federal bureaus al-

infringe on the legislative power of Congress and others on the rights guaranteed to all the people by the Constitution.

The late Justice Louis D. Brandeis, who was one of the truly great honest liberals, once wrote, *"Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficent . . .The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding."*

The more we allow the federal government to do all these things, the more we weaken our own personal liberties. The Soviet constitution is a great humanitarian document, BUT it is a worthless meaningless piece of paper when it comes to human rights and human freedom.

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Many proposals which these so-called modern liberals espouse contain clauses and restrictions which they never read. Many give federal bureaus almost unlimited power, others would take away the right of trial by jury, some teed to all the people by the Constitution.

The late Justice Louis D. Brandeis, who was one of the truly great honest liberals, once wrote, *"Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficent . . .The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding."*

The more we allow the federal government to do all these things, the more we weaken our own personal liberties. The Soviet constitution is a great humanitarian document, BUT it is a worthless meaningless piece of paper when it comes to human rights and human freedom.

We must not allow our own Constitution to become a worthless document.

It Can Happen Here Unless We Awaken

Time and time again the people of Atlanta were assured by the do-gooders that we would have only "token" integration in our public schools.

This year in one of our high schools some 10% of its enrollment is Negro.

These same do-gooders told us that the Negro leadership was not interested in race-mixing.

However, these same leaders used political force, massive picketing, and other means to force some tea rooms, restaurants, cafes, hotels, motels and night clubs to integrate.

These same so-called liberals were indignant over predictions that interracial marriages would follow integration in the schools and colleges. "It just isn't so," they stated flatly.

Yet, the first Negro co-ed to enter the University of Georgia marries a white student.

"It can't happen here", they declared!

What, then, is next?

The aim of the militant Negro leadership is to see that every white school in Atlanta is integrated at the start of the school term in the fall of 1964.

Their aim for 1965 is to have a racial balance in all the public schools. Already they are forcing this on New York City and other eastern cities.

Just what would this mean? It would mean that Negro students would be transported to schools on the Northside and many white Northside students would be transported across town to previously all-Negro schools.

It can't happen here?

Well, it is already happening elsewhere, so why can't it happen in Atlanta?

They told us these other things wouldn't happen either, but they have.

History has a way of repeating itself . . . unless white people wake up, register and vote, and demand some rights of their own.

Time is running out.

The Principle Still Remains The Same

It has long been a basic principle of classical economics that prolonged government deficits produce inflation — which simply means, as a practical matter, an erosion in the value and purchasing power of the currency.

This principle is now scoffed at. As alleged proof of its fallacy, the devotees of deficit spending point to the fact that, in late years, and in spite of steady deficits, the dollar's value has been held to relatively steady levels. Increases in the price indices have been only fractional.

True enough—but that proves only that deficit spending is not *necessarily* inflationary under every and all conditions.

During those same late years there has been excess plant capacity and relatively high unemployment in this country. At no time have our productive resources been strained, or been operated at anywhere near their limits. This has been one limiting factor on inflation.

But the whole effort now is to eliminate unemployment on any major scale, and to massively increase plant output. Everyone wants this. And when it is achieved, the situation will be entirely different. If money in search of goods and services strains our ability to produce enough of those goods and services, inflation is inevitable. And deficit spending is the primary producer of that dangerous condition.

The preventatives. Cuts in government spending in all possible ways—a thumbs down policy on government in business—an end to Welfare Statism. In the long run, nothing else can protect the dollar—and protect the worth of incomes, savings, pensions and all the other material values on which we depend—to say nothing of political and economic independence.

—*Industrial News Review*

ATLANTA'S DEAD ENDS

2 Intersections Worlds Apart

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Constitution Business Editor

The Atlanta intersections of Tuxedo and Blackland roads near Chastain Park and of Ashby and Oak streets in West End are separated by barely eight miles of gently rolling terrain.

But in almost every other sense, they are at opposite ends of the world.

As remote to one another as the north and south poles.

Chances are that very few of the more than 3,000 souls whose homelife passes near either of these crossroads can really comprehend what it must be like to live near the other.

BEYOND the coincidences that all are Atlantans, all resemblances end.

In hopes and chances of fulfillment, in material well being and social standing, even in incentives and aspirations to make good — in all these and countless other ways they differ as the sun and the moon.

Each of these intersections is the center of a census tract, a relatively small neighborhood within the city.

Conditions within each census tract tend to sameness.

But conditions vary widely from one to another of the 108 census tracts into which Atlanta is subdivided for census-taking purposes.

THE EXTREMES, the glittering castles of wealth and opportunity, the gloomy corridors of want and despair, come into startlingly vivid contrast in a new U.S. Labor Department study aimed at clarifying America's youth unemployment dilemma. It is based on key 1960 census findings.

The Tuxedo-Blackland intersection lies in the center of Atlanta's wealthiest census tract, F99, a community of lavish homes and gardens bounded roughly by W. Wieuca Road on the north, Roswell Road on the east, Habersham and Arden roads on the south, and Northside Drive on the west.

This spacious, neatly groomed, exclusive residential area is home to 3,443 men, women and children, 97 per cent — or all but 105 — of them white.

THE TYPICAL Tuxedo - Blackland area family enjoys an income of $18,648 a year (this is the area's median income, which means half the families make more while the other half make less). Median years of schooling completed in this area is 14.7, a college level equalled here only by the next two wealthiest neighborhoods.

There is virtually no unemployment in this area; only four-tenths of 1 per cent, or four of the 938 males age 14 and over making up its civilian labor force were found jobless.

And the area's high school enrollment totals 283, equal to 96 per cent of its 296 individuals of age 14-17.

DISCOURAGING alone and deeply disturbing by comparison are the existing conditions and future prospects which confront the youngsters growing up in the neighborhood of Ashby and Oak in West End, census tract F42, bounded by Sells and West End avenues and by Whitehall, Gordon and Lawton streets.

Crowded into this blighted section of Atlanta, covering less than one-sixth as much land as the Tuxedo - Blackland neighborhood, are even more people—3.804 men, women and children, 96 per cent of them white, only 147 Negroes.

Here the typical family income is but $3,011 a year (far from the lowest among Atlanta census tracts). The typical resident has completed only 8.7 years of schooling, barely a grammar school education, but more than is typical of many other sections of town.

Here unemployment is more widespread, shared by 4½ per cent, or 34, of the area's 764 labor force members, which is above average for the city but nowhere near the worst.

BUT THE Ashby-Oak neighborhood does provide the city's most dismal record in one respect: Its 85 residents enrolled in high school represent only 36 per cent — barely one-third — of all 235 of its 14-17-year-olds.

Here, then, at least potentially, is the most dangerous sapling forest of nearly full-grown new unemployment and hunger and crime and civil unrest with which Atlanta will have to cope before long.

For what better future is possible for youths so unequipped by education to compete for jobs that require at least a high school mastery of knowledge while jobs that don't are vanishing?

And the Ashby-Oak area is only one of many Atlanta neighborhoods where conditions born of yesterday conspire to stifle and warp the minds and souls of youth who might otherwise grow into the responsible citizens of tomorrow.

IN VAGUE generalities, this is what the city's combined civic-business leadership has long known.

But they have lacked any precise measure of the problem.

This, in gruesome detail by detail, is what is now provided by the new U.S. Labor Department study on Atlanta, as well as 35 other major cities, prepared at the behest of the President's Committee on Youth Employment.

It was as a member of that committee that Atlanta businessman Frank H. Neely urged the compilation of so formidable a report, knowing full well that its specific revelations must precede effective remedial action and hoping that this new, exact knowledge of the problem's true dimensions would arouse an insistent public demand for appropriate and immediate corrective treatment at whatever cost might prove necessary.

MONDAY IN THE CONSTITUTION: Atlanta's other hotbeds of low income, little education and high unemployment—now and tomorrow.

Sept 16, 1963

Atlanta's Dead Ends

Festering Sores Mar Rosy Economic Scene

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Constitution Business Editor

The "typical" Atlanta family is comfortably well off, though far from wealthy. Its total income in 1960 was $5,029.

Half the city's families made more, half less.

The "typical" Atlantan has less

(Second in a series.)

than a high school education, 10.7 years.

Half have progressed further, half not so far.

Of the 487,455 individuals living within the Atlanta city limits at the time of the 1960 census, 300,635, or 62 per cent, were white; 186,464, or 38 per cent, were Negro.

Unemployment among the 120,811 males age 14 and over in the city's civilian labor force totaled 4,295, a relatively low rate of 3.6 per cent.

The city's high school enrollment of 25,297 equalled a respectable 95 per cent of all the 14-17 year olds living here.

All in all, a pleasing picture—on the surface.

But an over-all view of Atlanta obscures a multitude of festering sores that, persisting untreated, endanger the health if not the very life of the city as a whole, even its most vigorous parts.

How severe and widespread are Atlanta's mutually reinforcing infections of poverty, ignorance and unemployment?

A new U.S. Labor department study, based on detailed 1960 census findings, now provides the previously unattainable complete diagnosis. It is grim.

Comparing the environments which characterize each of the city's 108 census tracts—neighborhoods averaging about 4,000 in population and showing little internal variation in living conditions—the study shows that:

1. Median (typical family income is less than $4,000, or below four-fifths of the $5,029 city-wide median, in 35 census tracts representing one-third of the city's neighborhoods.

SLUMS ARE CLOSED

2. Median years of school completed falls below the first year of high school, or ninth grade, in 41 census tracts, or two of every five Atlanta neighborhoods.

3. The rate of unemployment among all males in Atlanta's civilian labor force exceeds the city-wide average of 3.6 per cent in 49, or nearly half, of the city's census tract neighborhoods and is over 5 per cent in 24 of them.

4. Negroes not only have less schooling, lower incomes and higher unemployment than whites, but also tend to suffer lower incomes and higher unemployment than whites even when there is no difference in years of schooling completed.

REPORT VERIFIES

Observant Atlantans are already generally aware that the city's over-crowded slums and underprivileged people are heavily concentrated in and near the central business district, the trim downtown area and its ragged fringes.

And the Labor department study verifies in overwhelming detail that, to the extent they grow out of too little education and job opportunity and purchasing power, the seeds of crime and civil unrest in Atlanta are most generously fertilized in the area contained by North Avenue on the north, Boulevard on the east, University Avenue on the south and Ashby Street on the west.

Here, covering some nine of the city's 128 square miles, are the census tract neighborhoods where money and jobs are scarcest, siy Center. Population 2,038, all Negro. Despite median school completion of 9.6 years, median family income is only $1,882 a year. But the male unemployment rate is enviably low at 2.8 per cent.

These few examples are representative of the nearly four dozen Atlanta neighborhoods.

Even more ominous is the finding that in 15 of these neighborhoods high school enrollments range from barely one-third to no more than three-fourths of the high school-age population.

Of greatest concern to school officials and business-civic leaders is the fact that Atlanta's slum children run into the same dead ends which imprison their parents.

Tuesday: Remedies and roadblocks.

1964 Valiant Signet Two-Door Hardtop

One of nine Valiants for 1964, the model shown above is equipped with a vinyl-covered roof, a new option on the Signet models. Other new options include a floor-mounted four-speed manual shift and a differential to minimize wheel spin on slippery surfaces. Compression ratio has been raised from 8.2-to-1 to 8.5-to-1 on both the standard 101-horsepower and optional 145-horsepower six-cylinder engines. The engines also have a new diaphragm-type automatic choke. Self-adjusting brakes are standard equipment. The Valiants will go on display in dealer showrooms Friday.

A. P. Jarrell Rehab Hub Is Dedicated

The A. P. Jarrell Pre-Vocational Evaluation and Training Center at the Old Farmers' Market, 1090 Sylvan Road SW, was officially dedicated Sunday afternoon when keys to the center were presented to Dr. Jarrell and Robert E. Baxtr, coordinator of the center.

Featured speaker at the dedication ceremony was Rep. Arthur Bolton, floor leader of the Georgia House, who praised the center as a facility that "will serve a need for the community, that of giving mentally retarded children an opportunity to learn and live in society and be responsible citizens."

GOAL CARE FOR 1,000

Dr. Jarrell, director of the state division of vocational rehabilitation, said in his greeting that his department is looking forward to the day when 1,000 mentally retarded adults and children can be rehabilitated each year.

The purpose of the evaluation and training, according to Dr. Jarrell, is five-fold:

1. To test, by means of practical occupational samples, vocational interests of the mentally retarded.

2. To provide work-conditioning for mentally retarded adolescents in conjunction with other secondary school experience.

OCCUPATIONAL DRILLS

3. To familarize those at the school with the tools, practices and procedures of several occupations for which they might be suited.

4. To assist the mentally retarded in selecting appropriate pre-vocational training stations in commercial establishments.

5. To demonstrate techniques and procedures which may be used in other school systems and

10 Killed In Traffic In Georgia

Ten persons, including three Atlantans, were killed during the weekend in Georgia traffic. Three of the victims were teen-agers.

Another teen-ager, identified by police as James Leon Johnson, 18, of Lakeland, died on U.S. 129 north of Ray City, but authorities said they believed the youth was already dead when struck by two cars. An autopsy was performed, but the exact cause of death was not immediately determined.

Thomas Ray Hicks, 38, of Social Circle, was killed Sunday afternoon when his car went out of control on a curve and overturned on a county road 2.6 miles north of Jefferson. The State Patrol said Hicks was thrown from the car.

CARROLL CRASH

Charley C. Lunsford, 15, of Dawson, was killed and two others injured in a head-on collision on a Carroll County road, officers said.

Linda Langley, 21, of Atlanta died late Saturday night in a two-car collision on U.S. 78 in DeKalb County, about a mile east of Avondale Estates, according to the State Patrol.

The Patrol said Fannie Robinson, Atlanta, was killed when the car in which she was riding ran out of control and overturned several times on U.S. 73 in Cobb County, just outside of Atlanta.

ATLANTAN KILLED

An Atlanta man, Dale Clayton Benoy, 29, died in another Sunday head-on collision a mile south of Auburn on U.S. 29 in Barrow County.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
Business
★★ Page 16 Monday, Sept. 16, 1963

People and Events

Walter S. Meyers, vice president and general manager of National Advertising Co., a subsidiary of Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co., will address a Monday meeting of the Atlanta Advertising Club.

Walter Meyers

Dr. Robert N. Lehrer, of Georgia Tech's School of Industrial Engineers, will address the Georgia Engineering Society at 12:30 p.m. Monday at the Architects & Engineers Institute.

Harry R. Marsh, general plant manager for Georgia of the Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co., will address a Tuesday luncheon meeting of the Atlanta chapter, Armed Forces Management Association, at the Fort McPherson Officers Club.

Charles W. Hayes, director of purchasing at Emory, will teach a course on selling this fall in the university's non-credit evening series. Dr. Harold L. Johnson, associate professor of business administration, will teach "Economics for the 1960s." The courses are among 30 offered by Emory's Office of Community Education. They begin the week of Sept. 30.

Auto-Soler Co., Atlanta, has declared a third quarter cash dividend of 10 cents per share, payable Oct. 1 to stockholders of record Sept. 17. The company said profits during the first eight

merly was district sales representative at Raleigh, N.C.

Atlanta Association of Federal Executives will meet at 12:15 p.m. Tuesday at the Downtown YMCA. Dr. Noah Langdale Jr., president of Georgia State College, will be principal speaker.

Eastern Air Lines last month originated 1,925,388 pounds of air cargo in Atlanta, establishing an all-time record for its 35-year history serving the city, the air line announced. Its prior record was established in October, 1962, when the company originated 1,843,495 pounds of air cargo here.

Delta Air Lines has announced an expansion of 6,000 square feet to its present air freight terminal on the Atlanta airport. The building is scheduled for completion by Nov. 1.

The Personnel Club of Atlanta has invited management personnel in the greater Atlanta area having certain specialized personnel responsibilities to meet together to exchange practical working knowledge on a monthly basis beginning Tuesday at the Downtown YMCA. It said the meetings will be held for three key groups: industrial safety, labor relations and salary administration.

FIRST IN NEWS
THE EYES OF ATLANTA: WAII-TV 11

Sail Mast Hits Wires, Killing 2

CORDELE (AP) — Two Marines were killed Sunday when the aluminum mast of their sailboat hit a high power line on nearby Lake Blackshear. A third jumped overboard and escaped.

They were on weekend leave from the Marine Corps Supply Center in Albany. Names were withheld pending notification of next of kin.

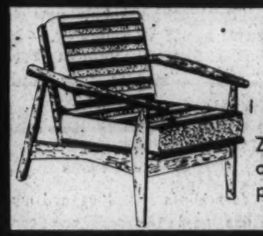
Investigators said it would take autopsies to determine whether the two Marines died from electric shock or drowned. Both bodies were recovered.

The tragedy occurred in an inlet not far from the Crisp County power dam and a bridge where Georgia 257 crosses the lake.

The sailboat was described as between 14 and 16 feet. There were scorch marks on the mast and sides of the boat and a bit of the mainsail burned.

SIVCO
Southland Investment Corp.
Announces Its
24th CONSECUTIVE QUARTERLY DISTRIBUTION
C. Buck LeCraw
President
The Board of Directors on September 12, 1963, declared a quarter-annual distribution of 9c per share payable on October 1, 1963, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 20th, 1963.
GROW WITH SIVCO

Walgreens
YOUR PRESCRIPTION HEADQUARTERS
LOW! LOW! DISCOUNTS
REG. 19c ASPIRIN 9c
5-GRAIN—BOTTLE OF 100
REG. 20c—FLASHLIGHT BATTERY EVEREADY! 2 FOR 19c
REG. 25c TOOTH BRUSH VALUDENT 9c
REG. $1.00 JERGENS LOTION 73c



Solid Elm, Walnut Finish
Danish-Style ARMCHAIR
Zip cushion in orange, brown—poly-foam fill..... 17.77

All Green GRASS SEED
Quick germinating mix.
Free of crabgrass . . .
5 LBS. 97c $1.39 Quality

WHY PAY 2.99???
WHITE PAINT 1.69 GALLON

New! TYPE 48
POLACOLOR FILM
For Polaroid cameras using series 40 film. 5.95

and training, according to Dr. Jarrell, is five-fold:

1. To test, by means of practical occupational samples, vocational interests of the mentally retarded.

2. To provide work-conditioning for mentally retarded adolescents in conjunction with other secondary school experience.

OCCUPATIONAL DRILLS

3. To familarize those at the school with the tools, practices and procedures of several occupations for which they might be suited.

4. To assist the mentally retarded in selecting appropriate pre-vocational training stations in commercial establishments.

5. To demonstrate techniques and procedures which may be used in other school systems and in the area vocational schools.

Atlantic Resuming Production

Atlantic Steel Co. officials plan to resume limited operations here Monday following the ending of a 107-day strike that idled approximately 1,200 employes of the local plant.

The strike was ended Saturday night, when members of Local 2401 of the United Steel Workers of America voted to accept a set of proposals made by the federal mediation service.

Union officials said the proposals were accepted by a secret ballot vote of 447 to 379. The mediation service proposals were rejected in roll call votes earlier in the week, after they had been accepted "reluctantly" by the company.

The proposals included an 8-cent-an-hour raise in wages and expanded hospitalization benefits and insurance coverage for employes. It did not contain the broad arbitration clause, which had been a basic issue in the dispute.

248 Are Jailed In Tallahassee Demonstrations

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. (UPI)—Two hundred and forty-eight were jailed Saturday night when hundreds of singing, chanting Negro and white college students protested segregation at theaters here.

Special facilities had to be set up at the fairgrounds when demonstrators overflowed the County Jail. Some Negro women were moved to the hospital quarters at the county's prison camp.

Sheriff William Joyce said 157 were charged with disobeying a circuit court order which limited the number of pickets at theaters to 18.

Observant Atlantans are already generally aware that the city's over-crowded slums and underprivileged people are heavily concentrated in and near the central business district, the trim downtown area and its ragged fringes.

And the Labor department study verifies in overwhelming detail that, to the extent they grow out of too little education and job opportunity and purchasing power, the seeds of crime and civil unrest in Atlanta are most generously fertilized in the area contained by North Avenue on the north, Boulevard on the east, University Avenue on the south and Ashby Street on the west.

Here, covering some nine of the city's 128 square miles, are the census tract neighborhoods where money and jobs are scarcest, academic life the least pursued.

REACH INTO DEKALB

Not entirely confined to the heart of the city, these chronic ailments also constrict two of its main arteries — one reaching due east into the DeKalb County sector of the city between DeKalb Avenue and Memorial Drive, the other stretching northwest between the Bankhead Highway and Marietta Boulevard to the Chattahoochee River.

All in all, the conditions of misfortune in education, income and employment pervade 46 of Atlanta's 108 census tract neighborhoods occupied by 213,233 people, over 40 per cent of the city's population.

Lowest in income and highest in unemployment is census tract F35, centered at Pryor and Mitchell streets. Of its 1,760 residents, 26 per cent are Negro. Median family income of $1,832 a year and a male unemployment rate of 15.1 per cent reflect a sub-high school educational achievement of only 8.2 years.

FOR COMPARISON

More residential in nature, despite its overwhelming proportion of jam-packed dilapidated and deteriorating housing, is tract F18 centered at the Pine-Bedford intersection, Atlanta's ill-famed "Buttermilk Bottoms." Here live 10,071 Atlantans, 99 per cent of them Negro. Typical family income is $2,695 a year. The median schooling level is only 6.5 years. Rate of male unemployment is 4.9 per cent.

Or look at tract F50, centered at Boulevard and Hansell Street at Grant Park. Population 3,102, all white. Median family income is $4,629 a year despite a male unemployment rate of 11.1 per cent and a school completion level of only 8.2 years.

Contrast that with tract F37 centered at Fair and Chestnut in the heart of the Atlanta Univer-

son, was killed and two others injured in a head-on collision on a Carroll County road, officers said.

Linda Langley, 21, of Atlanta died late Saturday night in a two-car collision on U.S. 78 in DeKalb County, about a mile east of Avondale Estates, according to the State Patrol.

The Patrol said Fannie Robinson, Atlanta, was killed when the car in which she was riding ran out of control and overturned several times on U.S. 73 in Cobb County, just outside of Atlanta.

ATLANTAN KILLED

An Atlanta man, Dale Clayton Benoy, 29, died in another Sunday head-on collision a mile south of Auburn on U.S. 29 in Barrow County.

George Washington Ivey, 63, of Gainesville, died Sunday in a hospital from injuries received the day before in a head-on collision on Georgia 141 about a mile south of Gainesville.

Jesse Cobb, 74, of Vienna, died Saturday when the car in which he was riding skidded in an attempt to pass two other vehicles and was hit by one of them, the Patrol said.

AUGUSTAN RUNS DOWN

An Augusta pedestrian, Charles E. Ford, 38, was struck by two cars in the Augusta area Saturday night and died in a hospital Sunday.

BOY, 15, DIES

Reginal Cobey, 18, of Albany, was injured fatally in a head-on collision early Saturday night about one-fourth of a mile from the intersection of Georgia 257 and 133 near Albany.

Fifteen-year-old Gerry Lee Lones of Perry died Saturday of injuries received the night before when a car overturned in a ditch 3.4 miles east of Henderson on Hodge Road.

manager for Georgia of the Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co., will address a Tuesday luncheon meeting of the Atlanta chapter, Armed Forces Management Association, at the Fort McPherson Officers Club.

Charles W. Hayes, director of purchasing at Emory, will teach a course on selling this fall in the university's non-credit evening series. Dr. Harold L. Johnson, associate professor of business administration, will teach "Economics for the 1960s." The courses are among 30 offered by Emory's Office of Community Education. They begin the week of Sept. 30.

Auto-Soler Co., Atlanta, has declared a third quarter cash dividend of 10 cents per share, payable Oct. 1 to stockholders of record Sept. 17. The company said profits during the first eight months of this year were $126,509, up 7 per cent from $117,138 in the same 1962 period.

Thomas McTamaney has assumed duties as assistant chief engineer at the American Bakeries Co. Merita Bread plant in Atlanta. He was formerly special project engineer at American's St. Paul, Minn., baking plant.

General Electric Co. has opened a new facility for quick servicing of small electric appliances and radios at 1735 Stewart Ave., SW. The 4,000 square foot structure was recently dedicated by Charles J. Ellis, GE regional vice president, at an open house.

Hugh T. Birchett has been appointed sales manager of Macon district for Texaco, Inc. He for-

on the Atlanta airport. The building is scheduled for completion by Nov. 1.

The Personnel Club of Atlanta has invited management personnel in the greater Atlanta area having certain specialized personnel responsibilities to meet together to exchange practical working knowledge on a monthly basis beginning Tuesday at the Downtown YMCA. It said the meetings will be held for three key groups: industrial safety, labor relations and salary administration.

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GROW WITH SIVCO

FIRST IN NEWS
THE EYES OF ATLANTA: WALL-TV 11

The ultimate in resort-vacation living, year round or weekend.
HIWASSEE LAKE ESTATES
HIWASSEE DAM, NORTH CAROLINA
FOR DETAILS on 2-day FREE Property TOUR
CALL 873-6247 WRITE LAKE HIWASSEE DEV. CO. 1776 PEACHTREE RD., N.W., ATLANTA 9, GA.

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Listed on New York Stock Exchange
September 16, 1963
DOB

6th largest restaurant chain and still growing. In past ten years, sales and earnings up over 475 percent, including Toddle House operations.

Dobbs House

Serving you the finest food wherever you fly or drive!

TODDLE HOUSE
A Dobbs House Restaurant

- 12 airport restaurants
- 23 airline catering kitchens
- 12 airport gift and newsstands
- 349 snack bars
- 65 snack bar commissaries
- 8 Polynesian restaurants
- 8 motel restaurants!

DOBBS HOUSES, INC.
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Make it work for you
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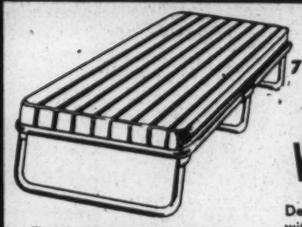
WHY PAY 2.99???
WHITE PAINT 1.69 GALLON

New! TYPE 48
POLACOLOR FILM
For Polaroid cameras using series 40 film. 5.95

COMPARE AT $1.49
TV ANTENNA 99c

$49.95 Quality Royal "Royalite"
Portable Typewriter
Standard 42-Keyboard, with case!
Now 39.95 plus MET

REG. $2.49 SCHOOL
LUNCH KITS 1.93


72" Aluminum Frame
FOLDING BED With Mattress
Folds Compactly and Easily for Storage
Deluxe quality with poly foam mattress. Just 12.99

FLOOR RUNNER
6-ft. long—24" Wide. Non-Skid Foam Rubber Back!
1.99

SNAP BACK . . . with STANBACK
For more effective pain relief! 25 POWDERS.
69c

ON SALE AT ALL WALGREEN DRUG STORES

Atlanta

October 7, 1963

Miss Ellen G. Sax
Apartment 9-A
301 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Miss Sax:

I think I should tell you, before I begin answering your questions, that the people here involved in civil rights and/or action groups for achieving them for all people believe the national "image" of Atlanta as a sort of model city for the South is very much over-rated. Of course, in comparison with Birmingham, Atlanta does appear more reasonable and progressive. But every advance that has been achieved here has been won through much effort and long and intensive protests involving marches, petitions, picketing, sit-ins, economic boycotts, negotiations, compromises, and, just now, resegregation after hard-won desegregation in restaurants.

Now for replies to your questions:

1. For number of Negroes, registered Negro voters, and income level, see enclosed copies of news clips: Montgomery articles; Metrotolitan Herald clips.

2. Regarding student movement, see enclosures, and for specific answers not covered: a) successof economic boycott in downtown area 1960-61: about 90% effective in observance by Negroes; many liberal whites also cancelled charge accounts and observed picket lines. No figures are available as to loss of business by the stores. The Federal Reserve figures for that period showed some percentage loss in department store sales, but this was not conclusive over all the south where boycotts were in effect. Unofficially, it is believed the stores suffered about a 20% loss of business during the pre-Christmas boycott. However, no one ever admitted this publicly and there is no proof. We know of no surveys; if any were done they were not made public.

3. The most recent integration has involved hotels/motels and restaurants. Announcement was made that some 45 restaurants would accept Negroes; no list was ever published, people found out by trial-and-error which ones would accept Negroes and this seemed to change from day to day. Some restaurants would on one day, and would not on the following day. Some would accept two or three Negroes, and then turn others away. Some refused groups of Negroes and whites together, but would accept a group of two or three Negroes. After picketing by segregationists, the number has now dwindled to about 12 and we are not even certain of this number.

Hotels/motels have some desegregation: they will accept large conventions with some Negro members IF THE NUMBER OF NEGROES ATTENDING IS NOT MORE THAN 5%. Some hotels will accept integrated daytime meetings or evening meetings with a luncheon or dinner served IF IN A PRIVATE DINING ROOM. There is only one small hotel, some distance from downtown, which will accept Negroes for overnight and meals without question whenever they have vacancies. They also accept all foreign visitors, of whatever nationality, color, or race without question. They will accept conventions without restriction on number of Negroes attending, but being small, they cannot handle large groups, and the dining facilities are limited.

One other hotel will accept dark colored foreign visitors IF THEY ARE ACCOMPANIED BY WHITE STATE DEPARTMENT INTERPRETER. However, reception in dining room and/or bar is not always certain.

Most movie theatres are now integrated; most churches (exceptions are the Baptist and Methodist and fundamentalist type churches in the lower income area of city with one Baptist church in the higher income area that has a long record of refusing admittance) will accept Negro visitors; parks, golf courses, tennis courts, swimming pools, libraries are integrated. (see enclosed time-table on desegregation).

4. Employment has been gradually and steadily increassing due to pressure and negotiation by Negro action groups. There is no definite count on this; we simply note Negro employees in stores: sales clerks in department stores, employes in non-traditional Negro jobs in bakeries, supermarkets, drug stores (especially in areas that are predominantly Negro, but many downtown too).

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosures:
Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation. 1961
Wall Street Journal reprint: Segregation Costs
Harvard Business Review reprint: Private Business & Public Education...
Business--Next Target for Integration?
Newsclips: Jim Montgomery, Atlanta Constitution, "2 Intersections..."
" " "Racial Bias Takes...."
Metropolitan Herald: Voter Registration in Atlanta...
Population, Atlanta

Employment - Atlanta
Plans for Progress

DESEGREGATION IN ATLANTA SCHOOLS (from news reports)

Number of integrated schools: 10 of 16 high schools
Number of Negro students enrolled: 153

High School	Negrotstudents enrolled in 1962 and remaining*	1963 Negro students	Total
Bass	7	16	23
Brown	1	5	6
Fulton	1	2	3
George	0	1	1
Grady	3	5	8
O'Keefe	2	6	8
Murphy	13	59	72
Roosevelt	2	7	
plus South students	8**	3	20
Sylvan	0	1	1
West Fulton	1	10	11
	38	115	153

* some students enrolled for 1962 graduated, of course.
** South high school was closed, and reopened as vocational school

Colleges (state university system only)

University of Ga. at Athens -	15	
Georgia School of Technoloby	10	
Georgia State, Atlanta	6	
Valdosta State	2	(3 applied; 1 withdrew)
Columbus State	1	
	34	

1 white student enrolled in Savannah State (Negro)

West Georgia and Armstrong Colleges each accepted one Negro student during summer session, but they did not return this fall.

Airmail

Apartment 9-A
301 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York.
September 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear sir,

I am a student at Skidmore College and am writing a thesis on "Student Influence in Civil Liberties--Case Study; Atlanta University Center." I thought perhaps you could help me in securing some of the data I need for my thesis.

I am interested in knowing as many current facts about Atlanta as possible, i.e., the number of Negroes living in the city or metropolitan area, the average income level of the Negro in comparison to the white, the number of registered Negro voters as opposed to the number of eligible Negro voters. If you have any information more current than the 1960 census, I would certainly appreciate receiving it.

Aside from a study of Atlanta, I am doing a complete investigation and evaluation of the student movement. It was suggested to me by Charlayne Hunter Stovall and Fred Powledge of the New York Times to write you for specific information. I have been trying to find out exactly how much influence the students actually had in achieving integration in Atlanta. Can you tell me how successful the economic boycott on the downtown area of Atlanta was in 1960-61? How much of a loss did Rich's department store, Davison's, Woolworth's, and Kress five and ten suffer as a result of the boycott? If there have not been any specific surveys done, can you tell me the estimated loss?

90%

not known

no

I am also very interested in knowing exactly how many places have been integrated recently, and specifically if any integrated as a direct result of the movement. How many schools are actually integrated today in Atlanta, and what are the numbers of Negro students in each school? Are movie theatres, churches, parks, and other public facilities open to Negroes, or are there some that are still segregated? Do you have any figures as to how many Negroes are employed in Rich's, Woolworth's, Davison's, etc.? Has the number of Negro employees been increasing yearly? (yes)

45

12 now

yes

yes

yes - public swimming pools golf course tennis courts

some restaurants hotels, but 5% limit

Any partial or complete answers to the above questions would be most valuable to me. If you have any other information relevant

Employment - Atlanta
Plans for Progress

to my thesis, I would be most happy to receive it at your earliest convenience.

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen G. Sax

Negro enrollment at predominantly white Atlanta schools

No. of integrated schools – 10 (1963) No. of Negro students 153

High School	~~Last~~ 1963 year students	New 1963 transfers	Total
Boss	7	+13 +3 = 16	20+3 = 23
Brown	1	5	6
Fulton	1	2	3
George	0	1	1
Grady	3	5	8
O'Keefe	2	3+3 = 6	5+3 = 8
Murphy	12 +1 = 13 (plus 1 from Grady)	35, 24 } 72 59	48 +24 = 72
Roosevelt	8 (from Smith High now vocational school)	6 ~~14~~ +1 = 7	14, 5 } 19 +1 = 20
	2	3	
Sylvan	0	1	1
West Fulton	1	9+1 = 10	10+1 = 11
	38	83 +32 = 115	121 32 = 153
	36		

7

3
24
33
1
1
32

Atlanta – 15
Tech – 10
Ga State 6
Washington 2
Columbus 1
34

114
38
152

121
32
153

Negroes to Map Joint Tactics

Strategy for "desegregating the rest of Atlanta" will be worked out at a closed-door meeting of Negro leaders here Oct. 19, it was announced Tuesday.

It will be the first unified desegregation campaign by all the principal racial groups here.

Austin T. Walden, retired Negro attorney, and Clarence Coleman, a field representative of the National Urban League and president of the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, are co-chairmen of the campaign.

Walden said the inspiration for the unity move came from the Aug. 28 march on Washington.

"Because of the success of the Washington matter through the cooperation of many groups, we felt the same could be done on the local level," Walden said.

He said the areas of concentration will be discussed and decided upon at the Oct. 19 meeting and then announced publicly. He declined to specify what they might be but indicated they would include further desegregation of public places, better job opportunities and voting.

The campaign apparently will be partly in the nature of an education drive aimed at Negroes. Voting privileges, for example, have been open to Negroes for several years but there has been considerable lethargy in registration.

The makeup of the drive will include "elder statesmen" of the integration movement such as Walden and youth groups which are backed up by thousands of Negro high school and college students. These have been in the forefront of previous demonstrations here.

Greater Atlanta Dec. 10-11-63

Negroes Use Center in Decatur

The Decatur Recreation Center has been integrated for several months, but Tuesday was the first time an integrated group has used the facility, City Manager John Markland said Thursday.

In a statement earlier this week Mayor Jack Hamilton said, "The recreation center and city park play areas are open to all citizens of the city of Decatur, subject to rules and regulations established by the recreation board and approved by the city commission."

Mayor Hamilton said, "We are trying to handle the situation as quitly and peacefully as we can. We are not making any concession to any group in the city. We simply are trying to treat all of our citizens as they are entitled to be treated."

The full membership of the city commission approved the new policy several months ago after two meetings with a bi-racial group called DeKalb County Citizens, the mayor said.

Miss Rosetta Williams, a Decatur Negro, was chairman of the bi-racial group composed of three Negroes and two white persons.

The Decatur Recreation Center was built in 1954 with funds from a city bond project. The same bond issue provided funds for a Negro center in Ebster Park.

Grady Opens Mental Ward For Negroes

Journal 10-10-63

A nine-bed intensive treatment ward for short-term Negro psychiatric patients has been opened at Grady Memorial Hospital, the Georgia Department of Public Health announced Thursday.

The unit will supplement an 18-bed ward for white patients, a health department spokesman said. Other intensive treatment centers are located at Macon, Albany, Columbus and Augusta.

Emory Medical School's Department of Psychiatry staffs the white and Negro Grady units under Dr. Bernard Holland.

Application for intensive treatment in the new unit is made by private physicians through local health departments. The counties of Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Rockdale, Paulding and Douglas send patients to the Grady unit.

Patients are admitted to the intensive treatment centers on the medical prediction that they will respond to early treatment and intensive care of several weeks' duration.

Atlanta

October 31, 1963

Mrs. Richard Sax
Apt. 9-A
301 East 78th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mrs. Sax:

You have obviously done quite a bit of reading on Atlanta, for your thesis. I'm glad you found our materials helpful, and I will try to answer your questions.

The restaurant situation: originally some 30 to 35 (no list ever published) restaurants announced a policy of desegregation. Which ones they were had to be discovered by trial-and-error. A list from the Atlanta Council on Human Relations is enclosed and some of our staff members have tested the downtown ones and some of those out from town. They, so far as we know today, are still desegregated, though some of them will still refuse to accept whites and Negroes in integrated groups, and some will turn down Negroes if they already have a few there eating.

The Peachtree Manor is the really desegregated hotel. Howard Johnson's Motel South is now desegregated. Hilton Inn and Air Host at the Airport are desegregated

Information on the two mayors and the press is attached, along with some other enclosures. If you need quotes for your thesis, let me know and I will give you the names of two Negro leaders in Atlanta who have agreed to reply to your questions in writing, and to be quoted. They may not be as frank on paper for quotation as they were with me; they still have to negotiate with the Mayor on future problems and advances. In fact, there have been a series of meetings of Negro leadership, and we may be having demonstrations again in the near future if negotiations do not get results. There is much dissatisfaction over the ambigious restaurant policy, and the "token" hotel/motel policy. There is also resentmentagainst lack of job-training and apprenticeship program opportunities.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

P.S. I think you would be interestdd in reading Midwest Journal of Political Science Vol. VII, No. 2, May 1963, "Protest and Negotiation: a case study of Negro Leadership in Atlanta, Georgia" by Jack L. Walker, University of Iowa.

(Not to be quoted as SRC opinion)

Personal evaluation of attitudes of Mayor Hartsfield and Mayor Allen

I have talked with several SRC staff people and with several Negro leaders in Atlanta, and this is an attempt to give a syntheses of opinions.

Mayor Hartsfield: He was (and still is) a most astute politician who came up the hard way. All his public statements are well thought out and generally (on any controversial subject) cautious but firm. Negroes, both conservative and middle-of-the-road leadership, think he had a policy of giving just enough in the desegregation struggle to keep in good standing with the Negro leaders so that he could keep their votes. Some Negro leadership thinks that he changed somewhat as he negotiated and learned to know people and needs and injustices and became more liberal in his personal beliefs. Some white people think he is liberal, others that he is, like most white southerners of his generation, ambivalent. Recently, since his re-entry into private life, he has become irritable and impatient with "being pushed too hard and too fast" as the southern moderate complains when any new change is proposed. Regarding his attitude toward the student movement, when the Atlanta students published their page advertisement in the Atlanta newspapers, "An Appeal for Human Rights" as the beginning of the student movement here, and the governor of Georgia said it was obviously written by Communists and could not have been written by Negro college students, Mayor Hartsfield said that it was good for people to know how the students felt, and that the appeal was no more than the aspirations of young people all over the world.

There is no way of proving or disproving "deals" of concessions for votes, but every politician makes such promises and certainly in order to get the liberal and Negro vote in Atlanta all those years Mayor Hartsfield would have been obliged to have made some promises.

Mayor Allen: He was a successful business man before he went into politics by way of the office of Mayor, and his reactions are those of a business man. Like Mayor Hartsfield, he loves his city and he wants to be a good mayor and a successful one. He lacks Mayor Hartsfield's sophistication as a politician and this most probably accounts for his blunder on the "wall" thing. It was not a real wall separating the Negro and white communities, but a barricade across a street separating two communities and it was an attempt to create a "buffer zone" while tempers cooled as housing integration began in a formerly all-white housing zone. (see enclosed copies of newsclips). Negroes believe that Mr. Allen is more personally committed to desegregation and civil rights. Most white people think he is not so personally committed as he seems but wants to keep Atlanta's "image" bright and untarnished and the city at peace. His statement in favor of the public accommodations section of the civil rights legislation electrified the whole nation, and especially has won him friends among Negroes. One reporter who talked with him about this thought that he was not really aware (as with the wall) of the political implications of what he said. He meant sincerely that he thought the government should take the pressure off the business men and the city governments on business desegregation. Negroes who believe in Mayor Allen think the "wall" was a stupid mistake, but done more out of ignorance of the consequences than for any other reason--an attempt to solve a problem that could not be solved in that way.

Both Negroes and whites agree that both mayors have come to identify with the changing times, that they have changed as the times and the city has changed, and that voting strength of the Negro has had a great deal to do with this.

The wall: reaction of Atlanta Negroes to the barricade was, without exception, hostile and resentful. They picketed and protested and made statements. That of the whites was varied: liberals were aghast that such a thing could happen here; moderates seemed at first to think it a mistake, but perhaps a good idea to have a "cooling off period"; segregationists thought it the only fair thing to do—they had been putting pressure on to "save their homes" because they reacted as whites do in many places, north as well as south, when a Negro buys a home in a white community. They panicked and began to make plans to sell and move out.

Negroes agree (and most whites) that the Atlanta newspapers were "fair" in news coverage of the student movement and of all racial incidents in Atlanta. The Journal (afternoon) is more conservative editorially than the Constitution (morning). The Negro papers exist mainly because the daily papers do not carry Negro social news. You are right that the Inquirer came into being because the Atlanta World was conservative and did not, at first, support the students. The Inquirer has forced the World to move toward a more liberal attitude in order to keep any Negro subscribers and it now has better coverage of Negro action groups. The Inquirer is still the Negro protest newspaper. The World is daily; the Inquirer weekly, so both are read in the Negro community. As to how regarded or respected, the World would appeal to the more conservative Negroes; the Inquirer to the more action-oriented, protest-minded.

I would say that the press in any city has a great deal of influence on any issue, and that factual reporting and moderate-to-liberal editorializing has a great deal do do with people's acceptance of social change.

Some additional facts and figures

At the end of 1962, voting registration in Atlanta was as follows:

Negro	44,893
White	99,322

During 1962 white registration increased 15,518; Negro registration, 16,743.

October 24, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright,

I want to thank you ever so much for all the material you have sent me for my thesis. It was so very kind of you to select such a variety of articles, have them photostatted, and mailed to me. I really can't thank you enough. The information you sent me is invaluable.

I am curious about the restaurant situation in Atlanta. In the second page of your letter you mentioned that now approximately twelve restaurants accept Negroes. However, on page one you said that there is resegregation now "after hard-won desegregation in restaurants." Are all restaurants resegregated again in Atlanta, or are most resegregated with the exception of approximately twelve?

Also, could you give me the name of the one small hotel, some distance from the downtown area, which accepts Negroes more liberally than the rest?

There are two other areas of my thesis that I would like to ask you about. In my analysis

of Atlanta as an atypical (rather than a model) southern city, I am including a section on ex-mayor Hartsfield's attitude toward desegregation and Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.'s attitude. From what I have read, mayor Hartsfield's favorite slogan was "We're a city too busy to hate." In articles he appears to have been quite liberal in his policy toward Negroes. Is this really true? Did he ever make any statement's for or against the student movement in Atlanta? I know that the Negro community helped to keep him in office for many years. Did he ever give the Negroes any concessions in return for their votes? Also could you please explain what mayor Allen's position is in reference to segregation. When and why was a wall separating white and Negro communities permitted to be built in Atlanta? What was the reaction in town concerning this construction? Any information you can give me about either mayor's attitude toward segregation would be greatly appreciated.

Also I am interested in finding out about the influence the press had on the student movement. Did most of the white operated papers give the movement adequate coverage? Were they neutral in their position or generally against the student demonstrations? Concerning the Negro-owned newspapers, I understand that the Atlanta Inquirer came into existence essentially as a result of the student movement, which the editors felt was not being

adequately covered by the Atlanta Daily World. what is the truth to this statement? Also, are both newspapers widely read and respected within the Negro community? Any information concerning the influence of the press on the movement would be most helpful to me.

Thank you again for the time and effort you have spent gathering data for me.

Sincerely,
Ellen G. Sax

copy
Atlanta Council list (restaurants marked)

Hotel - Peachtree Manor Hotel

Niece (top. 3 p.2)
Hartsfield

Allen
The Wall (Atl Council newsletter?)
Press.

Journal Const.

Civil Rights Leaders Here Ask 'Total Desegregation'

11-3-63

By JIM CLOTFELTER

Negro leaders Saturday revealed a master plan for the "total desegregation of Atlanta.

It was agreed upon by representatives of nine civil rights organizations at a "summit meeting" Oct. 19. The meeting was closed to the public. Details of the goals were in printed copies of the report sent to Mayor Ivan Allen and other public officials.

THE NEGROES "recommend"—the word "demand" was not used—that Atlanta pass a public accommodations law and an open-occupancy housing law.

The report condemn "token desegregation" and calls for total desegregation in every major area of Atlanta life. It was released by A. T. Walden and Clarence Coleman, cochairman of the summit and leaders of the more moderate wing of Atlanta's civil rights groups.

THE REPORT represents the views of leaders of these organizations: the NAACP, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, the All Citizens Registration Committee, the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, Operation Bread Basket and the Gandhi Youth Society.

It does not mention demonstrations or make any kind of "—or else" threats if the requests are not met.

It also does not mention the Nov. 15 target date for desegregation of public accommodations announced at a press conference following the Oct. 19 meeting.

A REASON for formation of the unified group is that civil rights leaders hope to attain their objectives by negotiations rather than demonstrations.

Included in the group are the oldest Negro leaders, who long have emphasized legal action and negotiation, and the younger leaders, many of whom have rebelled against the older leadership and called for mass demonstrations.

"This is a reasonable document," said Mr. Walden, an attorney. "It simply asks that there be no discrimination in Atlanta. . . . Atlanta is too proud a city to want any of its citizens to be discriminated against."

THE REPORT lists these goals:

—Complete desegregation of public accommodations and passage of a city public accommodations ordinance. "Limited desegregation of hotels, motels and restaurants as put into effect in Atlanta. . . . is completely unacceptable."

—Establishment of "fair employment" governmental machinery and upgrading of Negro jobs. (Local governmental agencies "utilize various types of subterfuges to prevent Negroes from obtaining many jobs," the report says. Mayor Allen last week named a biracial committee designed to increase Negro job opportunities in the city government.)

—"Immediate desegregation" of all public housing units, appointment of Negroes to the Atlanta Housing Authority, and an open occupancy proclamation from the city.

—Total desegregation of Atlanta schools, including administration, faculty and classrooms.

—Dropping of all voter registration requirements, other than age and residence, and implementation of night and neighborhood registration programs.

—The appointment of Negroes to judgeships of municipal and traffic courts, to the staffs of city and county attorneys, and that more Negroes be included on grand and petit juries.

—More Negro probation and police officers be appointed, and that all penal institutions be desegregated.

"WE WOULD prefer, by far," the Negro leaders said, "to attain these objectives through cooperative action rather than through conflict."

The report adds:

"Atlanta's race relations image, often proudly used to bolster America's democratic image abroad, needs considerable improvement . . .

"It is not necessary to engage in a long, laborious and agonizing process of social change in order to provide equality for all people. We cannot believe that token desegregation represents a noteworthy achievement . . .

"We believe that most of the citizens of Atlanta possess the moral courage to actualize racial equality without delay and without the necessity of overt pressures to effectuate the needed changes."

11-13-63

Herald

METROPOLI

Only 16,503 Registered Voters In 8th Ward, Small Increase Of 212 Voters In 10 Months

The Fulton County Registrar's drive to register more voters in the County didn't come too soon. While there are, as of now, 16,503 registered voters in the 8th Ward, this is only a 212 vote increase since December 1962. The breakdown shows too that there are 172 colored voters in the Ward, a loss of 24 in the 10 months period while there has been an increase in white voters of 236.

But it is the 8th Ward where the need is greatest to register more voters. Out here there are numerous transfers of residents and the first the Registrar's office knows they are gone is when the voters lists are purged. If you fail to vote for three straight years you are automatically dropped.

This past January 1st 16,000 "purge notices" were mailed to residents who had failed to vote in three years. Only 4,000 responded by re-registering on the cards mailed, thus 12,000 were dropped. However, according to Mr. Leon Hays, this loss has been overcome. Apparently not too many of them responded from the 8th ward for we show a very small increase since then.

There is discussion now under way to create more polling places in the areas where the list has grown to unwieldy proportions such as 8-B, North Fulton High and 8-D, R. L. Hope school. Officials believe that by splitting the larger voting precincts into additional locations much of the delay in voting would be eliminated, thus encouraging more to participate in elections.

All the 8th Ward voting precincts are among the larger ones in the County. Registration figures stack up as follows:

	White	Colored
8-A (Northside High)	3,674	22
8-B North Fulton High)	4,282	31
8-C (Margaret Mitchell)	3,871	110
8-D (R. L. Hope School)	4,504	9
Total for ward	16,331	172

Two other large Northside voting precincts are Oak Grove (Sandy Springs) with 4,855 white eligible voters and 6 colored. The other is Buckhead District (Roswell Road, north of Buckhead) with 3,215 white and 2 colored voters on their list.

The County Commissioners have appropriated money to purchase mobile voters registration offices which Mr. Hays plans to send out into the neighborhoods, especially the larger shopping centers and business districts in order that residents eligible to become voters may be enrolled without having to go downtown to the Court House.

In addition there will be an attempt made to enable all high school seniors who are over 18 to register. Last year 32 out of 38 white and colored schools were visited and registered over 3,000 new voters. The same drive will be put on this year by the Registrar's office.

Since city hall employees in County Municipalities have been deputized to accept registration for both city and county elections East Point has almost doubled their eligible list growing from slightly over 6,000 to more than 11,000.

The City of Atlanta is urging that no precinct have more than approximately 2,000 registered voters in each polling place. That would mean much faster voting by cutting the number down. The County Registrar's are cooperating toward that end.

The 8th Ward still remains one of the "low men on the totem pole" in so far as eligible voters are concerned and a drive is planned to obtain a joint sponsorship for 'registration days' of all the civic clubs, women's clubs, Fifty Club, etc., to sponsor such a drive.

Negro Majority Seen For Atlanta by '75

By ACHSAH POSEY

"Unless present trends are checked—and soon—Atlanta is destined to become a predominantly Negro city by the year 1975," or sooner, Opie Shelton, executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce predicted Friday.

As a starter, he added in a luncheon speech to the Northside Kiwanis Club, this will "shatter the foundation of our tax structure," and create other serious and far-reaching disintegration of the area.

"An all-Negro central city is in no one's best interests, black or white, rich or poor," he asserted, stating, "Philadelphia and Washington have proved that beyond a doubt."

NEGROES REALIZE

"Don't misunderstand me for one moment," Shelton added. "The Negro leadership is just as opposed to such a racial transition as anyone else."

"Their leadership is perhaps ahead of us in the recognition of the need for a strong central city to sustain our economy and the job opportunities the economy provides," the chamber official said.

"We are on the threshold of a major catastrophe unless we develop the political capacity to prevent it," he told the group.

OUR LIFEBLOOD

Shelton observed, "My job and yours and those of the million and more people of the metropolitan area exist because we are a part of Atlanta."

"Our lifeblood is supplied through the umbilical cord that binds us to this city," Shelton declared, and imbalance of the racial ratio "threatens to sever the economic umbilical cord which sustains us."

The tension of his audience reflected the urgency of Shelton's mood.

ADDS 10 YEARS

"Had it not been for the Plan of Improvement of 1952, accompanied by the annexation of 119 square miles and a subsequent expansion of 10 square miles, Atlanta would today have a 51 to 49 ratio, favoring the whites," Shelton stated. "Our last annexation bought us 10 years of time, but time is fast running out."

"Any solution to the problem is impossible without the complete understanding and cooperation of all of us—black and white."

"The equalization of racial composition throughout the metropolitan area," he suggested, "would contribute to the economic, political and social health of the central city as well as the entire metropolitan area. The suburban areas and counties have a tremendous stake in this problem."

He proposed as remedies to what he considers the area's major problem:

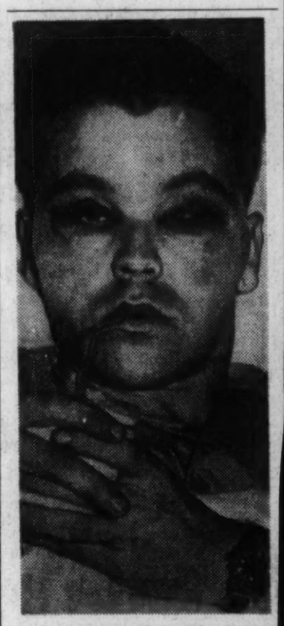
THESE REMEDIES

A realistic state annexation law that will help to make government more efficient while keeping it close to the people it serves.

Crossing political boundaries for more efficient city services for those in the metropolitan area.

A "more realistic approach to our metropolitan zoning laws which place artificial barriers against residential land availability."

A continued program of "racial cooperation and understanding."



Associated Press Wirephoto

"JET HIT ME" — JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—Fantastic as it sounds, Carleton Ingerson, 19, a Navy man from Union, Me., was knocked off the deck of the carrier Saratoga by a jet plane blast and fell 80 feet into the ocean — where he "learned" to swim—and was in the water 90 minutes before being rescued, yet his worst injuries were two black eyes. A Navy spokesman called it a miracle.

12-14-63

Eugene Patterson

Mr. Shelton Speaks to You

Opie Shelton has brought out into the open a developing situation that will be bad for all Atlantans, white and Negro, unless calm leadership remedies it. To wit: If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

* * *

More ominous, in Mr. Shelton's view, is the decay that will set in throughout the metropolitan area if the golden cord through which the surrounding communities feed on Atlanta's vitality is cut by such an economic decline inside the city itself.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes, who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity—a strong central city—evaporating.

The answer, of course, is not to go on trapping poor Negroes into central city slums and then criticizing their poverty and slum habits, while driving well-off taxpayers outside the city and then criticizing a future eroding tax base and dwindling business.

Mr. Shelton, as executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, sees the eventual damage this can do to business in Atlanta and thereby to the prosperity of every citizen, white and Negro, in the metropolitan area.

* * *

It isn't too early to have a look at the remedies he suggested we start thinking about. They are: A good faith relationship between the races, so they can work at this problem together for the good of all; a new look by the 50 governments of surrounding communities at their zoning practices which, if designed to exclude Negroes and keep them imprisoned in expanding city slums, can eventually strangle the Atlanta goose that lays their golden eggs; a careful study of ways to work toward an equalization of the population in the metropolitan area, across political boundaries, since only the city—not the metropolitan area—is experiencing a ballooning racial ratio (the Negro is often barred from surrounding land to live on); and finally, a new and realistic state annexation law, so that the city can expand itself to house its expanding population.

All Atlantans owe Mr. Shelton not only thanks for his candor, but action now to de-fuse this housing time bomb of our own manufacture.

Dec. 16, 1963

Staff Photo—Bill Wilson

Dr. Martin Luther King Addresses Crowd; Vice Mayor Sam Massell (L) in Foreground

STATES RIGHTS PARTY PICKETS

2,500 Brave Frigid Winds at Park With Warm Cheers for Integration

By TED SIMMONS

Icy winds swept Hurt Park relentlessly Sunday and temperatures hovered around the freezing mark, but none of it seemed to chill the enthusiasm of an estimated 2,500 on hand for the Summit Conference demonstration.

Many in the crowd stood for more than two hours, stamping their feet occasionally for warmth, rubbing hands and ears nipped by the cold.

But the applause and cheers were vigorous and the bulk of the crowd was there at the finish.

BEGINS TO GATHER

The crowd began to gather around the park fountain and speakers' platform well before 1 p.m.

Many carried signs as they came, calling for "Action for Democracy—Not Resolutions," "Human Rights over Property Rights," and "Impartial Law Enforcement."

Others read, "Open the Church Doors to All," "Register and Vote for Equality," "Junk Pupil Placement Plan," "Desegregate Grady and All Hospitals," and "Free Rev. Ashton Jones."

The signs were in sharp contrast to those carried by two white-shirted members of the National States Rights Party, which picketed for a short time across the street in front of City Auditorium.

The pickets marched with placards reading: "Black People, Your Future Is in Africa, Not Here," and "Black People, Don't Be misled by Communist Jews."

TWO PICKETS

A spokesman said only two pickets were used because that number was sufficient "for people to get the point."

Two early arrivals at the scene were Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and Calvin Craig, Grand Dragon of the Georgia Klan.

They stood in the crowd as vice mayor Sam Massell extended a greeting to the gathering and asked that "we have the wisdom to understand the needs of all humanity."

Massell said the "majority of Atlantans" recognize that the duty to meet those needs "must be a part of our history."

Shelton, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., and Craig, an Atlantan, said they plan to ask city officials for the use of Hurt Park for a meeting in the near future.

"We think they (the Negroes) have the right to protest," said Craig. "We think only that when we ask for the same accommodation, the city should let us meet here."

Shelton said he thought the demonstration was "a pretty poor showing."

"The Negroes should be able to draw 30,000," he said. "Negroes here are in the center of their colleges and churches. This shows a failure to back Negro leadership."

Police maintained tight security around the park throughout the demonstration, but no incidents of any kind were reported.

Aldermen Erase Segregation Laws

Atlanta Acts to Underline Its Stand on Racial Issues

All of the city's segregation ordinances in the fields of public transportation, recreation, entertainment or other facilities were wiped off the books Monday by the Atlanta aldermanic board.

In a wide-ranging session, the aldermen also talked about liquor-licensing, saw banker J. Ben Moore sworn in as a new board member and authorized the hiring in 1964 of a $17,500-a-year "administrative assistant" to Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.

Ald. Ed Gilliam authored the resolution invalidating the city's segregation statutes, and it was passed without debate.

Some of the segregation laws, such as that relating to public buses and city transit, had already been overturned by federal court decisions.

TO REMOVE DOUBT

City Attorney Henry Bowden, who drafted the Gilliam resolution, said it was intended mainly as "an affirmative action to remove any doubt" about city segregation laws.

Moore was sworn in as the board held its final 1963 meeting. Moore will not formally take office until Jan. 1. He will succeed Fifth Ward Ald. Henry Troutman, who resigned because of the press of his career as an attorney.

Moore told the aldermen he considers it "a very great honor to have been selected by you gentlemen to follow Mr. Henry Troutman."

The liquor-licensing talk revolved around Ald. Milton Farris' proposal to create a central downtown "whisky district" where any qualified person who wanted to could obtain a city license to operate a retail whisky store.

AMENDMENT PLANNED

The board finally approved by a 9-5 vote Farris' request that he be allowed to withdraw the proposal in order to "make corrections" necessitated by recent developments in the liquor controversy on the Atlanta and state scene.

But he warned he still considers it the "only effective" proposal yet offered to remove liquor-licensing "from political control" and to break up lucrative liquor monopolies.

Farris said he disagrees with Mayor Allen's position that present liquor store licenseholders, such as some in low-volume downtown locations, should be given first crack at transferring into outlying sections and providing competition for high-volume stores. He said a new applicant ought to have just as much chance.

City Comptroller Earl Landers is the leading candidate for the new post.

City Throws Out Segregation Laws

12-17-63 (Sun)

Atlanta aldermen have swept the city law books clean of "dead letter" segregation laws.

A blanket repealing ordinance offered Monday by Alderman Ed A. Gilliam invalidates "all ordinances which require the separation of persons because of race, color or creed."

The ordinance passed unanimously.

SOME OF the segregation ordinances, like the one affecting city transit passengers, had long since been invalidated by action of the federal courts.

And others apparently have not been enforced.

However, the repealing ordinance was offered, in the words of City Atty. Henry Bowden, as an "affirmative action" to remove any doubt about the validity of the laws.

MR. BOWDEN cited some of the segregation ordinances which were repealed:

—A law which forbade Negro barbers to cut the hair of white women.

—A law which said that persons seated in a place of assembly must be separated by race.

—A law which said amateur baseball players of one race must not play within two blocks of players of the other race.

—A law which required that barber shops post signs to indicate whether they are serving white or Negro patrons.

—A law forbidding wine or beer establishments to serve white and Negro patrons in the same room.

OTHER NOW-REPEALED ordinances cited by Mr. Bowden:

—A law which denied Negroes access to "white" public parks, save that part of Grant Park occupied by the zoo.

—A law prohibiting persons of one race to occupy seats in any place of assembly which had been designated for occupancy of the other race.

—A law stating that taxicabs must display signs showing whether they serve white or Negro patrons.

—A law requiring segregation of the races on transit buses.

—A law requiring separate seating of the races in theaters.

Master Plan On Hospitals Sought Here

By EDWINA DAVIS

The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., has recommended "immediate action be taken to develop a master plan for the orderly growth and expansion of hospitals and related health services and facilities in the metropolitan Atlanta area."

The council made the recommendation in its recently released report on a study of general hospital services.

The council previously released study reports on rehabilitative services, the chronically ill and aged, education and research in health and mental health services.

The most recent study was concerned with general hospital facilities and services in the five-county metropolitan Atlanta area. Along with the other studies, it provides "the first step in developing a master plan for hospitals and related services."

THE REPORT notes that general hospitals here confined their services mainly to general medicine, surgery and obstetrics for the short-term patient. Only two hospitals have psychiatric case units and only one has a special service for long-term chronically ill patients.

PENDING completion of a master plan for the orderly growth and expansion of hospitals and related health services and facilities, the council recommended that:

(1) Suburban hospitals continue to provide "normal" hospital service and that downtown hospital concentrate on specialized facilities and services such as units for the mentally ill and chronically ill.

(2) All hospitals in the five-county area strive toward a uniform system of record keeping which would facilitate sound planning.

(3) Plans be made for "logical groups" of hospitals in the five-county area to work out a coordinated system for education programs and in-service training of personnel and research.

(4) Some criteria relating to proprietory hospitals be developed.

(5) At least one of the general hospitals in the Atlanta area expand with the progressive care concept. This concept involves six elements—intensive care, intermediate care, self-care, long-term care, home-care and outpatient care.

(6) An educational program be initiated to demonstrate the effectiveness of trained social workers in hospitals.

(7) Admission policies be liberalized to provide community-wide services to all segments of the population.

(8) Inpatient and outpatient psychiatric services be established in some community hospitals; the number of beds in at least one such facility be not less than the number approved for a psychiatric residency in order to provide training of personnel.

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
2150 Monterey Dr. N. W.
Atlanta 18, Ga.

FACTS

Published by

League of Women Voters of Atlanta

VOL. XXXVI DECEMBER, 1963 No. 6

WHAT ABOUT THE LEAGUE AND CIVIL RIGHTS?

Friends and members of the League have been asking, "What about the League and Civil Rights?"

Last summer, Mrs. Phillips, president of the League of Women Voters of the United States, attended a conference at the White House called by President Kennedy to discuss the Civil Rights situation. As a result of this meeting, Mrs. Phillips wrote the following letter to the President:

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I see in the papers that various organizations are writing to tell you what they plan to do as a result of your conference on civil rights last Tuesday and are taking the opportunity to let you know some of the things they are already doing in this general area. I should like to do this too, but before I do so please let me express my appreciation to you for calling the conference, for bestowing on it the prestige that meeting in the White House confers on such occasions and for giving us the opportunity to hear from one another and thus to build the mutual confidence that will be needed as we go to work in our own communities.

Over the years many of our Leagues have worked in the field of civil and political rights and in related areas such as schools, housing, etc. Leagues in many states have worked to improve election laws including work to outlaw the poll tax.

As part of their service to voters some Leagues where there are complicated literacy requirements for voting have given explicit information on how to prepare for the tests; Leagues have waged registration drives and have supplied information on times and places to register in communities where this information has not been broadcast generally.

Published February, April, June, August, October and December by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta. Publishing Headquarters—1036 Peachtree St., N.E., Atlanta 9, Ga. Entered as second class matter at Atlanta, Ga., under Act of March 3, 1879, League membership: $5.00, which includes subscription to FACTS. President, Mrs. David J. Edwards, Jr., Editor, this issue, Mrs. John Glustrom

Leagues in communities in the south have frequently taken effective action to insure that the schools remain open; Leagues have also worked for the establishment of Human Rights Commissions and individual members have served on them.

To step up the work at the grass roots level we recently sent a memorandum to all of our local Leagues suggesting areas in which they might wish to go to work. Our first suggestion was a community survey — a Know Your Community in the Field of Race Relations — as a logical first step before deciding on a course of action. We provided a list of questions to which Leagues might find the answers and, as we are aware that discrimination is not confined to the south, we included questions for communities where there are no racial minorities suggesting that Leagues find out what the barriers might be. (A copy of the questions is enclosed.)

Our second suggestion was a stepped-up program of Voters Service. We asked "Has the League made the effort it could to reach **all** sections of the community with its Voters Service materials? Is it reaching those in the community who need clear cut information on how and where to register to vote? Will there be an opportunity for League members to be poll watchers to insure that there be no infringement of the law at the polls? Could the League make a special effort to establish classes on how to operate a voting machine?"

We also pointed out that it was perfectly possible for the League to work in the field of civil and political rights legislatively if they go through the usual careful League process of study, discussion, consensus and action. In fact, as I mentioned earlier, some Leagues are working on these matters on the local and state level. To go into new areas involving legislation would be for the long-term future. At the present time because we have not given this matter sustained attention on a nationwide basis we are unable as an organization to support civil rights legislation now before the Congress. We are confident, however, that many of our members as individuals will express themselves to their Congressmen on this issue and we are providing resumes of the various proposals for their use.

As we hear from our local Leagues on what they are doing we shall keep Mrs. Peterson informed. We hope the League can make a contribution in this present crisis and that by constructive action at the local level we can help the country move forward in the field of civil, political, and human rights.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Robert J. Phillips
President

Mrs. Phillips' letter furnishes the answer to those who have not understood why the League has taken no stand on various phases of the civil rights question per se, either nationally or locally. In general, it also points out those areas in which many Leagues, including the Atlanta League, have made a contribution to progress toward equal opportunities for all.

In connection with Mrs. Phillips' suggestion for a community survey on race relations, the Atlanta League Board explored the possibility and found that much detailed study is already being done by various organizations directly concerned. Some of these, though by no means all, are the Georgia and Atlanta Councils on Human Relations, the Society of Friends, the Southern Regional Council, and the AFL-CIO. Because these studies are on a continuing basis, with statistics changing constantly, no definitive figures can be usefully quoted. However, information of general interest concerning developments in Atlanta may be pertinent.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The story on public accommodation and employment changes from day to day. In the Spring of 1963, a publication of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations indicated that a certain number of hotels had agreed to admit Negroes as a percentage of total convention groups, and that several restaurants agreed to desegregate. More recently, at least sixteen hotels and motels announced that their accommodations and services would be available to all, without restriction. Some of the restaurants agreeing in 1963 to desegregate have apparently reverted to their previous policy but others have continued to accept without question anyone who comes in. Restaurants in department stores and lunch counters in drug stores remain open to all.

EMPLOYMENT

According to the Atlanta Constitution of December 7, 1963, 1,816 Negroes are now employed in 16 Atlanta stores, including some department stores. This figure includes 256 employees whose jobs have been upgraded and 253 who are employed as sales persons.

This picture of employment also is an ever-changing one. However, the Atlanta League has always worked actively for open schools and quality education, and it is quite evident at this time that the total employment picture will in the long run depend on the improved educational equipment of the employee. Of special interest to our membership should be the situation in the public schools.

EDUCATION

In September, 1963, there were 153 Negro pupils in grades 9 through 12 in desegregated schools. (The total enrollment in the Atlanta schools in 1962 was 110,620, of which 47% was Negro.) Those pupils in high school upper grades who wish to transfer must apply in May. In April and May, 1964, elementary school principals and the teachers of the 7th grades will ascertain pupil preferences for the schools to which they wish to be assigned. These requests will be granted when the student desires to attend the school nearest to his home, without consideration of race. If pupils request entrance to schools farther from their homes, the decision to accept them will be made by the principals of those schools on the basis of availability of space and transportation. No formal application will be necessary.

There is pending before the United States Supreme Court at this time a suit in which the plaintiffs state, in substance, that real integration has not been achieved in Atlanta and requesting that the process be speeded up. The plan now in effect, approved by a Federal District court, integrates one additional grade each school year.

The Smith-Hughes Vocational School and Carver High School are both desegregated. Other vocational programs under the Manpower Development Training Program of the U. S. Department of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship Training are available to persons, regardless of race.

The Manpower Development Act of 1962 authorizes the training of "unemployed and underemployed persons in occupations in which there is reasonable expectation of future employment." Workers are trained only in occupations in which vacancies are available.

At the present time there is a class for automobile mechanics helpers, which is open to anyone who can pass a general aptitude test, is a head of a household and has had three years' work experience. There is a training allowance of $29.00 a week. A class for Hotel and Restaurant Cooks is in operation for youths from 16 to 22 years of age. In the courses for youth, academic training is given first because the only requirement is a third grade education. After this, students branch out into various fields of vocational training according to their achievement and ability. Training allowances of $15.00 a week are given to students between 19 and 21 years of age. A Youth class is pending for hospital work which will be open to 100 students who will be trained as nurses aides, orderlies, maids, janitors or diet kitchen helpers. Other courses are presently in the planning stages. The State Vocational Education Department has authorized the Vocational Departments of Atlanta and Fulton County to plan 26 or more adult courses and 22 more for youth. These will cover such subjects as airconditioning, auto body work, clerk-stenographers, duplicating machines, key punch operators, to name but a few.

The Georgia State Employment Service acts as the referral agency for the Manpower Act, recommending students to the Atlanta Department of Education, which sets up the courses, conducts the training and returns the students to the Employment Service for placement.

In 1963 Grady Hospital accepted a Negro intern and the Atlanta Speech School accepted a Negro student. All academic schools and colleges of higher learning in Atlanta, both public and private, are open to qualified applicants regardless of race.

VOTER REGISTRATION

As of September 9, 1963, there were 138,754 people registered to vote in the City of Atlanta (95,032 white and 43,722 Negro). Outside Atlanta in Fulton County there were 35,111 white people registered and 1,717 Negro.

Upon the request of one of the Negro voters groups, and with the concurrence of the League, the Fulton County Registrar's office has been open until nine o'clock every Friday night since November 1. Following are the figures for four Friday nights:

	Registered	White	Negro
November 8	121	10	111
November 15	131	77	54
November 29	38	18	20
December 6	83	41	42

The League has always worked to increase voter registration.

The County Commissioners, in approving the 1964 budget, appropriated $12,924 to provide a field registration unit. In speaking at the public budget hearing, the League spoke for this item and praised the County Registrar for night registration and registration of high school students.

The new program establishes a field registration that will register eligible students, provide night neighborhood registration services, and canvass areas which have a large concentration of people, through plants, office buildings or shopping centers. This new registration method, which the League endorses, should greatly increase registration from its present less-than-50% of potential voters in all parts of the county.

WHAT NOW?

What does the Atlanta League plan for the future? In this year of important elections, we shall endeavor to reach as many non-registered potential voters as possible in all segments of the public and provide them with information encouraging them to qualify to vote; we shall assemble facts, as inclusive and unbiased as possible, on candidates and issues and make this information available to as broad an audience as we can; we shall continue working for and watching out for what we conceive to be the best interests of all citizens of Atlanta and Fulton County, in those matters on which our membership is informed and in agreement.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code) 1. Date of Filing, Sept. 26, 1963. 2. Title of Publication, Facts. 3. Frequency of Issue, Bi Monthly. 4. Location of known office of publication (Street, city, county, state, zip code), 1036 Peachtree St., N.E., Suite 114, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers (Not printers), 1036 Peachtree St., N.E., Suite 114, Atlanta, Georgia 30309. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor—Publisher (Name and address) League of Women Voters of Atlanta; Editor (Name and address) for June 1963, Mrs. Paul R. Barber, 4400 E. Brookhaven Drive, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30319; Managing Editor (Name and address) Mrs. David J. Edwards, Jr., 43 Lafayette Drive, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30309, Pres., LWV. 7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) League of Women Voters is not a corporation, not individually owned and not a partnership or other unincorporated firm. It is a non-profit making organization. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 per cent or more of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or other Securities (If there are none, so state). There are no bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders of the League of Women Voters. 9. Paragraphs 7 and 8 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. Names and addresses of individuals who are stockholders of a corporation which itself is a stockholder or holder of bonds, mortgages of the publishing corporation have been included in paragraphs 7 and 8 when the interests of such individuals are equivalent to 1 percent or more of the total amount of the stock or securities of the publishing corporation. 10. This item must be completed for all publications except those which do not carry advertising other than the publisher's own and which are named in sections 132.231, 132.232, and 132.233, Postal Manual (Section 4355a, 4355b, and 4356 of Title 39, United States Code. A. Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)—Average No. copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 2,200; Single issue nearest to filing date, 2,200. 2. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise—Average No. Copies each Issue during preceding 12 months, None; Single Issue nearest to Filing Date, None. D. Total of Copies Distributed—Average No. Copies each issue during preceding 12 months, 1,319; Single Issue nearest to Filing Date, 1,319.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
Anna L. Dodd, Executive Secretary

Negroes 40.1 Per Cent Of Atlanta Population

1-3-64

The latest official population estimates indicate that Negroes now make up 40.1 per cent of the population of the City of Atlanta, or two-tenths of 1 per cent more than a year before.

The estimates are those put out annually by the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission, both for the city and for the five-county Standard Metropolitan Area.

The estimates give the city a 1963 population of 510,500. Since the MPC estimates the proportion of Negroes is 40.1 per cent, the indication is there are 204,710 Negroes and 305,790 whites living in the city.

The proportion of Negroes in the city's population rose from 39.9 per cent in 1962 to 40.1 per cent in 1963, the MPC reported.

THE INCREASE in the number of Negroes living in the city was in line with the trend in recent years.

It is a trend which has provoked some community leaders to urge that the city annex new territory. The argument: That annexing predominantly white suburban areas will head off any unhealthy imbalance in the city's racial makeup.

In this connection, the MPC reports that the proportion of Negroes in the population of the over-all metropolitan area apparently continued its usual trend to decline.

The estimated 1963 proportion of Negroes in the metropolitan population is 22.4 per cent. It was 22.8 per cent in 1962.

And the trend has been downward continuously since 1900, when the proportion of Negroes in the five counties was 33.6 per cent.

The latest report by the MPC covers official population estimates for the over-all Metropolitan area, for the five counties which comprise that area, and for the 45 municipalities in that area.

However, these population figures were made public last Sept. 1, prior to the formulation of the detailed report.

The estimated population for the metropolitan area is 1,117,000.

Jobless Here Reach A Low, Allen Says

Mayor Ivan Allen says Atlanta is approaching an "irreducible minimum" in unemployment and the people are enjoying their prosperity as never before.

The mayor delivered what he termed an answer to "extremists" who charge Atlanta is not living up to the obligations of a great city.

In a speech to the Northside Kiwanis Club, Allen said 21,000 new jobs during the first 11 months of 1963 plunged Atlanta's unemployment figure to 2.9 per cent of the labor force, while the national jobless rate rose to 5.9 per cent.

MAYOR EXPLAINS

"Our unemployment figure has almost reached the irreducible minimum," declared the mayor.

(A U.S. Labor Department spokesman here said Atlanta's unemployment is lower than could be expected. The spokesman refrained from using the term "irreducible minimum," but said 3 per cent unemployment would be considered a "minimum in a free and dynamic economy for Atlanta which is a diversified industrial community.")

Allen said Atlanta, the 24th largest city in the nation, ranked sixth last year in the number of new homes.

GOOD HOMES STRESSED

"If there is a basis for good citizenship," he declared, "it is good homes and the opportunity to enjoy them."

The mayor added, "The city of Atlanta has enjoyed the greatest year of success. By every yardstick or measurement, we are enjoying the greatest period of prosperity the city has ever had."

Allen cited a list of statistics to back up his contention—new construction above the $100 million mark for the second straight year, retail sales up 7 per cent, an increase of more than $2 million in municipal revenue and a fatter city surplus at the end of the year.

INTERRUPTED ONCE

The mayor was interrupted once by applause. That was when he declared, "The downtown expressway will be completed and opened to the general public" this year.

Atlanta is at a peak, said Allen, "because courageous people faced up to" the racial crisis that has set back many other cities.

1-7-64
Const

Eugene Patterson

Atlanta and The Negro

For a very long time the white community of Atlanta condemned the Negroes for demonstrating and demanded that they take a quieter and more reasonable approach to racial problems. So they did.

The Negro community united under leadership of A. T. Walden and Clarence Coleman, and proposed to supplant conflict and crisis with calm negotiations around the conference table.

In the months since this widely applauded move was made, the leadership of the white community has declared itself as favoring an end to many of the discriminatory practices the Negroes find humiliating—particularly discrimination in the basic human necessities of food and shelter.

* * *

But restaurant and hotel owners held the power of decision. There is not yet a public accommodations law to require them to desegregate. There is not yet a storm of direct action by the Negroes seeking to compel them to desegregate.

There is only the quiet voice of the Chamber of Commerce, the mayor, the Retail Merchants Assn., the Fulton County Commission, 200 clergymen, the Board of Aldermen and many other bodies, public and private, assuring the owners that the leadership of this city supports them in ending discrimination and coaxing them, for the good of the city, to go ahead.

Many of the owners haven't bothered.

The bulk of Atlanta's leadership, while trying to shield them from Negro pressures, has done everything it can to encourage and assist them in the change.

Now the hour is fast approaching when the leadership must turn and try to shield the city.

Atlanta doesn't want demonstrations. But the positions of Mr. Walden and Mr. Coleman are deteriorating rapidly because they have been unable to do at the conference table what the demonstrators want to do in the streets.

The ground is being cut out from under opponents of the federal public accommodations bill because these owners will not do voluntarily what civil rights advocates want to do in Congress.

* * *

The Negroes of Atlanta extended the hand of good faith, and the white leadership of Atlanta tried to respond. But the key decisions—those affecting public accommodations—have been withheld.

Everything has been done that can be done to help these owners. Now if they are ever going to shoulder their responsibility to help the city in return, it had better be immediate; time has run out for the moderate Negro leaders who didn't think Atlanta would let them down.

Allen Pledges Law If Integration Lags

By MARION GAINES 1-7-64

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. told Atlanta aldermen Monday that he will call on them in 1964 to enact a public accommodations ordinance if "the elimination of discrimination" is not accomplished through "voluntary action."

The mayor, delivering his annual State-of-the-City message to the aldermanic board, also pledged to seek expansion of Atlanta's city limits by annexation.

In addition, Allen declared "material progress" had been made "for the first time in the past 12 years" toward correcting liquor licensing abuses and pledged to continue the cleanup in the coming year.

URGES STRONG LAW

He urged aldermen to adopt "a strong ordinance that will eliminate possible conflict of interest from the deliberations of the mayor and Board of Aldermen."

The board's annual reorganization session also saw Allen appoint members to the 22 aldermanic committees for 1964.

New chairmen were named by the mayor for eight committees. In the major changes, Ald. Milton Farris will become chairman of the Police Committee, replacing Ald. Ed Gilliam, chairman for the past 16 years; Ald. Rodney Cook will be chairman of the Planning and Zoning Committee, replacing Ald. Charlie Leftwich, and Gilliam will take over from Farris as chairman of the Public Works Committee No. 1.

Committee appointments listed, Page 3; Mayor urges action on sewers, Page 17.

BEAMS AT GAINS

In his address, Mayor Allen said the city could "look back with pride upon the achievements of 1963"—especially in

Continued on Page 11, Column 2

Mayor Pledges Law If Integration Lags

Continued From Page 1

the fields of public housing; elimination of discrimination in city-government employment, slum clearance, new construction projects and airport improvements.

The launching of plans for a new auditorium and a municipal sports stadium, along with expressway and street improvements, also were cited by Allen as accomplishments last year.

Vice Mayor Sam Massell Jr., in a brief speech, looked back on the old year with a view that was considerably less rosy than Allen's.

THROWS COLD WATER

Massell said he felt 1962 and 1963 were a "part of our history which I think we, individually, must agree has been somewhat disappointing."

"Two years ago," he said, "the citizens of Atlanta inscribed upon the voting booth walls their mandate for elimination of racial discrimination, for construction of an auditorium and a performing arts center, for completion of the expressways and development of a sports stadium."

"To date, we have done lots of planning but little in production," said Massell, urging his colleagues to adopt a "spirit of unification" and to "go forward now with construction of the physical facilities and demolition of the moral barriers."

MAYOR NOTES PROGRESS

In the area of race relations, Mayor Allen said progress had been made but it was now necessary "that we complete the elimination of all remaining racial discrimination in public accommodations."

"No longer can any business that seeks the public's patronage justify a position that it can refuse service to any portion of the public on the basis of race," said Allen.

The public accommodations challenge, he said, "furnishes us with a great opportunity to present an inspiring Atlanta image to all the world by doing this voluntarily."

If the challenge is not met through "voluntary action," he said, "then I intend to give further support to the civil rights public accommodations bill before Congress.

And Allen also said he would press the aldermanic board "to find legal ways to enact an ordinance to eliminate all discrimination in public accommodations on a local basis."

Regarding annexation, the mayor said, "The year 1964 should mark an expansion of our city. We pledge ourselves to attempt to carry out such a program."

Allen said he intends this year to "recommend to the Board of Aldermen and furnish plans for consideration of expanding the city limits of Atlanta and annexing additional territory that would be beneficial both to the city and to the residents of the annexed areas."

He said he will do this by "utilizing the services of the Metropolitan Planning Commission, the area chambers of commerce and prominent citizen civic groups."

He said he hopes that possible annexation can be determined "on the basis of what is most beneficial to all" and that it will not degenerate "into the usual political conflicts."

The aldermanic board was urged by Allen "to reconsider its action of last month when it voted down a proposed conflict of interest ordinance."

"Election to public office carries with it the obligation of public trust," said Allen, "so it behooves all of us who hold public office not only to avoid any wrongdoing but also to avoid the possibility of any appearance of wrongdoing."

The mayor said a "dedicated public officeholder, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion . . . to avoid suspicion, he must be free from even the hint of possible conflict of interest between his personal affairs and his official duties."

Regarding the city's liquor controversy, Allen said Atlanta began 1963 "with liquor conditions which had been in existence and neglected by the city and state governments and in general by the people of Atlanta since 1951."

He said a March 1951 report by the Fulton County Grand Jury set forth "under almost exactly the same ownership that continued to exist in 1963, the problems of ward courtesy, multiple ownership, real estate holdings and isolated high-volume stores enjoying a cloak of noncompetitive protection."

Progress toward cleaning up the liquor situation was made in 1963 "for the first time in the past 12 years," he said, declaring that ward courtesy "has been eliminated."

"The necessary divestitures to eliminate large family control or multiple ownership have been promptly and completely carried out," he said. "The leasing of retail whisky stores is now done on a fair and impartial basis and in no instance represents ownership in the store."

FAIRNESS URGED

In the coming year, he said, "there must be a freedom of transfer and fairness in issuing new licenses to provide competition for those 20 isolated high volume stores that have enjoyed immunity from competition."

On other topics, the mayor made these points:

1. The new $9 million auditorium — "This administration will continue to exert every effort to cut through red tape . . . to prevent delays" so it can be "rushed to completion."

2. Downtown Expressway connector — "I am confident that it will be in full use by mid-1964."

3. Obtaining a rapid transit system—"Only in this way can Atlanta be saved from strangulation by sheer volume of vehicles."

4. Urban renewal — "Federal financial assistance has been requested for four major new urban renewal projects," including a 98-acre Buttermilk Bottoms project embracing a 31-acre site for the new auditorium.

5. Sports stadium—The Atlanta-Fulton County Recreation Authority, headed by Arthur L. Montgomery, chairman, and Mills B. Lane, finance chairman, expects in late February "to receive bids for construction . . . and to be able to award the contracts shortly thereafter."

6. Public housing—In 1963, contracts for public housing units were let "for the first time since 1954" and in the coming year "contracts will be let for 850 additional units of public housing."

When the present program is completed, said Allen, the city will have more than 9,000 occupied units—more than such comparable sized cities as Memphis, Dallas, Cincinnati, Seattle, Denver, Minneapolis and Kansas City.

THE OTHER SIDE: AN AREA STUDY 1-8-64 Metro Herald weekly

Seemingly Lack of Concern, Inaction by City Causing Exodus of White Citizens

In the Sept. 11, 1963 issue of the *Metropolitan Herald*, a news story was published giving for the first time in public print the facts regarding the continued loss of white population by the City of Atlanta. Official figures from the U. S. Department of Commerce Census Bureau was used in the article which showed that from 1957 through 1962 Atlanta lost 29,305 white residents while gaining 40,805 Negro residents, and that the Negro population had reach the 40% mark.

This fact was ignored publicly by city officials and Chamber of Commerce leaders until mid-December when a Chamber of Commerce executiv publicly admitted these facts. Early last week, Mayor Allen also publicly admitted the truth. However, in both instances these leaders proclaimed that annexation of white suburban areas was the only salvation if Atlanta is to maintain a white majority.

There was no proposal, no suggestion or no appeal to white residents within the city to remain. Yet, these officials well know that in certain sections of the city the exodus is continuing and will continue unless some consessions are made to white residentts in those areas. The silence by these two high spokesman seem to indicate that it does not matter if these 8 to 10,000 white residents move on out of the city.

In this first of a new series of articles, the Metropolitan Herald expects to point out how little effort it will take city officials to prevent the additional loss of tthese fine white citizens.

What causes long established useful and loyal white citizens of Atlanta to move outside the city limits? This is a question that should greatly concern the city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, businessmen, merchants, civic leaders and church leaders.

What can be done legally and without great cost to prevnt this exodus of white citiizens which has been going on for some years and is conttinuing?

Let us look at one area which is being threatened and se why? And listen to the answer of the residents themselves.

The area under study in the first article is roughly bounded on the west by Oakdale Road (formerly Whiteford), on the north by Ponce de Leon, on the south by DeKalb Avenue and on the east by Ridgedale Road and the City of Decatur

Within this area is Mary Lynn elementary school, Epworth Methodist Church, Candler Park Baptist Church, and Clifton Presbyterian Church.

Last summer a majority of the white residents of the area petition the city government to close down the swimming pool in Candler Park because of the conditionis which existed thre after the city pools were integrated. Many incidents occured at the pool that alarmed the nearby white residents. In 1962, before integration therre werre 27,121 admissions tto tthe pool. In 1963 there were 6,695 admissions of which only some 750 were white swimmers. The rowdiness that went on at the pools in 1963 caused the protests.

Now if the City of Atlanta wants to save the white residents in this area, all it has to do is close the pool.

This would be a small price to pay to prevent a general exodus of whites from this area. If this is not done at the start of next summer's swimming season then this entire area of several thousand white citizens will be lost.

When this area is lost to the white citizens, then the area from Oakdale Road, Euclid Avenue to Moreland and across Moreland to little Five Points, up Ponce de Leon to North Highland all the way to the Southern Railroad near Sears will eventually be lost to white residents. That has been the case history in other sections of the city in prior years.

Closing of the Candler Park swimming pool would be a small price indeed to save for the city 10,000 white residents. If it isn't done, then the exodus of whites in these areas and other sections will continue.

Homeowners in the area are quite frank about it. "Close the pool or we are going to move out of the city," is what a great majority of them told a Herald reporter.

What will Mayor Allen and the city aldermanic board do? Only time will tell.

14 Hotels, Motels Desegregate Here

1-11-64

By HAL GULLIVER

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. Friday announced the desegregation of 14 major hotels and motels.

The hotels and motels will "in accordance with usual hotel practices . . . honor all reservations regardless of race, creed or color," the mayor said in a statement authorized by hotel and motel representatives.

Hotels and motels announcing the policy are the Air Host Inn, Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel, Atlantan Hotel, Atlanta Biltmore, Atlanta Cabana, Dinkler Plaza, Hilton Inn, Howard Johnson's South Expressway, Howard Johnson's Northeast Expressway, Howard Johnson's Northwest Expressway, Peachtree Manor, Piedmont Hotel, Riviera Motel and the Marriott Motor Hotel (still under construction). Holiday Inns

MAYOR CONFERS

The decision to desegregate came after the mayor and other civic leaders met with hotel, motel and restaurant representatives Thursday.

Several of the hotels and motels involved were already accepting Negro guests, though in most cases without any public announcement.

Thursday's meeting was called at the request of Mayor Allen. About 35 hotel and motel representatives and more than 100 restaurant men attended.

NO CAFE ACTION

No action has been taken by restaurant operators as a group, the mayor said.

"I am only authorized to say that the Restaurant Association has urged its members to consider the facts that were brought out yesterday and to search their hearts, minds and consciences and make their own

Continued on Page 5, Column 2

14 Hotels, Motels Desegregate Here

Continued From Page 1

decision as to what their future course of action will be," Allen said.

The statement authorized by hotel and motel representatives noted that many establishments "have been following this practice for several months, without publicity, in accordance with the request of the Summit Conference."

Desegregation of hotels was one request made by Atlanta Negro leaders in November. The "summit" group was formed by nine civil rights organizations here.

Civic leaders representing the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, the Fulton County legislative delegation, the Atlanta Council of Churches, the Atlanta Board of Education and other groups took part in Thursday's meeting.

"I joined with the major religious, education and civic groups in urging operators of Atlanta's hotels and restaurants to eliminate all types of racial discrimination in the conduct of their business," the mayor said.

The strong support given to this effort by local civic groups, Allen continued, "is another indication of the tremendous vitality of the Atlanta people in working together to solve a difficult racial problem."

Restaurant and hotel representatives held separate closed meetings Thursday after the joint meeting with Mayor Allen and other civic leaders.

Mayor Allen praised the action by hotels and motels as a step forward for Atlanta.

"The city has been materially aided in the effort to eliminate discrimination by the action of these 14 major facilities in agreeing to open their doors to the general public without discriminatory practices," Allen said.

Speakers at the Thursday meeting of the hotel and restaurant association in addition to Mayor Allen were: Dr. Robert E. Lee, president of the Atlanta Council of Churches; Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, The Temple; Rawson Haverty, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce; Oby T. Brewer Jr., president of the Atlanta Board of Education; Hamilton Douglas, chairman of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee; Rep. Jack Etheridge, Fulton County delegation; and Mrs. Betty Vinson, Women for Progress, representing a number of women's organizations.

Value of Cooperation, Not Conflict Is Proved at Last in Atlanta

Atlanta rose at last Friday to the challenge of A. T. Walden and his Negro summit group. By conference and cooperation, not conflict, the 14 principal hotels and motels publicly announced an outright end to racial discrimination.

This breakthrough was a great victory not only for Mr. Walden and the united Negro community in their quiet (though firmly backed) approach, but for the reasoning white community and the hotel men themselves, who were freed at last from the trap of fear.

Mayor Ivan Allen also deserves great credit for his forthright leadership in bringing the issue, which the Negro summit group developed, to a peaceful decision.

The greatest single gain of Mr. Walden's let-us-reason approach was dramatically made clear Thursday when the top business, religious, civic and governmental leadership of Atlanta joined with Mayor Allen in urging the public accommodations proprietors to go ahead and desegregate.

With such united white backing, the united Negro cause gained a strength that no street demonstration could have yielded. Suddenly this was not a minority attacking against resistance, but a majority moving forward together.

This is the great gain the Negro summit leadership has achieved. And because it is rooted in cooperation, not conflict, it will yield fruits of mutual trust and good faith that will nourish Atlanta.

We are proud of the hotel owners and the whole white community for responding to the reasonable Negro approach—and we congratulate the Negro direct action groups (who realized that power is most classically used by being understood instead of expressed) for restraining themselves and giving the good-faith approach time to work. They now see that it will work in Atlanta.

We trust today's Negro summit meeting will recognize the value and correctly assess the gains of their cooperative approach, and continue to channel their efforts in this peaceful way.

The restaurants which disappointingly have not ended discrimination now stand alone, and so surely will not stand long in the way of progress that all other public accommodations—from hotels to theaters—have opened up for Atlanta.

The restaurant men have been asked to conduct a search of their consciences. With the white as well as the Negro leadership of Atlanta now united in asking them to end discrimination, and with many desegregated restaurants already pioneering the way unhurt, we believe these restaurant owners will find in their consciences not only a justification but a requirement to join the city's nearly completed march to a just and better day. It is time for them to decide.

1-16-64

2 More Big Motels Desegregate Here

Holiday Inns on the Northwest Expressway and on Piedmont Avenue desegregated Wednesday bringing to 16 the number of major hotels and motels in the area to lower racial barriers within the past week.

At the same time, seven students were fined $15 each on disorderly conduct charges in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations. An eighth student had posted a $15 collateral bond and did not appear in court.

The students sat in at a segregated downtown restaurant Friday.

MUST HAVE LIST

In another development, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. told the Ku Klux Klan it must provide a list of its members and other information before the city would consider a Klan request to hold a march rally in Atlanta's Hurt Park.

The Klan sought permission to use Hurt Park after several integration organizations, led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., held a rally there in December.

WOULD KEEP SECRET

Allen said the information about the Klan would be treated as confidential by city officials.

In a letter to Calvin F. Craig, Georgia's grand dragon, Allen asked if the United Klans of America was a "successor or in any way associated with" organizations on the U.S. attorney general's list of subversive groups.

The mayor said if it was, the Klan request would not receive favorable consideration.

Race Barrier Days Past, Jenkins Says

1-17-64

By WALTER RUGABER

Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins said Thursday that "the time has long since passed when a person can be denied any public or official right or privileges because he happens to be a Negro."

Chief Jenkins

The chief expressed his views during a panel discussion at the Luthern Church of the Redeemer. His appearance was part of a "home missions program" sponsored by the Lutheran Church Women.

He took the occasion to expand on his previous explanations of the police department's new approach to antisegregation demonstrations. Reading from a prepared text, the chief said:

"I believe the time has come when a person who is in business and has a government-issued license to serve the public cannot refuse to serve all the public, regardless of race, creed or color.

"Now this is not my idea, but it appears to be the idea of Chief Justice Warren and the U.S. Supreme Court—and certainly President Johnson and Mayor Ivan Allen have said this very thing, and I subscribe to it 100 per cent."

AN ARREST is only part of law enforcement, the chief said. The other part, he continued, is "a follow-through and action by the courts." But Chief Jenkins declared that:

"If, for any reason, the courts do not support the police in making an arrest, then the police are in error and must govern themselves accordingly.

"Great efforts have been made to enforce segregation by the use of the so-called trespass law.

"This is a good law and should be left on the books, but I do not believe it can be lawfully used to enforce segregation, and the local courts appear to agree with this. . . ."

CHIEF JENKINS pointed out that only two of more than 400 sit-in cases filed in the past few years have been prosecuted in Atlanta courts.

"Under these circumstances," Chief Jenkins declared, "the police have no choice except to say to merchants:

" 'If you wish to use the trespass law as a subterfuge to enforce segregation, you must first make affidavits and obtain warrants and prosecute these cases in court.' "

"Very few businessmen," the chief said, "are willing to do this."

A few restaurant owners have sought warrants for the arrest of sit-in demonstrators during the past week. Previously, police made arrests on their own.

The panel on which Chief Jenkins appeared was moderated by Eugene Patterson, editor of The Atlanta Constitution. Other participants were Dr. Rual W. Stephens, deputy superintendent of the Atlanta public schools, and Dr. Robert E. Lee, pastor of the church at which the session was held.

Subject of the discussion was "The Changing City and Its Challenge."

5 Negroes Join K of C In Augusta

1-17-64

An Augusta council of the Knights of Columbus has accepted five Negroes into membership.

The council is the first of the Catholic fraternal organizations in Georgia to desegregate.

In support of the Augusta council's action, State Deputy Bernard S. Dunstan has transferred his membership to the desegregated chapter ,the recently formed John F. Kennedy Council 5484.

2 HOLD OFFICES

Two of the five Negroes hold offices in the Augusta council. They were identified in the Thursday edition of The Georgia Bulletin, official organ of the Roman Catholic Archdocese of Atlanta, s William A. Brown, recording secretary, and Leroy Williams, fraternal activity chairman.

The other three Negroes among 63 candidates advanced to knighthood are Charles E. Heard, E. L. Drumgold and William A. Baker.

In an editorial, the newspaper said, "There is nothing fraternal about discrimination. Knights of Columbus should be the first to understand this."

ATLANTA PRODDED

The newspaper also urged Atlanta area councils to follow the example of the Augusta chapter and "openly invite and welcome Negro members "into the presently all-white councils.

The newspaper also noted in an accompanying editorial that it had "lost one of our few advertisers this week" because of its out-spoken policy of desegregation.

Persons who refuse to hear any side of an argument but their own, the bulletin said, "are nearly always the same ones who condemn Negro boycotts o fsegregated businesses, labeling them un-American and Communist inspired."

Allen Puts Negro in Judgeship

1-28-64

A. T. Walden, a Negro attorney and civil rights leader, was named by Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. Monday to serve as a standby judge for both the Municipal Court and the Traffic Court of Atlanta.

Walden is believed to be the first member of his race appointed to a city judicial post.

Walden was first considered for the position of traffic court solicitor to succeed Joe Browne, who was sworn in by Allen Monday as a new associate judge of the Municipal Court traffic division. But Walden, who is 78 and has retired from active legal practice, said he didn't wish to take on the fulltime duties of the solicitor's office.

Walden will substitute as needed for the regular judges of Municipal Court (both general and traffic divisions) and the Traffic Court of Atlanta, which handles state traffic offenses within the city.

Mayor Allen also announced the appointment of Carson Shaffer, now assistant traffic court solicitor, to succeed Browne as solicitor. New assistant solicitor will be Paul Walker, director of the traffic court's violations bureau.

Walden is a native of Fort Valley and graduate of Atlanta University and the University of Michigan. Last May, Walden and Fulton Sen. Leroy Johnson became the first Negroes ever appointed to the Georgia Democratic Executive Committee.

Better Life for Negro Holds Boon for South, Weltner Says

1-28-64

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28—A Georgia congressman said Tuesday that the South "must now seek ways of bringing the Negro into a better life."

In a speech prepared for delivery in the House, Rep. Charles L. Weltner of Atlanta said the South "will remain poor for so long as the Negro remains at the bottom of the heap."

Rep. C. Weltner

He said that by warring on poverty and bringing the Negro average income up to the level of the white's, half a million new jobs could be created, $500 million in federal welfare payments could be saved, and tax revenues could be increased by millions.

"WE IN THE SOUTH can follow the old ways—seeking ever to exclude the Negro from economic, educational and social progress," Rep. Weltner said. "We do so at the cost of an ever-increasing welfare class, mounting hostility between the races, and continued waste of human and material wealth.

"Of we can take a new departure. We can see every Southerner—white or Negro—as a worthwhile citizen who can contribute something of value to the growth and well-being of our section."

The freshman congressman continued: "Where before we sought to exclude him, we must now seek ways of bringing the Negro into a better life. Where before we have been content with personal charity and individual kindness to the Negro, we must now recognize the dramatic need for bettering the lot of all the poor—white and Negro."

REP. WELTNER SAID that the South has "more to gain in success, and more to lose in failure, than any other section" in the war on poverty.

He said almost half the families in the South are "poor"—that is, they have incomes of less than $3,000 a year. He said 382,000 Negro families live on less than $20 a week.

The congressman said that if the 360,000 Negroes who have jobs in Georgia had averaged as much in earnings as whites, Georgia's economy would increase half a billion dollars a year. The median white income in the state is $2,470, and the Negro median is $927 a year, the congressman said.

Rep. Weltner said the poverty rate in the South is double that of the North-Central states, triple that of the Northeast and four times as high as the West.

BUT HE SAID the U.S. has 2.5 million families "at the bottom of the heap, unable to subsist without the aid of others" and "these facts cast a pall over our glowing prosperity."

The congressman said that "the mass at the bottom is without political structure" and Congress has a political duty to minister "unto the least of these—our brethern."

Rep. Weltner said the welfare class "is a burden on all of society" and its increase "augers ill for the future."

1-28-64

C OF C STATEMENT OF RACIAL POLICY

Here is the text of a policy statement issued Tuesday by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, pertaining to racial disturbances in the city:

The Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, on numerous occasions, has urged those businesses serving the general public in Atlanta to do so without regard to race.

The Atlanta chamber has made it clear that this action should be taken voluntarily and without coercion, governmental or otherwise.

Nothing could possibly be more divisive among all peoples of our town than the unwise, unfortunate and unruly demonstrations of the past two weeks. The citizens of Atlanta cannot and should not tolerate disorderly demonstrations and violence.

Such actions lead to the destruction of the good relationship among the races that has existed in Atlanta over the years. Such actions also lead to the undermining of normal business and commercial activies in the city, injurious to all Atlantans, regardless of race.

NO PROBLEM can be solved by disorderly demonstrations or violence. Such actions can only lead to a lack of understanding, and an inability on the part of Atlanta citizens interested in the city's future to negotiate in an atmosphere of calmness and reason.

Over the years white and Negro leaders in Atlanta have worked together and have accomplished much. Much more can and will be accomplished by negotiations among men of good will, providing the friendly atmosphere which has existed in Atlanta is not destroyed by the senseless acts of irresponsible people.

THE ATLANTA Chamber of Commerce therefore urges:

(1) That mass picketing and mass demonstrations be stopped immediately, and that both personal and property rights be respected;

(2) That the Atlanta Police Department, which has done a magnificent job to date and which has acted with admirable intelligence and restraint, pursue vigorously a policy of preventing unlawful acts by the prompt arrest of law violators, regardless of race;

(3) That the judiciary proceed as expeditiously as possible to try and dispose of the cases of those arrested, and that such cases be expedited and handled as emergency business of the courts;

(4) That the community as a whole undertake to re-establish an atmosphere of mutual understanding in which these problems can be dealt with voluntarily in a spirit of cooperation and with a reasonable expectation of solution;

(5) That the responsible Negro leadership of the community join with the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce in denouncing violence, lawlessness and mass demonstrations. It calls also on the administration and faculties of the Negro colleges to exercise all of the disciplinary powers at their command to control the activities of their students; and

(6) Finally, that all Atlanta citizens refrain from allowing the senseless and unwarranted actions of a handful of lawless agitators to undo all of the good that has been done in Atlanta over such a long period of time by those of both races who have a genuine interest in the city, its people and their future.

New Dimension in Racial Crisis

By PAUL VALENTINE

THE RACIAL violence which has erupted sporadically in Atlanta's streets since Saturday night has taken on bizarre dimensions.

Though there were a few, scattered voices of restraint during ugly confrontations of Klansmen and student integrationists, the air has been tense.

Veteran police officers described the eight hours of student-led demonstrations and Klan-led counter-demonstrations Saturday night as one of the most explosive situations in their memory.

Late Saturday night, in front of the Downtown Motel on West Peachtree Street, a fist-swinging melee broke out directly involving at least 50 whites and Negroes. On the sidewalks were some 200 Negroes and about 100 Klansmen and their sympathizers. Police quelled the incident but made no arrests.

INJURED

At least two Klan followers were injured, one with a head bruise, the other with a bloody nose. This certainly brings up the possibility that they were struck by members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose adherence to Ghandhian principles had been reasserted earlier in the day at a mass rally.

Prior to this, about 100 Negro and white civil rights demonstrators streamed into the lobby of the motel and the front lounge of the adjoining, Leb-owned restaurant. When a restaurant waitress started to place a wooden, lattice-work curtain in the doorway separating the restaurant from the motel lobby, a Negro attempted to force her back. He was eventually restrained by a fellow demonstrator.

This reflective account of how it all began Saturday night, is particularly interesting, for it illustrates a new development: Ghandian self-restraint on the part of the Klan instead of those on the other side.

Was this Ghandhian?

How did the street fight in front of the motel develop? SNCC picketers arrived and formed two lines on the sidewalk with a narrow path between them. They sang, chanted, clapped. Soon the Klansmen arrived and formed a march line on the sidewalk. Grand Dragon Calvin Craig exhorted the white crowd: "Show 'em we got the same rights they have! Show 'em we can walk this sidewalk, too!"

Craig then ordered the whites, many of them robed, to walk between the two lines of jeering, chanting Negroes. As Klansmen ran the gauntlet, Negroes and whites alike yelled, cursed and gestured at each other in an almost nose-to-nose confrontation.

The Klan line marched through once, then turned around and started through again. The din of cursing and yelling rose. The double line of SNCC demonstrators weaved unevenly. Then, suddenly, one of the lines brushed against a robed Klansman. He was shoved off balance and turned toward the line of Negroes.

CONFUSION

In an instant, the lines disintegrated into a confusion of twisting bodies, flying fists and certified bedlam. Police moved in. People on the periphery moved in, pulling and tugging. The din grew, but above it could be heard voices of a few Negroes imploring the demonstrators to retreat.

At the same time, helmeted members of the Klan's "Security Patrol" dug into the fray, pushing back their fellow Klansmen. Within three or four minutes, police managed to separate the participants into two ragged groups.

As police maintained this tentative stalemate, another fist fight broke out across the street in a parking lot. Klansmen and SNCC demonstrators streamed across, but police were ahead of them this time, and dispersed them within a minute or two.

The violence culminated some eight hours of unrelenting demonstrations and counter-demonstrations. With the police now in control again, the SNCC faction turned and headed back toward center city. The Klan headed the other way. A few minutes later, quiet returned to the streets.

Leaders to Chart Race Course Here

1-29-64

By WALTER RUGABER

The city's top white and Negro leaders prepared for a peace conference Wednesday as civil rights demonstrators received boos and bravos for their militant antisegregation campaign.

Protest activities continued in the downtown area Tuesday for the fourth consecutive day. Four Negroes were arrested on trespass warrants in the Piedmont Hotel dining room.

Scores of civic, business, professional and religious leaders were to gather at 3 p.m. Wednesday for a city hall meeting called by Mayor Ivan Allen to "determine a positive course of action."

The board of aldermen, the Fulton County Commissioners and the Fulton and DeKalb legislative delegations were among the groups invited to attend the session.

NEGROES WILL be represented by the steering committee of the summit leadership conference and a number of other groups, including several individuals called in by the mayor.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and its local affiliate, the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, both were expected to send delegates to the meeting.

The gathering was called by a gravely concerned Mayor Allen after a weekend eruption of massive street demonstrations and the arrest of nearly 200 protesters in two days.

James Forman, SNCC executive director, declared that the protest activities would continue Wednesday despite Mr. Allen's peace meeting.

IT WAS CONSIDERED unlikely the mayor's gathering would produce any quick, easy settlements. Observers listed at least two difficulties involved:

—The large number of community leaders at the meeting probably would be unwilling or unable to promise the militant Negro leaders that desegregation demands will be met.

—Neither the Atlanta Restaurant Association nor any of its segregated member restaurants that have been demonstration targets were invited to attend the session.

Informed sources viewed the meeting as mainly affording the participants an opportunity to express their views on the racial difficulty and develop a calmer atmosphere.

Mr. Allen said the session would consist of a "report" on "what has been done (on the racial front), what is being done, and what we will attempt to do in the future."

on the part of both races who either lack the courage or tenacity to come to grips with the problem that is tearing the city asunder."

IN ISSUING the critical statement, Leon Cox, NAACP Georgia field secretary, emphasized that he nevertheless believed "SNCC should be supported in its efforts to do something that other leaders have not tried to do."

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Mr. Allen said the session would consist of a "report" on "what has been done (on the racial front), what is being done, and what we will attempt to do in the future."

MEANWHILE, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued a statement blaming leaders of both races "for the presently chaotic conditions relating to the now-erupting racial strife in our city."

"The summit leadership conference," the NAACP charged, "through its failure with its negotiation techniques, has defaulted its role of leadership."

"It seems to us that the present crisis would be minimized if the problem had been approached objectively by leaders of both races instead of reverting by default to the Ku Klux Klan and a militant group of young people whose interest is freedom now and whose main asset is street demonstrations.

"The shame of Atlanta is no longer segregation alone, but the woeful lack of leadership

Allen Calls for a 30-Day Halt In Integration Demonstrations

By MARION GAINES

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., declaring that Atlanta's racial image has been damaged by "irresponsible elements," called Wednesday for a 30-day moratorium on anti-segregation demonstrations against downtown restaurants.

The mayor told a meeting of some 250 white and Negro leaders at City Hall that "law and order must and shall be enforced and maintained" and that protest picketing will be permitted only if it conforms strictly to ground rules laid down by Police Chief Herbert Jenkins.

But a Negro leader of the student demonstrations told reporters immediately after the meeting that "no decision can be made by us" until the students arrested earlier this week "are released from jail."

In the meantime, "picketing will continue," said James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

RESTAURANT PICKETED

And while the City Hall session was going on, some 8 to 10 SNCC demonstrators resumed picketing of Leb's downtown restaurant, displaying a sign: "Democracy on the Line. Why are Students in Jail?" Their force grew to about 25, and disbanded around 8 p.m.

Later, several members of the Ku Klux Klan paraded for a short time in front of a restaurant which had agreed to serve Negroes.

Mayor Allen said Atlanta "will accept no ultimatums and bow to no threats." "At the same time," he said, "it will not lag in its efforts to insure all of its citizens their full rights of citizenship."

One of these efforts, he revealed, will be "a civil rights section" he is planning for his office. It would "work in every way possible to insure the Negro community full rights in the matter of public facilities, jobs, job training and housing."

He said he plans to ask the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, headed by former Ald. Hamilton Douglas, to work with the Negro "summit" leadership "in all these areas."

Douglas said he feels that "substantial compliance" with all Negro leadership requests "that do not require a change in law" can be worked out in time.

CHANGE IN POLICY

Mayor Allen also revealed a new change in policy for police-department treatment of sit-ins. He said "alleged violators will be arrested, taken into custody and held for at least three hours" so restauranteurs "or others complaining of trespass will have time to swear out warrants if they so desire."

Police have not been arresting participants of sit-ins without warrants.

Allen promised he will also ask City Attorney Henry Bowden "to do anything he can to expedite an opinion by the Georgia Supreme Court on the constitutionality of" the anti-trespass law used against the sit-ins. "Unless and until the court strikes it down," Allen added, "the anti-trespass law will be enforced."

Mayor Allen's appeal for a 30-day cooling off period was backed at City Hall by several white civic leaders and some older Negro spokesmen such as Dr. Rufus Clement and attorney A. T. Walden.

But it was not warmly greeted by spokesmen for the younger, more militant Negro faction such as Forman and Wyatt Walker, chief lieutenant of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"If we must violate unjust laws to achieve full democracy," Forman told the overflow audience, "then that is what we will do."

Walker said that "we support" the desegregation demonstrations of SNCC and added that if "any violence" is the result, "we regret that."

But he said demonstrations would be unnecessary if "full justice and morality really existed" here.

Mayor Allen led off the unprecedented meeting by declaring that in recent days demonstrations "have been fomented and staged by irresponsible elements—some of them from outside of Atlanta."

CITY IS EXPOSED

He said this has "exposed our city to the danger of infection by the virus of violence that has paralyzed the progress of so many cities."

He ticked off a long list of desegregation accomplishments in Atlanta since World War II—ranging from employment of Negro firemen and policemen to integration of all city-government facilities and schools to voluntary integration of major department and variety stores and some hotels and restaurants.

Most of Atlanta's racial agreements have been achieved "through a mutual understanding reached by conferences" of whites and Negroes, he said.

But he said that "in all fairness" it could be said that many such "meetings of minds" had been motivated "by orderly demonstrations, by lawful picketing and by the sane and sensible efforts of Atlanta's Negro citizens."

"So far, Atlanta's tolerance has been almost unlimited," said Mayor Allen.

TOLERANCE UNLIMITED

He said recent events, however, have shown that "certain segments of Atlanta's Negro community — which we think represent only a small part of this community — have to be dealt with differently."

Atlanta's "solid foundation of fairness and freedom" will not be undermined, he said, by "the irresponsible element that chooses to assume threatening postures and attack our city destructively."

Mayor Allen declared that:

— "These destructive efforts must and shall be brought to an end."

—"The public safety of our city must and shall be protected."

— "Law and order must and shall be enforced and maintained."

He promised that "picketing will be permitted and pickets will be protected provided they abide by the rules of procedure" which were outlined to the audience by Chief Jenkins.

In outlining the ground rules, Chief Jenkins said that "peaceful picketing or peaceable assembly is legal, provided it is not done in a manner to interfere with the lawful rights of others or to create disorder, incite violence or obstruct the free flow of pedestrians and automobile traffic."

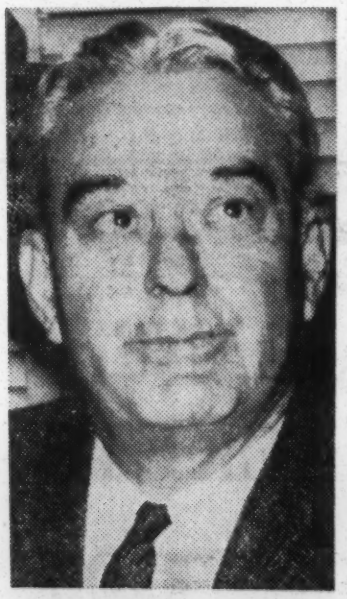
Rawson Haverty, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, said the organization "heartily endorses" Mayor Allen's position with the exception that chamber members favor voluntary desegregation efforts over enactment of a public accommodation law.

Walden declared that most racial problems can be solved "around the conference table" and that the "peace and tranquility of the city" was of paramount importance.

But Walker disagreed, asserting that "the existence of justice and morality is transcendent."

"If we had left it to pure voluntary action," said Walker, "many of us would still be in the cotton fields."

Dr. Benjamin Mays and several other Atlanta University Negro leaders generally supported the 30-day moratorium but agreed that "we ought to set down — one, two, three, four, five — the objectives" to be worked toward.



LAYS DOWN RULES
Chief Jenkins

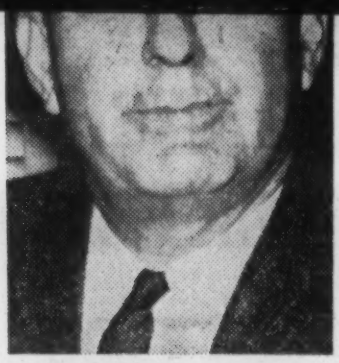
Maddox Chats With Johnson

State Sen. Leroy Johnson and Lester Maddox, staunch segregationist, shook hands and exchanged pleasantries on the Senate floor Wednesday.

Maddox, an Atlanta restaurant operator and outspoken foe of integration, was in the Senate distributing literature opposing tax raises and pamphlets on civil rights.

He stopped briefly at the desk of Johnson, Negro attorney.

"You are the only man in the Fulton County delegation whom I can honestly say I know where you stand," Johnson quoted Maddox.



LAYS DOWN RULES
Chief Jenkins

ing that in recent days demonstrations "have been fomented and staged by irresponsible elements—some of them from outside of Atlanta."

CITY IS EXPOSED

He said this has "exposed our city to the danger of infection by the virus of violence that has paralyzed the progress of so many cities."

He ticked off a long list of desegregation accomplishments in Atlanta since World War II—

Rules for Police In Handling Sit-Ins

Here are the ground rules covering public demonstrations, sit-ins and picketing as outlined by Police Chief Herbert Jenkins Wednesday at City Hall:

1. The general duties of the Police department in connection with public demonstrations, sit-ins, and picketing are the same as they are in connection with other matters, — that is, to protect life and property and to maintain order.

2. The Police department alone is charged with the duty of directing traffic and of seeing that pedestrian and automobile traffic proceeds smoothly and safely. Outsiders shall not be permitted to direct, divert, impede, or obstruct such traffic. Police shall make full use of authority to remove any barriers which impede traffic; and if vehicles or other materials are used to obstruct traffic, and are not promptly moved when ordered by a police officer, such vehicles or other materials will be immediately removed by wrecker.

3. The Police despartment shall protect the right of citizens who desire to use the public streets and sidewalks or who desire to enter and leave private premises where they are invitees and will see that such citizens can do so without being stopped, injured, or threatened with bodily harm.

4. Peaceful picketing or peaceable assembly is legal, provided it is not done in a manner to interfere with the lawful rights of others or to create disorder, incite violence, or obstruct the free flow of pedestrians and automobile traffic. The law does not prescribe an exact number of pickets which shall be permitted or the exact number of persons allowed to assemble, but police officers have the right and duty to see that such picketing and assemblies remain lawful and peaceful.

5. When two or more persons assemble for the purpose of disturbing the peace or commit any unlawful act, and fail to disperse on being commanded to do so by any peace officer, it is an unlawful assembly. If they do any violent or noisy act, it is a riot. In either case, they are subject to arrest. An unlawful assembly or riot consists of two or more persons.

6. Picket lines may be required to operate in single file along the outer portion of the sidewalk; may be required to keep moving; individual pickets may be required to leave spaces of five or six feet between them in order to permit other citizens to pass freely through the picket line; and individual pickets may be required to avoid pushing, jostling, or otherwise interfering with other citizens. Police officers on duty at the scene should warn the pickets how they are expected to act under the circumstances, and if the pickets refuse to obey the warning, the police officer may arrest them.

7. Large crowds of demonstrators and agitators who are not observing the rules for peaceful picketing and who are engaging in disorders, disturbances, or obstructing traffic should be warned to disperse and if they do not heed such warning, they should be arrested.

1-31-64

Eugene Patterson

Who's Out of Step in Atlanta?

In blunt terms this newspaper has denounced the lawlessness evident in SNCC demonstrations here. If it occurs again, it will be denounced again. If it has now abated, Atlantans can turn calm attention back to the problem of the city's segregated restaurants. Owners of these places have not abated their outburst of excuses.

* * *

They announce "we still have the freedom of choice to operate our businesses as we see fit." But having that freedom, they have exercised it in ways that other Atlanta businesses have found to be unfit.

Why? Why is the private property argument right for restaurant owners if owners of other private properties in Atlanta found it wrong to discriminate?

Downtown theater owners had the freedom of choice to operate their businesses as they saw fit. They saw discrimination as unfit.

Most of the major hotel owners had the freedom to operate as they saw fit. They found it fit to end discrimination.

Owners of department store and variety store lunch counters had the right to do wrong on their own property. They didn't find it worthy to exercise such a right.

The Chamber of Commerce, speaking for Atlanta private business in general, has repeatedly urged the restaurant owners to cease discrimination.

All of these people are owners of private property, with the same rights and freedoms of the segregated restaurant owners. Yet the restaurant owners alone, in voluble isolation, claim it is fit to discriminate. For the damage they are doing to this city, and for the destruction of private property rights which they are making inevitable, they deserve no civic awards.

But it is important to note that this shortsighted view is held by only one segment of Atlanta's restaurant owners—a segment which has tried to cow the others by bullying, demagoguery and economic alarm. These people are the ones who deserve the lash of public opinion for what they have done to Atlanta.

* * *

But two other groups of restaurant men deserve credit, encouragement and public understanding. One is the brave band of leaders who desegregated last year and who stand as models now so the others can see it can be done if an owner is only determined to do it.

The other is the large middle group of restaurant owners who have come to see the folly of discrimination, but who have been whipsawed into inaction thus far by care-nothing competitors and their own doubts. Many of these men want to move, and with public understanding and support, will move as they increasingly discover the emptiness of the shortsighted segment's mouthing, and draw determination from their own judgments. May this be soon. The bullying segment has had charge of the others' reputations—and Atlanta's—long enough.

2-1-64

Eugene Patterson

Blaming Is Easy, Reasoning Is Hard

It would be easy for Atlantans to say there ain't no justice and throw up their hands. This city worked for more than a decade to manage and settle its racial disputes in a climate of peace and reason. And here at the very end the reputation has been cashed in for the common currency of national headlines tarring Atlanta as if it were some backward Southern city.

The roof fell in all at once. Americans are not as impressed as they once were by Negro street demonstrations because they have seen so many of them now in places like New York and Cleveland. The demonstrations alone wouldn't have hurt much.

* * *

But what did undoubtedly come as a twofold shock to the country was the reminder that Atlanta still had segregated restaurants and Ku Klux Klansmen in the streets. It probably hadn't dawned on them lately that these things still existed in a city that had made such uniform progress otherwise. Now they have been nationally advertised, and Atlanta has been hurt accordingly.

To the leadership of Atlanta, it seems unjust to suffer this setback after all the effort it has expended to set a worthy Southern example.

To those unprejudiced restaurant owners who wanted to move but were hesitating out of fear, it must seem unfair that this could have happened to their city before they could make up their minds, or be rescued from the hook by passage of a federal public accommodations law. They felt Atlanta just didn't comprehend their difficulties.

To the Negro demonstrators, it must seem unfair to be expected to accept in silence any longer the failure of peaceful negotiations with so many adamant restaurant owners. They felt Atlanta just didn't comprehend the depth of their resentment.

Any of these groups, feeling itself the victim of unfairness, can blame the others. (The Ku Klux Klan and the diehard segregationist restaurant owners are, we believe, still a minority in Atlanta—disattached from, rather than part of, the realities of what is going on.)

But it is a little late for hand-wringing and blame-placing. Nothing now can bring back the part of Atlanta's reputation that has been lost irredeemably. What can be done now is to stop the alarm and rewind the clock.

* * *

Roy Wilkins, national executive secretary of the NAACP, asked a question here Wednesday night that Atlanta Negroes ought to ponder, and point out to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "Is any different procedure indicated in a city at a time when desegregation is underway than at a time when the segregation front was solid?" Certainly it is. To go on roughing up Atlanta like some seg bastion is a breaking of faith with hundreds of thousands of white Atlantans who had committed themselves to racial justice.

The unprejudiced owners whose restaurants are still segregated know, of course, what they ought to do. There's no reason why they shouldn't get together, break away from the know-nothings who have presumed to speak for them, and end discrimination all at once.

As for Atlanta's leadership—whether there is or ain't no justice—the only course is to keep trying, working, leading, reasoning and building again on the past week's wreckage.

Here Is Complete Text Of Negroes' Statement

2-2-64

Here is the complete text of the statement issued Saturday and signed by 54 Atlanta Negroes, many of them leaders in the civil rights struggle:

We the undersigned citizens of the City of Atlanta are deeply concerned with the racial situation in Atlanta, especially the critical developments of recent weeks.

We think that the time has arrived when Atlanta should take a good second look at itself, to the end that everything humanly possible should be done to restore mutual confidence between the two major racial groups residing in our city, to insure orderly progress and to speed the day when every Atlanta citizen will enjoy first-class citizenship, equal opportunity and impartial treatment before the law.

We commend the efforts of the mayor of this city and of many of the political, business, religious and civic leaders of this municipality to insure these rights to the entire community, without reservations on account of race, color or religion.

WE WOULD ASK that the entire population recognize our position that all laws and practices discriminating among or against any citizen because of their race or color or religion are morally wrong and legally indefensible.

We pray that such agreements will be reached and such actions will immediately be taken as to make it inadvisable and unnecessary to continue or to resume such legitimate action on the part of the Negro people, and others sympathetic with them, as public petitions, orderly picketting, peaceful protests and formal appeals to the courts of the land.

WE URGE OUR people, young and old, to support the mayor of this city in his efforts in the present hour to effectuate such settlements of our grievances as will give full and real freedom, under law, to every man, woman and child living in this domain.

We deplore all forms of violence and we call upon our citizens, Negro and white, to forego and desist from such conduct.

We stake our faith in a glorious future for this city in: Government by law, the Judeo-Christian ethic, and the sanity and good will of ourselves, our brothers and our compatriots of the majority racial group.

A. T. Walden.
Warren R. Cochrane.
Rev. L. M. Terrill Sr.
Leon M. Terrill Jr.
Thomas Goosby Jr.
Dr. H. A. Bowen.
John O. Boone.
Rev. J. E. Boone.
E. D. Billingsley.
J. B. Blayton Jr.
Dr. R. L. Chamberlain.
T. M. Alexander Sr.
Dr. L. Anderson.
Bernard S. Lee.
Dr. J. T. Blassingame Jr.
Lonnie J. Fuller.
Rev. M. L. King Sr.
Rev. William Holmes Borders.
C. R. Yates.
Bishop M. L. Harris.
Bishop W. R. Wilkes.
Rev. A. S. Dickerson.
Mrs. Mable Lawford Lewis.
Dr. C. Clayton Powell.
Rev. Melvin Watson.
Q. V. Williamson.
Donald L. Hollowell.
Rev. B. J. Johnson Jr.
Albert Lee Dunn.
Harold Middlebrook.
Sen. Leroy R. Johnson.
C. A. Scott.
G. L. Chandler.
Rev. C. S. Stinson.
Dr. Rufus B. Clement.
Paul E. X. Brown.
Dr. Edward K. Weaver.
John H. Calhoun.
Rev. Samuel W. Williams.
L. D. Milton.
Mrs. P. Q. Yancey.
James Gardner.
Rev. P. J. Dotson.
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays.
E. S. D'Antignac.
R. P. Herndon.
R. J. Wilson Jr.
William Fowlkes.
James Forman.
Chas. M. Clayton.
Rev. R. B. Shorts.
J. B. Blayton Sr.
Joe T. Bickers.

White Students Lead Restaurant Picketing

2-3-64

A predominantly white group of civil rights demonstrators carrying anti-segregation signs picketed Leb's restaurant for approximately three hours Sunday.

There were no arrests, police said, and no incidents reported.

The group called itself "Georgia Students for Human Rights" and handed out leaflets calling for an end to segregation. The leaflets urged "the white citizens of Atlanta" to join the protest.

STUDENT AT TECH

One spokesman, who said he was a student at Georgia Tech, stated that the organization was formed Saturday. Most of the members were students at Georgia Tech or Emory University, he said.

A sign carried by one picket, who identified himself as an Emory student, read "Emory Committee Protests Discrimination."

"We believe a free city must be open to all its citizens, and further that it is the obligation of all Atlantans to make it free," the leaflet passed out by the demonstrators said.

NO INCIDENTS

Approximately 20 pickets took part in the demonstration. Police kept a close watch in the area, but there were no incidents reported.

Leb's was the scene of disorder last week when white-robed Ku Klux Klansmen and Negro pickets clashed.

More than 200 demonstrators were arrested last week on charges of disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. Negro leaders have demanded dismissal of charges against all those arrested as a condition for agreeing to a 30-day suspension of demonstrations.

OFFER STATEMENT

There were no Klansmen on hand Sunday as the picketing by white students began. Robed and hooded Klansmen demonstated outside integrated places of business Saturday night at the same time integrationists were picketing but both groups were orderly.

White pickets Sunday handed out mimeographed statements calling for integration.

"We protest segregation and we protest our segregated city," the statement said.

"We believe it is wrong to refuse service to a Negro."

The statement was signed "Georgia Students for Human Rights."

RALPH Voting

McGILL

2-3-64

The Struggle For Franchise

Adoption of a constitutional amendment to ban the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in federal elections saw Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas move to retain the tax as a restriction against voting. For a good many years this form of discouragement has kept perhaps as many white persons from exercising the franchise as Negroes. The poll tax is, indeed, one of the several explanations for the fact that Southerners in general, including white citizens, have a lower percentage of voting than do residents of other regions.

Indeed, a productive irony of the South's several devices to restrict the ballot, while originally designed to bar the Negro, is that they rather soon began to disfranchise whites and to debase the entire process of elections.

Poll Tax

Georgia, for example, eliminated the poll tax in 1945 during the progressive administration of Governor Ellis Arnall. But the movement had strong support from a former governor, Eugene Talmadge, then preparing to campaign in the next election. He frankly stated that the cumulative poll tax was a bar to thousands of his ever-loyal supporters in the small, low-income rural counties.

Restrictions on voting in the South began about 1890 and reached full flower about 1908. A variety of ingenious schemes grew out of the decision by the so-called Southern Bourbons to insure their political rule by limiting the ballot. Back of all of them was the determination to exclude the Negro voter. But the Bourbons, having lived through the clamorous period of Populist and agrarian protest, were also eager to at least clip the voting wings of the small, back-country white farmers who had flocked so strongly to Tom Watson, William Jennings Bryan and other leaders of the politics of protest.

Some of the measures were petty—and backfired. Virginia, for example, persuaded herself in the legislative session of 1875-76 that a conviction for petty larceny would bar a great many Negroes. But, alas, many poor whites also were petty thieves.

Voiding Techniques

Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana produced the major techniques for voiding the 15th amendment. (In 1890 these three states had the largest percentage of Negro population.) The Mississippi convention of that year set up a residence requirement of two years, a cumulative poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, and

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In 1898 Louisiana adopted essentially the Mississippi restrictions, but added another invention, also unique . . . the "grandfather clause." This law set forth that no man who was eligible to vote on Jan. 1, 1867, or any date prior thereto, and no son or grandson of such a person "shall be denied the right to register and vote in this state by reason of his failure to possess educational or property qualifications." The grandfather clause was soon adopted by other states.

The white primary law became the most effective. This statute enabled the Democratic party to rule that only white voters could participate in the primary. With a few meager local exceptions, this law early was enacted in all Southern states. It was struck down by the federal court in 1944. Since there was no Republican party and no opposition primary, the non-Democrat and the non-white had been denied equal protection of law.

The nation's political health is improving.

Atlanta

2-3-64

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

'Hawks' and 'Doves'

Was Atlanta's Image Too Good to Be True?

ATLANTA.

Few American cities work harder than Atlanta to keep a sheen on their elusive municipal "images." Atlanta is a big and growing city: It counts its satellite communities and boasts of a million residents. Atlanta's commerce throbs with the vigor of Chicago and New York; its ties often seem closer to the East than to the Deep South.

Atlanta's ambitious businessmen watched the racial tumult in Little Rock and the riots in Oxford and Birmingham and decided Atlanta would have none of it. Within the past four years, Atlanta has desegregated some schools, its municipal swimming pools, and most of the major theaters and hotels, and has elected a liberal mayor and put a Negro in the Georgia state senate.

But, last week, Atlanta was beset by several of the ugliest racial incidents the South has had since the riots in Birmingham. More than 200 young demonstrators, most of whom are Negroes and most of whom are members of the militant Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, (SNCC), were arrested. Several demonstrators were hurt; one policeman was severely injured when a Negro man kicked him in the groin.

Moratorium Refused

The targets are several downtown restaurants that won't serve Negroes, despite a plea from the mayor and the Chamber of Commerce. The demonstrators won't agree to a 30-day moratorium for further negotiations, and the restaurant men insist they won't serve Negroes, anyway.

Ivan Allen, Jr., the mayor, pleaded for peace on the streets, but only a cold rain at week's end could dampen the demonstrators. "The reputation of Atlanta for fairness and adjustment to changing conditions in the controversial areas of human rights is unexcelled in America," Mayor Allen insisted. But the words had a hollow ring. Atlanta was asking itself why.

Atlanta's reputation as an "open city" may have become too "unexcelled" for its own good. Despite the praise and congratulations its moderate leadership has received, and the undoubted sympathy the city government has shown for Negro demands, the visitor to Atlanta is likely to see a lot less integration than in some other Southern cities.

This irks the leaders of the Negro organizations; it rankles segregationist whites, too. "The business about Atlanta being an open city is a myth," James Forman, SNCC executive director, said one day not long ago as he assessed SNCC's gains for 1963. "One of these days Atlanta is going to see how 'liberal' it really is. Even Little Rock is better than Atlanta."

Agreement From King

The Rev. Martin Luther King, an Atlanta pastor who also heads the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference, agrees: "Some other Southern communities have far better records than Atlanta."

Restaurants that won't serve Negroes were a natural target. And the restaurants are most vulnerable to the weapon that the SNCC uses best.

Originally, 35 or 39 downtown restaurants agreed to serve "acceptable Negro customers." Nobody is really sure of the figure; some restaurant men who agreed to desegregate later hedged when angry whites learned of the agreement. Now the number has shrunk to 22.

Most of these are places with elegant menus and prices to match. Negroes are regularly served, for example, at the richly furnished, candle-lighted "Top of the Mart," where diners can enjoy expensive steaks, old wines, and a fine view of downtown Atlanta from the 22nd floor of the new Merchandise Mart.

But most young Negroes, particularly those of the SNCC, have neither the taste for such elegance nor the pocketbook to indulge it. And the Krystal, which sells hamburgers for 11 cents each, won't serve them to Negroes except at a stand-up counter for "take-out orders."

Negroes won't get any kind of service at Leb's, a large, handsome restaurant at the corner of Luckie and Forsyth streets in the heart of the downtown business district. Leb's is a favorite place to stop for a snack for those leaving the Rialto Theater (which admits Negroes) just across the street, and last week it was a favorite place for a riot. More than a thousand persons packed the corner one night to watch police carry writhing demonstrators and kicking Ku Klux Klansmen to waiting paddy wagons. (Klansmen were picketing a cafe across the street that does serve Negroes.)

An Accidental Target

Leb's got to be a target somewhat by accident. Several weeks ago Negro singer Harry Belafonte stopped by Leb's after an Atlanta performance. The owner, Charles Lebedin, declined to seat him. "I know about discrimination because I'm Jewish," Mr. Lebedin told the protesting Mr. Belafonte, "but I still can't serve you."

Leb's has been the favorite target since. Once, when 38 Negro and white demonstrators got inside, the restaurant was almost wrecked. Coffee urns were upset, drinking glasses were smashed to the floor, and the brown-and-yellow leather booths were overturned. When the rest room doors were locked, the demonstrators urinated on the floors and the booths. "I was never a segregationist," Mr. Lebedin, who employs 200 Negroes at his downtown restaurant and an outlying branch, says bitterly. "But I am today."

So, perhaps, are lots of others; Atlanta's accent is decidedly more the accent of the Deep South than it was six weeks ago. Mayor Allen, who believes the public accommodations section of the civil-rights bill is Atlanta's best hope, ordered police to "get tough" with the demonstrators; when his officers executed the policy a thousand whites cheered.

SNCC's demonstrations have split the Negro community too. A. T. Walden, a retired Negro lawyer who was the acknowledged leader of the Negro community for decades, counsels negotiation with white leaders. Mr. Walden suggested a trade: If the city would release its 100 prisoners taken during the melee at Leb's, the Negroes would agree to a 30-day moratorium.

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"We're gettin' up steam now," an SNCC spokesman said. "Now's not the time to stop." Even if the demonstrations fail to win a quick, complete victory, SNCC leaders are said to believe, the militance is winning converts to SNCC's militance by the thousands.

"We're always ready to sit down at the conference table to negotiate peaceful settlements," SNCC's Mr. Forman says. "But we reject segregation and we will violate unjust laws." And SNCC, Mr. Forman was careful to make clear, will decide which laws are unjust.

The Rev. Mr. King's role isn't exactly clear. He's on record, as is his organization, as supporting the new SNCC-led attack on Leb's, the Krystal, and most of the other 800 restaurants that won't serve Negro customers. It was a speech by Mr. King, in fact, that set off the protests: "The cancer must be cut out," he warned Atlanta, addressing a rally of 3,500 just before Christmas in Grant Park. "We must not be offered the vaseline of tokenism."

But the violence and the sordid incidents inside Leb's have embarrassed the "doves," as Atlanta Negroes call the conservatives among them. The Rev. Mr. King is, like James Forman, a "hawk," but he too, may be concerned. "If some incidents have been created, we regret that," an aide remarked. "But if we had left it purely to voluntary action a lot of us would still be in the cotton fields." Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Atlanta for a speech, chided the demonstrators bluntly: "No quarterback worth his salt keeps pounding away with line bucks that yield at best a yard, or worse still, a yardage loss." It's time to try a field goal, Mr. Wilkins said, and his football analogy was clear enough: Negotiate now, demonstrate if necessary later.

Limited by Charter

Negotiation and persuasion, together with whatever pressure it can put on reluctant white businessmen, is all official Atlanta can offer now. If Mayor Allen and his administration agree, as he has said he does, that segregation is indeed a cancer, it's obvious that a Federal surgeon must be called in. Atlanta's city council can't enact a local public-accommodations law, even if it wanted to. The city charter, the gift of a rural legislature years ago, won't permit it. Mayor Allen, who testified last summer in behalf of the Kennedy-Johnson civil-rights act, last week urged legislative approval of a charter amendment authorizing a public-accommodation law. He won't get it.

Other Southern cities face similar stand-offs as token integration, exacted by businessmen who were assured they would be required to serve "only a few" Negro customers, becomes almost as offensive to Negroes as rigid segregation. But Atlanta's boast is that it isn't like other Southern cities. That's why the noise and scuffling on Peachtree Street is so hard to take. "The people of Alabama are so proud," an Alabama subscriber wrote to the editor of the Atlanta Journal last week, "that Birmingham is not another Atlanta." Atlanta could only wince.

—WESLEY PRUDEN, JR.

2-4-64

Eugene Patterson

The American Faith

In this peculiar time when Atlantans can see Ku Klux Klansmen picketing desegregated hotels across the street from Negroes picketing a segregated restaurant, history can be helpful in guiding us to what Albert Camus called "that third camp in which it is still possible to keep a cool head."

Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council calls the U.S. civil rights movement unique because "it is a revolution under a constitution." Thomas Jefferson mentioned that, a long time ago.

"The operations which have taken place in America lately fill me with pleasure," Jefferson wrote. "In the first place they realize the confidence I had that whenever our affairs get obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose and set them to rights.

"The example of changing a constitution by assembling the wise men of the state, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we have given them."

* * *

The assembled Congress, now interposing itself to deal with the racial problem, would have strengthened Jefferson's faith in the good sense of the people.

Likewise the progress of the South toward engaging itself with the national destiny would have fulfilled the faith of Robert E. Lee who, on Sept. 7, 1865, wrote to Josiah Tatnall:

"The war being at an end, the Southern states having laid down their arms, and the questions at issue between them and the Northern states having been decided, I believe it to be the duty of every one to unite in the restoration of the country, and the reestablishment of peace and harmony . . .

"It appears to me that the allayment of passion, the dissipation of prejudice, and the restoration of reason, will alone enable the people of the country to acquire a true knowledge and form a correct judgement of the last four years . . .

"I have too exalted an opinion of the American people to believe that they will consent to injustice; and it is only necessary, in my opinion, that truth should be known, for the rights of everyone to be secured."

* * *

The American people have not yet defaulted on the credit Lee and Jefferson gave them, nor will they now. Racial change is difficult. It requires understanding. It is not the experiment of an hour, but a conclusion shaping a nation's life. It is not the punishment of a meanness; it is the gentling of a fear. Americans are going, with the help of each other, up onto higher ground—and going as Americans, born in audacity, bred to the unexplored, and bound to prevail if we will but hold out a hand to one another and shape the future to those finer instincts that our founders depended upon in the people.

Can't Bar Negroes, Dental Bodies Told

2-5-64

A federal court has ruled that two Georgia dental groups participate in the selection of state officials and thus may not bar Negroes from membership.

U.S. District Judge Frank A. Hooper made the ruling in a civil suit brought against the Georgia Dental Association and the Northern District Dental Society.

Attorneys for Dr. Roy C. Bell, a local Negro dentist, argued that the dental groups were "significantly involved with government" and should admit Dr. Bell.

JUDGE HOOPER agreed.

"The Georgia Legislature . . . ," he said, "by giving to the dental association the right to nominate members of three state agencies . . . , made it an agency of the State of Georgia. . . ."

"The dental association, by excluding Negro dentists from its membership, thereby derived them of the right to vote in connection with the nomination of dentists to fill places on three boards. . . .

"One of these boards (has) the responsibility of examining applicants for a license to practice dentistry in Georgia."

THE THREE state agencies involved are the Board of Dental Examiners, the Board of Health and the Hospital Advisory Council.

While turning down the dental groups' motion to dismiss, Judge Hooper stayed further proceedings so the issue could be taken to the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals.

14 Atlanta Hotels and Motels Take Desegregation Steps

By WALTER RUGABER

Mayor Allen has announced that 14 Atlanta hotels and motels will "honor all (room) reservations"—including those made by Negroes.

The desegregation step, disclosed Friday, marked the first time that public accommodation facilities involved in such a move have agreed to the public disclosure of their names.

But, as a statement issued by the mayor declared, a number of the establishments "have been following this practice for several months without publicity."

THE DECISION to disclose the names of hotels and motels involved came after a series of meetings between the operators, Mayor Allen, and civic leaders this week.

A meeting Thursday on the public accommodations issue brought together not only some 35 hotel and motel officials but also about 100 restaurant operators.

The restaurant men took no action.

"The Restaurant Association," Mr. Allen said, "has urged its members to consider the facts that were brought out yesterday and to search their hearts, minds, and consciences and make their own decision as to what their future course of action will be."

THE HOTELS and motels named by Mr. Allen are:

The Air Host Inn, Atlanta Americana Motel Hotel, Atlantan Hotel, Atlanta Biltmore, Atlanta Cabana, Dinkler Plaza, Hilton Inn, Peachtree Manor, Piedmont Hotel, Riviera Hotel.

Howard Johnson's South Expressway, Howard Johnson's Northeast Expressway, Howard Johnson's Northwest Expressway, and the Marriott Motor Hotel (now under construction).

The public disclosure of the establishments came as the Negro "summit" leadership conference prepared to hold a full-scale meeting at 1 p.m. Saturday.

The Negro coalition group, organized last October by nine civil rights organizations, was widely expected to debate proposed antisegregation protest demonstrations.

Although no hotels or motels have been named prior to Friday's announcement, there have been at least three reports of desegregation moves within the last two months.

ON NOV. 21, hotel and motel representatives met with Ne-

Turn to Page 19, Column 4

HOTELS

Continued From Page 1

groes for more than two hours and issued a statement agreeing to an "extension of open occupancy."

On Dec. 15, at a Hurt Park demonstration sponsored by the "summit" conference, cochairman A. T. Walden said 10 leading hotels and motels "have positively assured us that their facilities are open upon a nondiscriminatory basis."

And earlier this month, The Atlanta Journal reported that a number of leading hotels and motels had taken steps to desegregate.

ers might help [illegible] their situation.

2-7-64 Const.

Eugene Patterson

'The Result: A Miracle'

When problems preoccupy a city, its successes can go unnoted at home. But others can see things in Atlanta that we may not have seen ourselves. A miracle, for instance.

The Cincinnati Enquirer sent out a man to inspect the effectiveness of Chambers of Commerce in Louisville, Columbus, Dayton and Atlanta. The newspaper wanted to see how Cincinnati's Chamber compared.

No. 1 in the series turned out to be the Atlanta piece. And it appeared in the Sunday Enquirer of Jan. 26 under the headline: "Miracle Needed; Atlanta Chamber Performs One."

* * *

Here are some of the things the Cincinnati reporter found:

"Anemia was apparent in metropolitan Atlanta's economic development in 1960.

"Other cities in the Southeast were racing ahead. Atlanta needed nearly 10,000 new jobs annually to keep pace with normal growth, but in 1959 she actually lost 1,900 jobs. News of racial troubles also obscured the city's true image . . . The Chamber of Commerce was skimping along . . . And, as one observer put it, while the Chamber was doing 'a good job,' it was doing it in 'a very conservative, unobtrusive way.'

"Chamber directors decided the organization needed new blood and ordered a transfusion. The result: A miracle.

"New and stronger staff, a bigger budget and an epidemic of enthusiasm helped infuse Atlanta's metropolitan area with 56 new manufacturing plants in the next four years."

Ticking off the figures, the Cincinnati newspaper told its readers: "In the past two years, employment (in Atlanta) jumped by 43,000.

"Unemployment dipped until in 1963 it ranged between 2½ and 3 per cent of the labor force—half the national average. Fewer than 15,000 now are jobless.

"Construction volume leaped more than 20 per cent last year, after a strong 1962 advance. Retail sales rose 7 per cent or more a year the last two years . . . Other indicators showed comparable gains . . ."

* * *

The Enquirer was impressed not only by the Forward Atlanta program and other Chamber undertakings, but by the fact that "it has dared to take stands on such issues as race relations, education and housing."

"With its new impetus," the Cincinnati newspaper found, "the economy of metropolitan Atlanta today enjoys its healthiest growth rate since the mid-1950s."

2 Negro Marches Fight Segregation

2-16-64 Journal

Two groups of marchers, most of them Negroes, protested segregation in Atlanta Saturday.

About 120 Negroes, most of them doctors and dentists, marched for 1½ hours around downtown Atlanta streets Saturday morning. Another group of about 30 marched at Grady Hospital for about an hour Saturday afternoon.

The morning marchers carried signs calling for a boycott of local stores during the Easter season. No incidents were reported.

Curtis Clark, a real estate man, was parade marshal. Some of the signs read, "Wear old clothes for Easter," "Make this a sacrificial Easter," "Don't buy segregation."

A group of Negro ministers visited the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and City Hall Friday to protest segregation. They, too, said they would call for a boycott of Atlanta stores. Rev. J. G. Greer, chairman of the ministers' group, said Negro churchgoers would be urged to buy only necessities during Lent.

PICKETS at Grady Hospital carried signs reading "Members of Atlanta University Center faculty protest segregation in Grady Hospital"; "while segregationists fiddle patients may die"; "Hippocrates or Hypocrisy?"; "Illness knows no color line;" "Segregated admission procedures are a health hazard"; "Desegregate Grady Hospital."

F. C. Campbelle, a teacher at Morehouse College, gave a reporter a statement entitled "Why We Are Here." It said, in part:

"We are here this afternoon to protest against segregation in a public hospital. For us segregation in a public hospital is its worst of forms; it is both humiliating and hazardous.

"Gone are the days when Negroes have been refused treatments at hospitals in our city, at least at public facilities. But because of the rules related to segregation, many times in our present day treatment is delayed. Many times, and some of them recent, racial considerations have had priority over medical care."

THE STATEMENT includes three items:

(1) "The treatment of a member of the Atlanta University staff was delayed for an hour because she asked for her own doctor—who happened to be a Negro. She was neither allowed to have him come to the white section, nor was she allowed to go to the pavilion. And, all the while, she was given no treatment."

(2) "The treatment of the wife of a member of the Clark College faculty was delayed because the admissions staff were trying to determine if she was white or Negro."

(3) "Recently, a Morehouse College faculty member was injured in an automobile accident. She was taken to the white emergency ward. When the appearance of a friend and her sister revealed she was Negro, there was a 30-45-minute delay while the admissions personnel quibbled about her racial background. Fortunately her injuries were not serious. But as far as we are concerned, the delay in her treatment was and is a serious matter."

Close-Up

2-15-64 Atl. Const.

An Equality Atlanta Can Do Without

A lot has been argued lately about whether nonviolent demonstrations against restaurants here last month were really nonviolent.

I was foolhardy enough, in a talk on Atlanta University's "Town Meeting" forum earlier this week, to complain that the recent demonstrations lacked some of the nonviolent discipline of those four years ago.

There's no point in rehashing that point now. Suffice it to say, by the time the students finished cross-examining me, I was ready to "go limp" myself.

One gentleman suggested in no uncertain terms that I could serve a better purpose illuminating white people than in telling Negro students how to run their business.

So this is, in a sense, a segregated column, directed at white readers, to report for them the intensity of feeling in the Negro community about the problems of discrimination.

John Lewis, chairman of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and fellow panelist on "Town Meeting," perhaps set the text: Negroes, he said, are no longer interested in conforming to the white liberal's image of how they should behave. Atlanta will have no tranquility until discrimination is removed.

Another student thought he saw a conspiracy by all the persons and institutions of power in the city to maintain segregation—businessmen, newspapers, courts, etc. So demonstrations, he said, must be aimed at all the power structure simultaneously.

As I listened to the questions, all burning with intensity and some tinged with bitterness, I realized how glib and easy it was for me to ask them to adhere to nonviolence. Nonviolence requires accepting insults, physical assault and jailing—and ending up with love in your heart for your opponent.

By asking Negroes to be nonviolent, we are asking for a whole generation of saints and martyrs. We are asking the Negro community to be not equals, but betters.

There is a noticeable acceleration of aggressiveness in the Negro community. As I listened to the mordant questions of students and adults alike, I wondered how much longer Atlanta has to quibble over the niceties. If Negroes start being the "equals" of whites in prejudice and meanness of spirit, we all will be in trouble.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

Men in Power

It's an Easy Job, Says Mayor, Except for Loaded Racial Issue

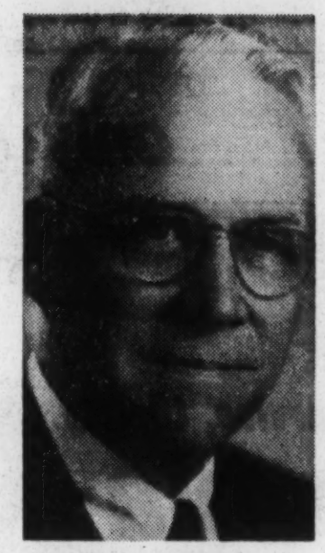
By MARION GAINES

"What's the Silver Fox up to now?"

The question was asked by a downtown Atlanta businessman recently as he strode into City Hall to join more than 100 top-level white and Negro leaders at an unprecedented meeting called by the "Silver Fox" himself — Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.

What the mayor was up to was simply the latest in an endless series of efforts on his part to calm Atlanta's troubled racial waters.

If it weren't for the potentially explosive racial issue, "my job would be a lead-pipe cinch," observed the silver-thatched Allen, now on the third leg of a four-year term in the mayor's office.



"A CINCH, EXCEPT . . ." Atlanta's Mayor Allen

IT'S NO SNAP

The mayor's post in the South's leading capital city would not, of course, be a snap job even if all racial problems were magically solved tomorrow.

But it undoubtedly seems that way to the 53-year-old gentleman merchant who leaped from the business-civic frying pan into the political fire and became Atlanta's 44th mayor in January 1962.

He succeeded long-time Mayor William B. Hartsfield — a tough act to follow on any stage.

The emotional issue of integration-segregation is the paramount challenge facing "the mayor of every large city in the country today," Allen said.

BIT IN THE TEETH

And, he remarked ruefully, "there is no popular position on the race issue."

But Allen has the habit of taking the bit in his teeth and plowing doggedly on, and so it is with the racial problems — popular or unpopular though his position may be.

This quality was no doubt part of Mayor Allen's inheritance from his father, Ivan Allen Sr., who founded an office supply company here that now has branches in Atlanta and nine other Southern cities. At 88, Ivan Allen Sr. still takes an active interest in the business and civic affairs of Atlanta.

Ivan Allen Jr. is an only child who grew up to be a patrician member of the city's Northside community, a class well off financially and schooled to play leading roles in Atlanta's business, civic and cultural affairs—but little inclined toward the tough-and-tumble life of professional politics except in a behind-the-scenes manner.

Mayor Allen has frequently expressed the belief that the political health of all governmental levels — local, state and national — would benefit if businessmen and commercial leaders would take a direct and more active interest.

On the local level, for example, it's not uncommon to hear complaints from Atlanta's downtown financial moguls about the caliber of men in government.

SELDOM WILLING

The critics and complainers, however, are seldom willing to run for public office themselves —and this irritates Mayor Allen, who believes firmly in the do-it-yourself approach.

A desire to finish what he'd started influenced his decision in 1961 to run for mayor.

Elected president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce in late 1960, Allen was a principal framer of the six-point program which he is now guiding from his office at City Hall.

6 MAJOR POINTS

He says: "It was the first time these six major points had been tied together" — open schools and good race relations; completed expressways; urban renewal; rapid transit; an auditorium and stadium; and the Forward Atlanta campaign for promoting the city's growth.

Allen recalls that he was really convinced he should run for mayor after a public-opinion sampling taken by banker Mills B. Lane (who mailed out 112,000 postcards) showed "an extremely favorable response."

So Allen dived into a five-cornered mayor's race with three political pros — State Sen. Charlie Brown, State Rep. Mugsy Smith and Fulton Commissioner Jim Aldredge — and another relative novice, restaurant owner and outspoken segregationist Lester Maddox.

"Instinctively, I knew the race issue would be most important," said Allen.

In typically Allen fashion, he moved to meet the issue head-on and convince voters that it was really a two-man race with only this choice: either Maddox, pledged to resist integration at all costs, or Allen, pledged to furthering Atlanta's national image as a racially enlightened and economy-booming city.

Allen's instinct proved correct. He and Maddox ran one-two in the primary and Allen won handily in the run-off.

Through that long, hot summer, Allen checked the mood of the voters through periodic, professional opinion polls. He knew he was the front-runner all the way, he recalls, because the polls said so and "we had complete confidence in their validity."

ENDORSEMENT TERM

Sure enough, the candidates finished like Allen's polls predicted: Allen, Maddox, Brown, Smith and Aldredge. "The percentages changed, but the order of the candidates never varied," said Allen.

At this juncture, it appears highly likely that Allen will offer for an endorsement term next year. With the political savvy he's picked up the hard way, plus the natural advantages of an incumbent, he'll be hard to beat.

Mayor Allen says he is "not in any way interested in statewide office."

Realistically, he figures that the position he has taken as mayor on some controversial issues — notably the race issue—rules him out as a statewide candidate for just about anything.

HAS MADE ENEMIES

"I could have been mealy-mouthed and ducked some things, but I didn't," he says with no trace of regret.

In the process, Mayor Allen has made politically important segments mad from one end of Atlanta to the other.

He has been assailed by Negro leaders (mostly the younger firebrands) for not pushing hard enough for desegregation (but he still enjoys the support of the older, influential Negro spokesmen).

WASHINGTON STAND

He raised the ire of quite a few prominent white businessmen by going to Washington, D.C., last summer and becoming the first Southern politician to testify publicly in favor of Congress enacting a national civil rights bill, including a national ban on discrimination in public accommodations.

The mayor feels now that recent events — integration demonstrations flaring up throughout the country — have proved him right in having testified for the national public accommodations bill.

Although the mayor's job is his first elective political post, Allen has this background: State Hospital Authority member, 1937 - 38, when "Milledgeville State Hospital was rebuilt"; state school board member, 1939-40; secretary of Gov. Ellis Arnall's executive department, ment, 1945-46; chief of staff for Gov. M. E. Thompson, 1947-48.

NOT FOR GOVERNOR

In 1957, Allen embarked on what he calls "a mild attempt" to run for governor. But after making some 65 speeches in as many places throughout the state, he decided not to enter the gubernatorial derby.

Allen took a hard-headed look at his chances and knew he couldn't win the governorship. Reception to his speeches, he says, was "good and courteous but not enthusiastic."

In addition, "I ran into a stone wall" — meaning that the forces backing then Lt. Gov. Ernest Vandiver were already "pretty well set."

But Allen has no regrets. "Vandiver is a good man; he made us a good governor."

ROLLS WITH PUNCHES

In the mayor's office, Allen has learned to roll with the punches and come back swinging.

In his first year, he was jolted severely by the voters' decisive refusal to approve an $80 million city-county bond issue. It was the first time in years a bond issue had been rejected.

But the mayor got up off the floor, brushed himself off and stubbornly pushed for a new bond issue—one which was endorsed by the voters last spring and included funds for a new $9 million auditorium.

Allen's relations with the aldermanic board have run hot and cold—on the liquor-licensing controversy which has plagued the city for nearly a year; on the best method of handling the sensitive racial issue; on the mayor's efforts to get the resignation (or ouster) of two veteran members of the board.

Asked to choose one thing he's done as mayor that he'd like to do over, Allen replied: "Peyton Road."

In an effort to thwart real estate block-busting in a southwest Atlanta residential neighborhood, Mayor Allen and the city fathers closed and barricaded a portion of Peyton Road.

ACROSS NATION

Negroes called it "Atlanta's Berlin Wall" and their cry echoed across the nation. The city's approach was wrong, and Mayor Allen candidly admits it.

His most satisfying experience as mayor? "The appreciation that is expressed throughout the United States of Atlanta being a progressive, growing city."

"That's the way we want to keep it," he said.

Close-Up 2-19-64

It's a Question of Balancing Rights

From the earliest days of the Republic, there have been limitations on businessmen's rights in the use of their property.

Here in Georgia, to the embarrassment of some, our statutes carried over from the English common law an early version of a public accommodations act —one requiring innkeepers to provide lodgings, if available, to any respectable person able to pay. (Granted, the lawmakers didn't have Negroes in mind at the time. They had another solution for the race problem in those days. They called it slavery.)

As early as 1876, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld an Illinois statute setting a maximum on the fees a grain warehouseman could charge. The law had been attacked as an interference with a businessman's right to do as he saw fit with his property. (The ring is familiar.) The court held that "Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large."

Since then, limitations on unbridled use of privately owned business property have increased considerably. Restaurants, for instance, must meet minimum health standards and supply sanitary facilities for customers and employes. Businesses generally must obtain licenses to operate, deduct income and social security taxes, collect sales taxes, and pay minimum wages and workmen's compensation.

Doubtless each new regulation—whether city, state or federal—has tipped the scales from subsistence to bankruptcy for some businesses. That is regrettable.

Likewise it is undeniable and in some ways unfortunate that each new regulation has taken away a certain amount of liberty—that liberty of the businessman "to do as he sees fit" with his property.

In each case, though, the liberty lost was weighed in the balance of common good and found to be less valuable than the new liberty gained—freedom from starvation wages, from diseased-spreading conditions, from poverty in old age, etc.

Often the liberty lost was simply the liberty to take advantage of others. Thus the excesses of the unrestrained "robber barons" of the late 19th Century led to the reform legislation of the Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson administrations.

Today, it is a bit ridiculous to paint the proposed public accommodations law as a radical invasion of private property. Supporters have balanced the rights of ownership against the rights of American citizenship, and found it time to remove the "right" to discriminate racially.

The American consensus supports this new legislation. So do I, just I also would support the legal right of the individual to be just as bigoted as he wishes in his home or his private club.—BRUCE GALPHIN.

Coed Sit-In Given Jail, $1,000 Fine

2-21-64 Const

By JACK STRONG

Miss Mardon Walker, 18-year-old coed from Connecticut College For Women, was convicted Thursday on charges of violating Georgia's anti-trespass law.

Fulton Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye ordered the maximum sentence for a misdemeanor offense—six months in jail, 12 months on the public works and a $1,000 fine.

He fixed appeal bond at $15,000 and the tall, rangy, blonde was taken to the Fulton County Jail.

ATTORNEYS FILE APPEAL

Her Negro attorneys, Donald L. Hollowell and Howard Moore Jr. immediately filed appeal for a new trial and Judge Pye set a hearing for April 24.

The judge set the appeal bond after lengthy questioning of Miss Walker and her father, a six-foot-four Navy captain and former test pilot now stationed at the Pentagon in Washington, District of Columbia.

Capt. D. P. Walker said he did not have a large amount of cash but that after spending 22 years in the Navy could conceivably raise an amount as would be required to cover a "reasonable bond" for his daughter.

JURY DELIBERATES

The 11 men and one woman who made up the jury returned a verdict of guilty after little more than an hour's deliberation. The courtroom, as it has been througout the three days of the trial and the lengthy preliminary hearings on motions to dismiss the case, was packed.

Negro students, some of whom were arrested at the same time Miss Walker was arrested, during the attempt to integrate the Krystal Restaurant at 70 Peachtree St. NW on January 13, were present. Trials for them and 28 others charged with anti-trespass violations growing out of the demonstrations, were to continue before Judge Pye March 2.

In sentencing the young woman who until late January this year was an exchange student at Spelman College, Judge Pye said: "It is no pleasure for the court to pass sentence on a young person 18 years of age."

JUDGE EXPLAINS

He pointed out that it is always possible "to mitigate or ameliorate" a sentence if it should appear necessary. On the other hand, there is no way to increase a sentence that is "too light."

Capt. Walker, in testifying to the judge, asked what his status was as a witness. Judge Pye told him sharply that he did not have to testify at all. He said the purpose was to fix bond which would assure his daughter's presence in court on appeal.

The judge asked the captain whether money had been raised for Miss Walker's cause at her college in Connecticut. The captain answered that he heard $4,400 or $4,600 had been raised.

HEROINE AT SCHOOL

"She is regarded as a heroine there?" Judge Pye questioned.

"Yes, Judge," the captain answered. "My daughter has had an excellent reputation everywhere she has been. When I gave her permission to come down here I gave her permission to be a part of the community of Spelman College."

The captain said that in talking to faculty members of Spelman he concluded her reputation there has been good. He said she has been a lay Methodist young leader.

PROFESSOR FREED

Before the jury retired to deliberate Judge Pye ordered the release of a young white Spelman history professor who he had jailed on contempt charges Wednesday for 20 days.

The professor, Melvin V. Drimmer, was released after he apologized to Judge Pye and to Fulton Assistant Solicitor Gen. Bill Spence for saying when he appeared as character witness for Miss Walker Wednesday that "Southern courts will try to impugn the witness."

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild appealed to Judge Pye to release Drimmer. The rabbi said Drimmer and his seven months' pregnant wife worship at his synagogue.

Coed Sit-In Third to Get Maximum

2-21-64 Const

Miss Mardon Walker is the third demonstrator to receive the maximum sentence following conviction before Judge Durwood Pye. All persons tried for violations were white.

In August a white preacher from San Gabriel Calif., was found guilty of disturbing church worship at the First Baptist Church of Atlanta during an attempt to integrate services there.

He is the Rev. Ashton Bryan Jones, 67. He was sentenced to serve the maximum misdemeanor sentence and appeal bond was fixed for him at $20,000 by Judge Pye. The Georgia Supreme Court ordered that bond be reduced to $5,000.

STILL IN JAIL

The preacher is still in jail although some members of the Negro community have sought to raise bail. Jones' attorney, Howard Moore Jr., said he does not know who will help the preacher make the reduced bond. No volunteers have come forward, he said.

Another white college student, Tom Taylor Tolg, 24, a graduate of Miami University of Oxford, Ohio, was tried during the same week Jones was tried. The jury convicted him of violating Georgia's anti-trespass laws during an attempt to integrate Leb's downtown restaurant.

He also received the maximum sentence but with the stipulation from Judge Pye that if he stated in writing that he would promise not to violate the laws of Georgia or any other state, the judge would suspend all but four months of the sentence.

LENGTHY DISCUSSION

Tolg engaged in a lengthy philosophical discussion of his views with the judge. He said he did not feel that all laws were "good laws" and cited "the destroying of every third child" from biblical reference and the torturing and extermination of Jews during the Nazi rule in Germany as examples of bad laws.

Tolg's appeal bond was set at $5,000 and the case is yet to be decided.

8 Negro Firms Here Join City Chamber

2-25-64

Eight Negro businesses in Atlanta have joined the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, according to Opie Shelton, executive vice president.

The eight businesses accepted invitations to join sent out by directors of the chamber following their meeting Feb. 12.

The businesses are Atlanta Life Insurance Co., Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association, Citizens Trust Co., Bickers Realty Co., The Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta Mortgage Broker Co., Southeastern Fidelity Insurance Co., and Yates and Milton Drug Co.

A local plastering firm, the H. J. Russell Plastering Co., was the first Negro business to become a chamber member, joining in November, 1962. The eight are the first Negro businesses to join since then.

Mr. Shelton said the Macon chamber has had Negro members for some years, as have the chambers of other Southern cities.

Is This Atlanta's Face? 70 Blocks of Poverty

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

Three civic organizations sponsor a regular guided tour of an Atlanta residential section that would leave the ladies of the garden clubs aghast.

The tour, sponsored by the Community Council of the Atlanta Area Inc., National Council of Jewish Women and the

Third in a Series.

Salvation Army, covers roughly 70 blocks within sight of the state Capitol.

The tour's purpose is to show off the ugliness and poverty of a particular section.

The sponsors say the tour was arranged "because we believe understanding problems is a first step to finding solutions."

Approximately 19,000 persons live in the area. Part of the section is in an urban renewal project. Much of it is not. Most of the housing is rated substandard.

A statistical study on the section reveals the following:

Approximately 75 per cent of the population over 25 years old has less than a ninth grade education.

Between 71 and 90 per cent of the families have an annual income of $5,000 or less.

Between 25 and 40 per cent of the youths between 14 and 17 years old are not enrolled in school.

Unemployment is widespread, as is crime and juvenile delinquency.

The area accounts for 3.4 per cent of Fulton County's population. It also accounts for nearly 9 per cent of all the county's relief recipients.

Area planners estimate that by 1970 the white population will decrease 56 per cent, while the Negro population will increase 27 per cent.

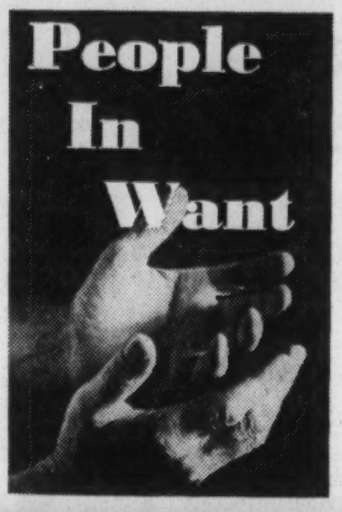
Many persons moving from the area are settling in other sections of the city. Their blight and their poverty settle with them.

There are no typical dwellers in the "tour area."

But random interviews pointed to several factors which helped construct this island of poverty in an ocean of plenty.

James B. is a strapping 60-year-old man who has not been employed in 15 years.

He lives with his wife and children in an unpainted rental house in the tour area.



He depends upon money from the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services to get by.

Ask James why he hasn't worked in 15 years, and he will tell you the following:

He has heart disease, tuberculosis, cancer, shortness of breath and high blood pressure. He says the doctors at "the Grady" (Grady Hospital) don't understand his case.

While he talked with a reporter and a Fulton County social worker, James B. alternately lay down across his bed

Continued on Page 11, Column 4

People in Want

Poverty Sprawls Over 70 Blocks

Continued From Page 1

with his eyes closed and sat holding his head.

The social worker explained that James had been "certified" as disabled so that he could draw public assistance funds.

But doctors have found few of the illnesses which he has diagnosed.

"They always over-do it," she explained. "They want to make sure they'll get their checks."

James' children are supported by aid-to-dependent children funds.

His wife is able-bodied, but she is illiterate and cannot even operate simple household appliances.

Both lived in a rural area before coming to Atlanta about 20 years ago. Five years later James had "a spell" and hasn't worked since.

The social worker interviewed a school drop-out about taking a publicly financed course in automobile repair.

He said he's interested in becoming an automobile mechanic all right, but who'll drive him back and forth to class?

Then there are the boarding houses in the area where the landlady checks with the welfare department before accepting a guest. She wants to make sure that they are on the "public assistance" rolls so she can head off the welfare check.

Most of those interviewed seemed resigned to their status.

To prevent another declining Atlanta area from becoming a similar showplace of poverty, the Community Council of the Atlanta Area Inc. last August established an experimental Neighborhood Improvement program in one section of West End.

The Council, cooperating with state and local agencies, is attempting to work out a retraining program for unemployed persons, provide aid for school drop-outs, etc.

Their findings and recommendations are expected to be announced within the next few days.

Continued Wednesday in The Atlanta Constitution.

MARCH 3, 1964

Eugene Patterson

Some Work That Can Be Done

"What we need around here," said a mountain woman, stating the simplest fact of economics, "is some work for the men to do." Three-fourths of the families in her town of Auraria, Ga., are on welfare rolls. There isn't much for the men to do except odd jobs, she told The Constitution's Bill Shipp.

He reports that nearly 168,000 Georgians drew public welfare checks in January. Nearly 33,000 more depended on short-term unemployment benefits. Half of the families in 84 Georgia counties can expect to live on less than $3,000 this year. Men can't find work.

Yet jobs are open and employers can't fill them. The jobs require skills that the jobless men don't have. "Finding automobile mechanics I can hire is a constant problem for me," says a car dealer in a small city.

* * *

Then why can't a jobless man be retrained to be an auto mechanic, as a service to himself, to the employer who wants to hire him, and to the taxpayer who now is supporting him?

That's being tried. Georgia has established 29 vocational-technical schools to train such men. The State Department of Education runs the schools.

But as Shipp notes, the State Department of Labor recruits the people to go to them. And the schools aren't filled.

At a time when more than 30,000 Georgians are drawing unemployment compensation, Labor Commissioner Ben T. Huiett says it's hard to find students to take the training.

Here is one job for men to do in Georgia: Recruit the students for those schools, and set up new programs to take full advantage of federal job-retraining funds; South Carolina is showing Georgia how, with vigorous political and business leadership.

* * *

It isn't enough anymore to sit back and call the poor man shiftless. One of every four farm families in 131 Georgia counties makes less than $2,000 a year. That kind of poverty explains why 168,000 Georgians have gone on public welfare. It's wooly-headed thinking to say "So what?" Just leaving them on welfare is costly as well as cruel. Getting them off welfare ought to be the aim. That means getting some work for them to do, which in turn depends on getting them trained to do some work. And that goes back to education, both vocational and basic.

The old, the sick and some adult illiterates may never be salvageable as workers. The welfare programs are for them.

But for able-bodied men who simply lack a skill, vocational schooling on a massive scale is a need of the highest urgency. Georgia simply can't afford to lag. A failure of leadership in this field will be hard on the jobless man who doesn't know how to go about retraining himself, hard on the employer who needs an auto mechanic and can't find one, and hard on the taxpayer who will have to go on compensating the unemployed until the unemployed can find work and join the taxpayers.

Thousands of Our Children Go Hungry

3-5-64

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

"I ask all of you who share my conviction that education and the future are inseparably related join me in this effort to insure our state's rightful role in the latter part of this century by inspiring their children to use their minds. . . ."
—Gov. Carl Sanders' Inaugural Address.

Ever try inspiring a child whose stomach is growling in hunger, whose shoes are worn out, whose clothes are tattered, whose family life is a nightmare of impoverished despair?

Thousands of Georgia children are in that condition.

Education and welfare authorities report scores of school dropout cases that can be traced directly to "being ashamed"—ashamed of not having shoes to wear to school, ashamed of not

Fifth in a Series

having enough money to pay for a 25-cent school lunch.

Last year the families of more than 44,000 Georgia children could not afford to pay for school lunches.

The lunches were served free. Georgia schools last year served nearly seven million lunches free or at reduced prices.

More than 440,000 Georgia children did not participate in the school lunch program at all.

Over 20 per cent of the students in at least 121 Georgia schools get their lunches served free of charge.

These schools receive special funds from the Georgia Department of Education to help them make ends meet.

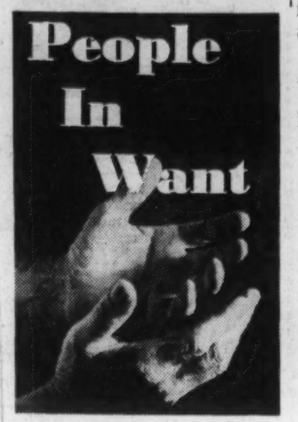
Some of these schools are in the Atlanta area. Mrs. Clarice C. Johns, director of cafeteria and food services for the Atlanta system, reports one Atlanta Negro elementary school furnishes 59.6 per cent of its lunches free because parents can't afford the price.

Another Atlanta school gives away 58 per cent of its lunches, another 48 per cent and another 32.4 per cent.

Health officials report that in most cases the free lunch is the only square meal the child receives each day.

Statistics show that mental retardation is directly related to malnutrition.

To see that needy children are properly fed, 33 Georgia counties are issuing free government surplus food to needy families. There's plenty of food available for all 159 counties.



And Georgia's public assistance grants to destitute families with children is among the lowest in the nation, although it ranks high for the Southeast.

In January a total of 47,160 Georgia children were receiving aid through the "Aid For Families with Dependent Children." The average per-family grant was $87.12.

The state program has been greatly expanded under the guidance of Mrs. Bruce Schaefer, director of the Department of Family and Children Services. But the program continues to be one of the toughest welfare programs to qualify for in the state. Only about half the Fulton County applicants are approved for aid.

From 30-40 of every 1,000 children under 18 years of age in Georgia receive aid through the families with dependent children program.

Here is a case of an applicant who qualified:

Mrs. Aileen Farmer, a Fulton

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

Le Grand Charles

SAN SALVADOR (AP) — French President Charles de Gaulle has been invited to visit el Salvador on his forthcoming Latin-American trip.

★ **People in Want**

Children by the Thousands Going Ragged and Hungry

Continued from Page 1

County social worker, sat down with Mrs. B., an unemployed mother with one small child, and worked out the following meager monthly budget.

Food	$ 66.00
Clothing	9.50
Incidentals	5.00
Rent	33.00
Heating	5.00
Cooking	3.40
Lights	1.03
Water	1.57
Total	$124.50

Did Mrs. B., who had to prove she had no other income, receive the $124.50 to care for herself and child? No, she was awarded the maximum Public Assistance grant of $59.00 per month.

If she has no other income and needs $124.50 per month, how does she and her child get by on $59?

"You tell me," said Mrs. Farmer.

In addition to proving she had no other income, Mrs. B. also was required to prove the following to qualify for $59:

That she did not have real or personal property worth more than $800, in addition to the home in which he lives.

That her husband was dead.

That her child was less than 18 years old. (The child is two years old.)

That she was unable to find work and still provide adequate care for the child.

It took Mrs. B. 60 days to receive her first state check.

Wellborn Ellis, director of Fulton County's Department of Family and Children Services, said the aid for families with dependent children program has been subject to abuse by many welfare recipients.

He said the program also has been criticized as a "racket" for mothers who have illegitimate children. (Twelve per cent of the 6,700 Fulton County dependent children receiving assistance are illegitimate.)

"Any woman who has an illegitimate child just to get $59 a month in public assistance would have to be mentally ill or retarded," Ellis said.

A family, no matter how large, can receive a maximum grant of $134 per month.

Ellis recognizes that the grant program is inadequate to provide proper care for children.

What is the answer then?

Educate the mothers and find jobs for them whenever possible, according to Ellis. Fulton County has a program in which it will pay for child care while the mother is in class.

And the federal government has allocated funds for Georgia to begin a day-care program so that mothers can work and get themselves and their children off the welfare rolls. The program has not yet been put into effect.

Mrs. Schaefer's organization is putting great emphasis on child welfare and has already made progress in the field. But Georgia still has a long way to go in adequately feeding and clothing and housing her destitute children.

To be concluded Friday in The Constitution.

City Expects Big League Ball in 1965

Continued from Page 1

tion Wednesday seems certain to lend impetus to the Atlanta-Fulton Recreation Authority's plans to let the stadium construction contracts on March 31.

The proposed stadium would seat 50,000 for baseball and 57,500 for football. The recreation authority proposes to finance construction by floating revenue certificates which would be underwritten by the city and county.

Payments on the principal and interest of the certificates would be about $900,000 yearly to be paid two-thirds by the city and one-third by the county.

But it is estimated that about $600,000 would be met by stadium income, leaving the city's annual tab at around $200,000 and the county's at $100,000.

Voting Changes Urged

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

Secretary of State Ben W. Fortson has asked Gov. Carl Sanders to propose election law changes in a special legislative session in May.

Fortson told reporters he has volunteered to step aside as the commissioner of elections if that controversy is going to keep the Legislature from acting this year.

"I certainly have no pride in being the commissioner of elections," Fortson said. He added he told the same thing to Sanders.

A provision of the code—introduced at the recent session but held in committee for further consideration—makes him the commissioner with the power to move into local elections "only where it is shown they can't have a fair election otherwise."

Fortson also pointed out that the new code would eliminate the early primaries now being held all over the state.

"One primary would have to be held in September for all county and state offices," he said.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook also urged Sanders—in a letter—to include election laws in his call for the special session.

Cook said, "Because of the present confusion over our primary and election law, the State Law department is confronted with a day-to-day work load involving efforts on our part to allay the most universal frustration among local and state officials and party authorities."

Neither Cook nor Fortson commented on whether the elections commissioner would be able to move into the Quitman County Democratic squabble if the new code were law now.

It appeared, however, that they could. Since the Georgia Democratic Party already has said it would not recognize the election, it presumably could have gone to the commissioner.

Fortson said, "Some of the opponents of the proposed legislation are spreading the word that I am trying to grab power. That simply is not true. I am committed to the principle that every man and woman in Georgia should be given the right to cast his or her vote and have it counted."

Atlanta 3-5-64 Const

As Others See Us

Washington Post Article Portrays City 'Busy Polishing Blurred Racial Image'

The Washington Post recently sent one of its top reporters, Robert E. Baker, to make an on-the-spot study of why Atlanta, the city with the good "image," had stubbed its toe on race relations last January. On the assumption that it's sometimes helpful to see ourselves as others see us, we reprint his article, which ran in The Post last Sunday.

ATLANTA — At the Wits End night club on Fifth St. here, a bright satirical revue lampoons the Southern Way of Life, past and present.

"I see where one of our boys has been selected by Time magazine as Man of the Year," says a politician in one skit, referring to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"And what have you done to honor him?" asks a reporter.

"Well," replies the politician, "we've decided to let him register to vote."

In another skit, a Negro girl is asked why she hasn't returned her empty soft drink bottles to the grocery store to get back her deposit. She lifts one threateningly and replies:

"I'm waiting for the next nonviolent demonstration."

The revue, played to desegregated audiences, is one of the most popular places in town. It is part of the vitality and active communication that mark the racial situation in the city.

At the moment, things are relatively quiet.

"Right now," said Mayor Ivan Allen, "we are living in the backwash of those demonstrations. Atlanta was living the image of a lily in the race relations field. But now the lily has wilted."

Mayor's Stand

Allen surprised the nation, and infuriated many Atlanta businessmen, when he testified on Capitol Hill last summer in favor of the public accommodations provision in the civil rights bill.

He favors it even more today. The recent racial demonstrations were aimed primarily at those restaurants that still refuse to serve Negroes despite all the pressure the mayor and nearly everybody who is anybody could bring to bear.

"Congress has been absolutely spineless in facing this issue," he said. "It ought not to leave it up to the localities. We've done everything we can do in Atlanta. The federal Congress must pass a law."

ress and goodwill, but there was also reneging by some establishments. Besides some Negro leaders felt that it was good strategy to show that even in a liberal city, a federal public accommodations law was needed.

Atlanta officials passed up a good chance to avoid demonstrations when they failed to come to an agreement over a two-month period with a citywide leadership conference representing all Negro organizations, united by the older and more conservative Negro leaders to keep the younger militants under control.

Truce Ends

Finally, the militants could no longer be contained. Demonstrations began under the sponsorship of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The wild demeanor of some of the demonstrators and the disclosure of "battle plans" by some Negro leaders to find a "sensitive spot" in Atlanta undoubtedly caused a resurgence in activity by hard-core segregationists and an alienation of white liberals.

Atlanta still has its battle between the old and the new way of handling racial issues. The old way perhaps is illustrated by Superior Judge Durwood Pye.

Only three of the 400 demonstrators arrested since August have come to trial. All three are white. All three came before Judge Pye.

One was Mardon Walker, 19, who was arrested Jan. 11 for violating Georgia's anti-trespass laws when she refused to leave the Krystal Restaurant on Marietta St.

Miss Walker is the daughter of Navy Capt. and Mrs. Donald P. Walker of 846 S. Frederick St., Arlington, Va. She is a sophomore at Connecticut College for Women and she attended Spelman College, a predominantly Negro institution here, as an exchange student for the fall semester.

At her trial, Miss Walker denied that she had been

Before setting a $15,000 appeal bond, Judge Pye interrogated her father on the witness stand about his financial standing and whether Miss Walker was considered a heroine up at Connecticut College.

Capt. Walker, a former test pilot, told Judge Pye that his daughter has a fine reputation and that she had his permission to come to Spelman as an exchange student.

"It was expected that she would come down and she would live in this community and she would participate in it," he said.

Negroes comprise 40 per cent of Atlanta's population and cast 50,000 votes.

Negro Voting

A few years ago, a white political leader could deal with a handful of Negro leaders and control the Negro vote. In 1948, former Mayor William Hartsfield, a foremost southern liberal, got the Negro vote by appointing the city's first Negro policeman. Now there are many Negro policemen. There are also many more Negro leaders, and they will not deliver the vote cheaply.

No longer may a candidate expect the Negro vote if he simply refrains from racebaiting. Today he must be positive.

Mayor Allen alienated the Negroes when he raised the "Atlanta Wall" two years ago in an attempt to stop "blockbusting" in a neighborhood; he redeemed the Negro vote when he testified for public accommodations.

The Negro vote helped Rep. Charles Weltner (D-Ga.) beat Judge Davis, but he faces trouble because he voted against the civil rights bill in the House.

New Congressman

Redistricting will now give the Atlanta area two Congressmen. The climate here has not changed enough for a Negro to be sent to Capitol Hill, but it is likely that two progressive, "New South" Congressmen will be.

Perhaps the aspect of Atlan-

groes despite all the pressure the mayor and nearly everybody who is anybody could bring to bear.

"Congress has been absolutely spineless in facing this issue," he said. "It ought not to leave it up to the localities. We've done everything we can do in Atlanta. The federal Congress must pass a law."

The Negro leaders launched their protests when they realized that Atlanta was getting much more glitter from its racial image than it deserved. Certainly there had been prog-

ter of Navy Capt. and Mrs. Donald P. Walker of 846 S. Frederick St., Arlington, Va. She is a sophomore at Connecticut College for Women and she attended Spelman College, a predominantly Negro institution here, as an exchange student for the fall semester.

At her trial, Miss Walker denied that she had been asked to leave the Krystal Restaurant. But she was found guilty and Judge Pye threw the book at her: a $1,000 fine, six months in jail and 12 months on public works.

the House.

New Congressman

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Perhaps the aspect of Atlanta that will bring a quick solution to its racial problems is its pride. Both Negro and white Atlantans want its image shining bright. That is why many Negroes were irritated by the course of the demonstrations. That is why many whites deplored Judge Pye's harsh sentencing of the Connecticut College coed.

"This is my town and it's a great one," said Donald Hollowell, NAACP attorney representing arrested demonstrators. "I want its image to be the best, and it has the potential for being the best."

Charles Lebedin, operator of Leb's, a primary demonstration target, told the Atlanta Jaycees about this conversation he had with Dick Gregory, Negro comedian and demonstrator:

"Charlie, we're going to win," said Gregory.

"I hope you do, and if everybody integrates, I'll go along," said Lebedin.

But the whole situation seemed to have tarnished Atlanta's image for Lebedin. He also said he was "disgusted" and planned to sell his holdings.

One holdout motel owner, Moreton Rolleston, closed down his bar and went to court to force the other 71 places that serve mixed drinks in Atlanta to close down under Georgia's dry laws. This crisis was dealt with by a skit at the Wits End night club.

"Miss Scarlett, Miss Scarlett," cried the little girl, "the Yankees are coming! The Yankees are coming!"

"Relax, Prissie," said Miss Scarlett. "Nobody's coming to Atlanta if they get rid of the liquor laws."

Economy Keeps Growing—But So Does Poverty

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

"Looking back over a number of years, I see what I call a culture of poverty developing in which people are increasingly outside of what we normally think of as our social structure, in a world that is in many respects meaningless."

—Ralph Helstein
For The Fund for the Republic Inc.

By the time you finish reading this, the chances are good that another child will be born in Atlanta into the "culture of poverty."

Chances also are far from remote that he will be the third generation of his family depending upon tax-financed public assistance for survival.

The state's economy is blossoming at a record-breaking clip. But so is this parasitic milieu of poorness. The welfare tax load is increasing daily—

Last of six articles.

and the economy can only suffer as the numbers of impoverished increase.

Destroying poverty and uplifting the impoverished in this time of automation and shifting populations are appalling tasks that touch all facets of public service.

A mechanical cotton picker can do the work of as many as 90 field hands a day. And Georgia cotton farmers are purchasing more and more of the devices every year.

What happens to the 90 field hands left idle by the roaring contraption?

Finding a place for them in society becomes a complex problem of education and employment.

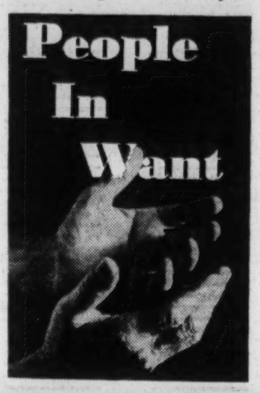
Georgia labor and education officials have started working on the problem of giving literacy training and occupational training to the now obsolete laborers.

Federal funds for this training, under the Manpower Development and Training Act have been exhausted, however. And Rep. Clarence Cannon of Missouri, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, is sitting on a $55 million appropriations proposal—some of which Georgia badly needs to get its training programs rolling.

Observers say the money may not be available for months — and Georgia's load of displaced field hands and unemployed laborers will have increased by thousands by the time it is passed.

Health also plays a major role in the battle against poverty in Georgia.

Georgia's rate of premature births — much of which can be traced directly to malnutrition and to the lower socio-economic classes — is shocking.



The Georgia health department reports that the premature birth rate has increased from 60.8 per 1,000 live births in 1947 to 93.1 in 1962.

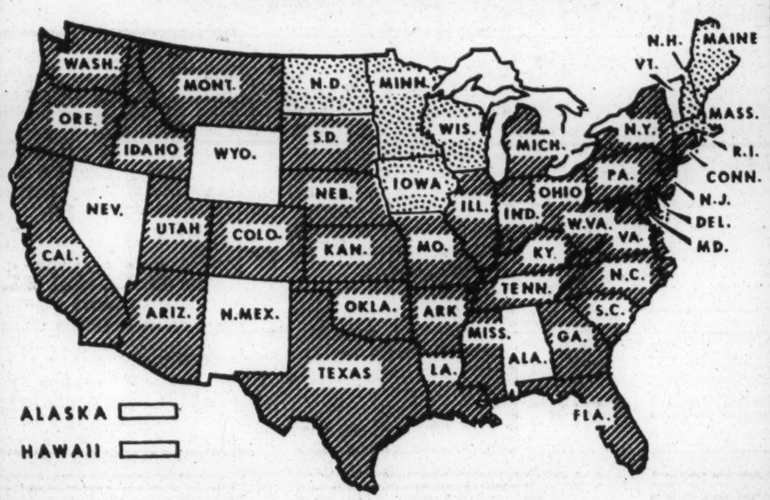
A total of 133 Negroes out of every 1,000 Negro live births in 1962 in Georgia were premature. Seventy-one of every 1,000 live white births were premature.

As the prematurity birth rate spirals, so does the number of mentally retarded and physically handicapped children. More welfare cases — more money drained from the economy.

(Statistics from two Atlanta area hospitals show that the

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

3-6-64 Journal



United Press International Map

MAP INDICATES DISPARITY OF REPRESENTATION

WASHINGTON, March 6 — This newsmap graphically illustrates, state by state, the disparity of representation in state congressional districts. Note that Georgia is classified in that group of states in which one or more districts vary by more than 15 per cent.

★ People in Want

Economy Grows --So Does Poverty

Continued from Page 1

premature birth rate for indigent mothers is more than double that for non-indigent.)

Dr. Eleanor Petrie and Dr. Morris Brackett of the health department consider inadequate diet as one of the basic causes of premature births.

The health department has established a "proper diet" program for indigent pregnant women in the 33 counties in which surplus food commodities are given the needy.

Dr. Brackett reports that the premature birth rate in these 33 counties is lower than in the rest of the state.

(As many as 20 counties have discontinued the surplus-food program within the past two years. The majority of Georgia's counties have never entered the program.

FOOD IS FREE

(The food is free to the counties. It is transported to the counties free. The county commissioners in each county are required to find storage space for the food and to hire someone to certify recipients.

(Hill Healan of the Association of County Commissioners of Georgia said many counties are not participating in the program because many county officials find that "it is most difficult to get away from being criticized about who is authorized to receive the food.")

The welfare agencies—the Departments of Family and Children Services—also share a big responsibility in the attack on poverty.

SHORT ON PERSONNEL

These departments now are short on personnel (an average of 200 cases per social worker in Georgia) and long on red tape (it takes about 60 days for a needy person to receive public assistance.)

Semi-private and church organizations are attempting to fill the gap left by public welfare.

(One agency reported that more than 700 cases were referred to it last year by the DeKalb and Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services.)

MAJOR SOLUTION

Social welfare leaders agree, however, that the answer to abolishing poverty is not in extending the public dole.

Instead, the solution is in training and finding jobs for those able to work.

(The federal government in the past two-and-half years has worked with private investors in developing new jobs and new industry in the state. The Area Redevelopment Administration carried out 32 projects in that time, creating 2,556 new jobs. An additional Public Works projects in Georgia created another 25,341 man-hours of work.)

The welfare payroll probably can never be eliminated. A humane society is obligated to care for its totally disabled and its indigent aged.

Leaders in the field of public welfare believe that the "culture of poverty" can be all but destroyed with proper education, proper health care and lasting public concern.

3-6-64

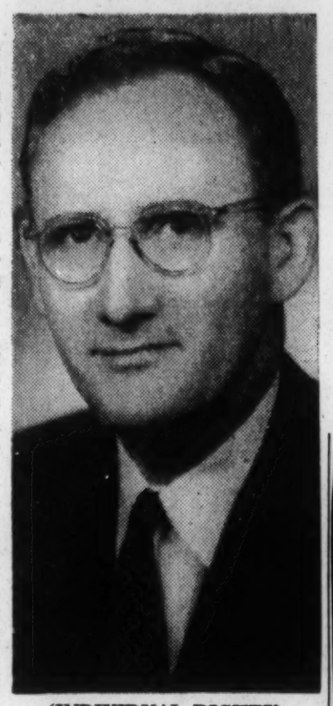
Compromises Not the Answer To Racial Issue, Douglas Says

By ACHSAH POSEY

Compromises and "concessions" will not solve Atlanta's racial problems, Hamilton Douglas, chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Racial Matters, told Jaycees Thursday.

Speaking as the man in the middle, appointed to deal with eight demands by Negro leaders last fall in a joint "Action for Democracy" document, Douglas declared:

"This is not an Atlanta problem or a Georgia problem. It's a worldwide social revolution and its not going to stop until the full measure of rights guaranteed are actually granted."



'INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS'
Hamilton Douglas

NO SUCH THING

"There is no such thing as the leaders compromising and bringing the whole thing to a halt. There are matters of individual rights and the leaders can't compromise them out of existence," he said, stressing that he was talking about legal rights and refusing to enter the realm of moral rights.

"If the right means anything the person guaranteed it is entitled to it in his lifetime, not in the next generation," Douglas added.

"People keep asking how long is it going on, saying 'every time we yield there's another demand.'" These demands are entirely logical if you put yourself in the position of a citizen of the United States who a century ago was guaranteed certain rights. He isn't going to ask for half a right and stop."

A DIFFICULT THING

"It's a difficult thing for any white man raised in a white man's culture to put himself in that man's position," he observed, "I find it difficult."

A questioner asked if he did not feel some of the requests were "not seeking equal but special privileges?"

"Some of the things asked are not presently guaranteed rights, if that's what you mean," Douglas replied, "but I know of nothing asked that could be called a special privilege that is not granted other people."

He said the Negro demands were "couched in mild terms and things most would agree they were legally entitled to."

LEGAL PICKETING

Pointing out that peaceful picketing is one of the rights to which everyone is entitled, he said, "it is not 'peaceful' in the law as presently constituted if the pickets remain inside a place after they have been asked to leave," but that legislation before Congress could change this.

Asked about restaurant owner Charlie Lebedin's statements before the club two weeks ago that Atlanta police refused to make arrests when his place was filled with people he had asked to leave, Douglas said this was because of a change in police policy brought about by the refusal of many restaurant owners to press charges. once demonstrators were off the premises.

"The police were running a conveying service moving demonstrators from restaurants to would be the antithesis of free enterprise. What we need is a free opportunity for everybody to excercise his skills without arbitrary barriers, such as race, religion or color."

Stating that one of the major accomplishments by his committee thus far was the "opening up of job opportunities by a large number of large employers in the Atlanta area without regard to race."

He added that "very few Negroes are qualified" for many of the more skilled jobs, "which shouldn't surprise anybody," "What use was it to learn to operate a calculating machine if no one would hire anyone of your race to use it," he said.

After fielding a number of rather hostile questions from his audience Douglas refused to state his personal views on public accommodations legislation. He said his personal opinions were "completely irrelevant and expressing them would make my job, which is to coordinate between people of vastly differing views, more difficult."

We Can Remove Shadow of Poverty Hanging Over Babies, Adults Alike

If anyone doubts that poverty is cutting a widening path in Georgia, let him look at the figures on premature births.

In 15 years, the rate of premature births has jumped from 60.8 per 1,000 live births to 93.1.

Viewed in the light of the advances that have been made in health and medicine in recent years, this is a shocking increase. Indeed, it is among the highest rates in the country.

Much of it can be attributed to inadequate diet. Figures at two Atlanta hospitals show that indigent mothers have twice as many premature births as do non-indigent mothers.

Along with these premature births come mental and physical defects among the children, which add still further to welfare costs.

Thirty-three counties are doing something about this problem. These counties distribute surplus commodities from the federal government, thus making proper diets available to needy women.

But this leaves 126 counties that do not have such programs.

The program is not complicated. Surplus food is plentiful. The counties need only to provide a warehouse to store the food and to designate someone to administer the program.

True, the programs have been mishandled in some places in the past. That is no reason, however, why Georgians cannot arrange and manage fair and efficient food distribution programs in every county if they make up their minds to do so.

The State Department of Labor can do a better job than it has in the past in manpower training, and the counties can do a more thorough job with surplus food.

When we really roll up our sleeves and get busy combatting unemployment, illiteracy, bad health and poverty, the whole state—rich and poor alike—will benefit.

* * * * * *

Const. 3-7-64

When Will Equal Rights Efforts End?

Hamilton Douglas is a man with a tough job. And because it is a hard job, he is faced with hard facts. This week, he shared some of these facts with an audience of Atlanta Jaycees. What he said is important for the whole community to understand.

Mr. Douglas is chief negotiator for Mayor Allen in the matter of the Negro community's "Action for Democracy" appeal to end all public discrimination.

"People keep asking how long it is going on, saying 'every time we yield, there's another demand,'" Mr. Douglas told his audience.

The answer: "This is not an Atlanta problem or a Georgia problem. It's a worldwide social revolution, and it's not going to stop until the full measure of rights guaranteed are actually granted."

Only in this context can present negotiations here be understood and dealt with honestly. "It's a difficult thing," Mr. Douglas declared, "for a white man raised in a white man's culture to put himself in (the Negro's) position. I find it difficult."

Mr. Douglas made it clear that he was talking about equal opportunities, not special privileges. But he said that granting equal rights to all citizens does not take away real rights from some, because the "right" lost "was not a right in the first place."

It would be healthy for all Atlantans to ponder Mr. Douglas' words.

* * * * * *

Citizen Acceptance Tied to Rights Gains

Attorney Cites City's Need For Racial Good Will

Progress in the field of human rights must follew "some measure of citizen acceptance," Atlanta atorney Hamilton Douglas told a newly formed group of women dedicated to achieving "positive human relations goals" here Tuesday.

Douglas, who serves as chairman of a mayor's committee on racial matters, commended action of some 200 leaders in civic and religious organizations in forming "Partners for Progress."

Bylaws adopted by the integrated group describe "Partners for Progress" as "a movement" designed to serve as "a coordinating committee of metropolitan Atlanta organizations . . . and individuals . . . grouped together to support and encourage the extension of equal opportunity in business, government and community affairs, and through cooperative and coordinated activity to influence public opinion by women's civic, cultural, professional and religious groups."

VAST RESERVOIR

Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, elected executive committee chairman, told delegates to the organizational meeting at the YWCA that there is "no feeling that existing organizations are failing to meet needs" but said PFP would help form "a climate of opinion" favorable to its goals. She said "a vast reservoir of good will that exists in Atlanta for progress in race relations is largely unorganized."

Other officers named Tuesday include Mrs. George J. Gunning, Mrs. Henry Cook Hamilton and Mrs. Sidney Janus, vice chairmen; Mrs. Hamilton Lokey, secretary, and Mrs. J. R. Wilson Sr., treasurer.

A member of the new group reported on "a very quiet campaign" to desegregate Grady Hospital. A PFP "fact sheet" now being circulated calls on interested persons to "write a minimum of four letters" to the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority and Emory University officials and to members of the boards of commissioners.

KNOWS NO COLOR

"We believe that all forms of segregation are immoral," the fact sheet notes. "But segregation in hospital facilities, treatment and training of medical

cause they are implicit in the word 'American.' . . .

Mrs. Vinson said the PFP "wants to take the word 'American back from the John Birch Society."

place after they have been asked to leave," but that legislation before Congress could change this.

Asked about restaurant owner Charlie Lebedin's statements before the club two weeks ago that Atlanta police refused to make arrests when his place was filled with people he had asked to leave, Douglas said this was because of a change in police policy brought about by the refusal of many restaurant owners to press charges. once demonstrators were off the premises.

"The police were running a conveying service moving demonstrators from restaurants to the police station and then letting them out. It makes their jobs impossible," Douglas responded. He noted that he thought this policy has been modified since that time.

NO COMMUNIST PUSH

"Do not kid yourself that this is a Communist inspired movement," he said in answer to questions about any Communists among leaders of some Negro groups. "It is a movement from the bottom of the people to achieve things promised since slavery."

"I don't know if any of the leaders I talked with were Communists, but you can't kill it by calling it Communist. I've never cared about a man's motives if he's conveying a truth I have to hear."

When asked if some of the rights demanded by Negroes would not require "taking rights away from white people" to grant, he said:

"If a right is everybody's then denying it to one person doesn't add a right to the others, and giving that right to all doesn't take a right away from anybody, because it was not a right in the first place."

JOB OPPORTUNITY

Granting equal job opportunity, he said, as an example, "will mean more competition for some jobs, but that is not taking away a right."

He stressed that he did not mean giving jobs to people not qualified to hold them, or have a quota system in mind. "That

boards of commissioners.

KNOWS NO COLOR

"We believe that all forms of segregation are immoral," the fact sheet notes. "But segregation in hospital facilities, treatment and training of medical personnel are particularly reprehensible. Illness knows no color line. The segregated setup at Grady results in enormous duplication and waste of human and economic resources, as well as embarrassment and inconvenience to members of both races."

Douglas told delegates that "the temper of the Atlanta community" has "substantially changed for the better" in recent months and there is "hope for the future" that civil rights problems may be solved "with a minimum of the unfortunate events we read about in other sections of the country and of which we have had a small taste here."

URGES GOOD WILL

Problems can only be solved, the former alderman declared, by "citizens of good will . . . citizens such as you who believe that what is being done is right as well as lawful." He urged a general "acceptance that we have not been betrayed by the Supreme Court but by earlier legal decisions" and said of the time lapse between the Emancipation Proclamation and its implementation:

"A century is a long time; we cannot afford another century of sleep."

A "statement of belief," which delegates representing some 100 organizations were asked to take back for distribution throughout the Atlanta area, reads in part: "We believe that the time has come for Atlanta to reassert her leadership role . . . to achieve positive human relations goals because these goals are rights, because they are needed, be-

CITY POVERTY BATTLE

Continued from Page 1

lanta was chosen for the program. A full-time director, David R. Beecher, was picked to steer the work and an office was opened in a dwelling in the neighborhood four months ago.

The area was chosen because of its concentration of economically deprived families, many of whom recently moved in from rural sections. Also there is an urban renewal underway to improve physical conditions.

A HEAVILY influencing factor was also the existence of many long-time residents in the larger community of which the area is a part. They are concerned and want to improve conditions.

In the area are 2,500 families and 9,000 people. More than 70 per cent of the housing units are rented. Census figures show more than one-half of the families who lived in the area in 1960 lived in a different house in 1955. In 1963 there were 208 of the area's families who had an income of less than $1,000. Less than one-half of the high school age boys and girls are enrolled.

After working with the problems as they are experienced by those needing aid, program officials say that many local, state, and national services, private and public, are inadequate.

THIS, said Mr. Beecher, is "not intended as an indictment of the existing agencies. They do indeed provide a very valuable and needed service for the majority of the population. However, in my opinion, they are not structured to deal with the unique and deviant problems of the poverty class."

Most community agencies require a person needing help to come to them, often a difficult thing for people who lack physical strength and financial resources.

MANY PEOPLE, the program's studies found, have recently moved to the city from a rural area and do not know community services for low-income people exist. When they do learn, they often meet with defeat because of a lack of knowledge of the operations and methods of urban life.

Many people in the area did not know about the services of the state employment office. Frequently persons who do know of the service and can find transportation to the office fail to complete the work interview because of their lack of verbal skills. Many do not have the ability to express their ability and past work experience.

Often after a person learns of the state's service, gets to their office and somehow manages to survive the employment interview, the job he obtains does not pay a living wage. Seldom, program officials say, can a person so situated earn more than $50 per week.

OFTEN PARENTS are poorly educated and indifferent to the value of education. Their children are frequently too poorly prepared to meet the demands of elementary school. Many never learn to read properly. Their school careers become marked with poor attendance, poor achievement and early dropouts. Also, there are few accessible programs where school dropouts and other adults can improve their basic education.

Many of the deprived youth are difficult to place in vocational training. Again, lacking verbal skills, aptitude tests often are ineffective in determining abilities.

POOR HEALTH is a factor. For those who meet requirements as "medically indigent," there is free medical treatment at Grady Hospital. Transportation again becomes a problem.

There was a case of a mother of seven children, one of whom was sick. She either had to hire a baby sitter or take all of her family to Grady on a bus at a cost of $3.50. Often circumstances such as this mean that the sick child receives no medical aid.

The program has found most of the economically deprived families are female-centered. The inadequacy of the male figure, where there is one, is often the cause of the condition. After a lifetime in poverty conditions, the male develops a low resistance to everyday frustrations and an inability to discipline himself. Thus, the family's condition depends largely upon the ability of the female as both a mother and wage earner.

MANY MEMBERS of low income families are often in conflict with the law. Lacking education and verbal ability they do not know of their rights. This often leads to a miscarriage of justice.

The Neighborhood Improvement Program has been assisting the community with its problems. However, participants are beginning to sense some tentative findings.

Perhaps the most important of these is the need for restructuring the delivery of existing services to meet more adequately the needs of the dependent family.

This restructuring would probably take the form of decentralizing the agencies and placing their offices in the community which they serve.

Also, a restructure of the educational system in economically deprived areas needs to be accomplished to focus on the particular needs of the area it serves.

This would include a comprehensive high school program of both vocational and academic programs. A modified school program for adult education could make more efficient use of the existing school buildings.

The program at this point sees a need for an elementary school curriculum which permits each student to progress at his own level and emphasis placed on reading.

THE PROGRAM indicates the need for teachers especially trained to work with the economically deprived children.

"There are no easy answers." Mr. Beecher says, "We will never be able to help some adults, but maybe with their children or grandchildren we can make some impact. More funds will have to be spent to help disadvantaged people as well as build courthouses, stadiums, auditoriums, swimming pools and provide 'nice' services for our middle and upper socio-economic groups if the extent of poverty is to be controlled."

'HUMAN RENEWAL'

4-5-64

Down to Earth Program Battles Atlanta Poverty

By KELLY MANSFIELD

There is under way in Atlanta a unique program of "human renewal" dealing with social ills at the grass root level. This program is asking the basic question of, "What should we do differently?" in efforts to improve the position of low-income families. It is on the level where some, but by no means all, of the people are destitute, uneducated, unemployed, sick and — at times — emotionally unstable.

The project is called the Neighborhood Improvement Program. It is experimental, privately financed, to develop more effective methods of breaking cycles of public dependency. It is a positive approach of emphasizing opportunities for self-help rather than handouts.

As a research endeavor, the program is action oriented rather than theoretically inclined.

SPONSORED by the Community Council of the Atlanta Area Inc., the object of the movement is to take a critical look at the problems of low income families through the eyes and experiences of people affected.

Rep. Charles Weltner in remarks in the House of Representatives described the program as "that practical, down-to-earth approach which, alone, can succeed."

An area consisting of three census tracts in southwest At-

Turn to Page 24, Column 4

tions, the male develops a low resistance to everyday frustrations and an inability to discipline himself. Thus, the family's condition depends largely upon the ability of the female as both a mother and wage earner.

MANY MEMBERS of low income families are often in conflict with the law. Lacking education and verbal ability they do not know of their rights. This often leads to a miscarriage of justice.

The Neighborhood Improvement Program has been assisting the community with its problems since November. They have not been hampered with the red tape of an established bureaucracy. When a $3 loan was needed to provide a deposit for the nursery care of a child where the mother was beginning a job, the money was raised within 30 minutes.

They have modified the psychologically oriented approach of the usual social work endeavor.

Often the efforts of the social worker were misunderstood, program studies found. The relationship with the social worker is usually, by design, impersonal, objective and professional. People often fail to understand this sophisticated relationship and tend to think the worker doesn't understand or like them.

UNTIL NOW the work of the program has been somewhat that of the old big city political boss: i.e., getting people jobs, assisting them in their conflicts with police and courts, finding places to keep the children of working mothers, and getting them medical attention.

Their main work of a day to day practical nature has been in employment. An employment counselor from the State Labor Department has been assigned to the neighborhood, overcoming the accessibility problem.

The program avoided publicity when it opened its office in the neighborhood. Little by little, word of its existence spread throughout the community and people began to visit the office and discuss their problems.

A mothers and parents group was formed to discuss and act on the problems that face them. This group is attempting to obtain a day-care center for children of working mothers. They also hope to obtain more vocational training programs.

MR. BEECHER emphasizes the program is only beginning. They are following no set form but meeting problems with a pragmatic approach as they occur.

It is too early to reach definite conclusions as to what new methods need to be adopted.

April 7, 1964

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: 523-1581

YOU ARE ALL WELCOME...Laws and customs change from day to day, sometimes from hour to hour. There are degrees of "segregation" and "desegregation"-- "segregated" may mean no Negroes or it may mean Negroes and whites segregated within the same facility. It is customary to make changes in racial policies without public announcement, which is at times necessary and desirable. This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of April 7, 1964, to the best of our knowledge. We have omitted those places where Negroes may have been served but where the management stated that the policy is not certain.

EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood. & Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie St.
Stouffeur's, Downstairs Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies (all branches)
Sears-Roebuck & Co. (all lunch counters in all stores)
H. L. Green
Kress (Broad and Peachtree)
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's (lunch counters and restaurants)
Walgreen's (all have been given instructions to serve everyone)
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's Italian Restaurant (Piedmont Road)
Johnny Reb's (Forsyth, W. Peachtree and Roosevelt Highway)
Crossroads (but not on Stewart Avenue)
Seven Steers (downtown -691 Peachtree St.)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S&W
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Doods (Luckie, Marietta, Pryor and Forsyth Streets)
Town House (Forsyth Street)
Escoe's Restaurant (2143 Peachtree Rd.)
The Golden Plam (Atlanta Americana)

Eating Places, Cont'd.

Hank and Jerry's (1006 Peachtree)
The Riviera (1630 Peachtree St.)
Dobbs House (all locations)
Shoney's Big Boy (all locations)
The Tiki
Fisherman's Wharf
Golden Goddess (Dinkler Plaza)
Red Velvet (Atlanta Americana)
Room at the Top (Atlanta Americana)
Wit's Ent
Rendezvous (Atlanta Biltmore)*
Oak Room (Piedmont)*
MOST HOTELS AND MOTELS WILL ARRANGE PRIVATE INTERRACIAL PARTIES

*Will serve Negroes who are registered guests.

HOTELS

Air Host Inn
Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel
Atlantan Hotel
Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta Cabana
Dinkler Plaza
Holiday Inn
Hilton Inn
Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges
Peachtree Manor
Piedmont Hotel
Riviera Hotel
Marriott Motor Hotel

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Atlanta Choral Guild
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library (all branches)
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All City of Atlanta owned and operated facilities
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding swimming pools

DOWNTOWN MOVIES

Fox
Rialto
Roxy
Rhodes
Peachtree Arts
Loew's

LEGITIMATE THEATERS

Pocket
Academy (including Shakespeare Festival)

NEIGHBORHOOD MOVIES

Gordon
Emory
Lenox Square
Cherokee
Hilan
Plaza
Atlantic
Techwood

DRIVE-INS

Bolton
Fulton Blvd.
Glenwood
Peachtree
Piedmont
South Expressway
Steward
Thunderbird
Starlight
Scott

STONE MOUNTAIN

All facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)

HOSPITALS

DeKalb General, South Fulton, Kennestone and Aidmore provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. Grady's emergency clinics, ambulances and operating rooms are integrated; other services are still segregated. St. Joseph's is integrated. Emory University's Hospital accepts Negro patients referred by physicians who are members of the hospital staff.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists, Quaker House. Most others are open to visitors, but policies vary with individual churches.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial Schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital X-ray and Technical Schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
American Association of University Women
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta, of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Democratic Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Republican Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce - Junior Chamber of Commerce

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and the ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N . W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE PAID
ATLANTA,GA
PERMIT NO. 281

APRIL NEWSLETTER

Mrs. A. R. Sterne,
[illegible] Dr., N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

SEE PAGE 4--MEMBERSHIP DUES FOR 1964

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

September, 1963

RACIAL DESEGREGATION IN GREATER ATLANTA

From public records, news files, personal experiences and files of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the following summary of major steps toward racial desegregation in Greater Atlanta has been compiled. We welcome corrections or additions:

1948: --Negro police hired, but without authority to arrest whites.

1955: --U. S. Federal court ordered city golf courses desegregated.

1958: --Suit filed against Atlanta Board of Education (decision in 1959, effective 1960).

1959: --U. S. Federal Court ordered busses desegregated.
--U. S. Federal Court ordered Georgia State College of Business Administration desegregated.
--Atlanta Public Library admitted Negroes to general use of main library, after discussions between Library Board and citizens.

1960: --U. S. Federal Court ordered Dobbs House, restaurant facility at Airport, desegregated.
--Several Negro bus drivers hired by Atlanta Transit System.
--Biltmore Hotel admitted Negro lawyers to dinner of Bar Association at which Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, was speaker, after citizens notified Secretary Rusk of hotel's segregated policy; other hotels began serving private integrated groups.

1961: --First sit-ins, against stores in downtown Atlanta.
--Atlanta Aldermanic Board repealed ordinance requiring segregation in taxis.
--Sit-ins and boycotts of downtown stores; arrests for sit-ins. Agreement in March to desegregate lunch counters and all facilities in major stores, effective September.
--City of Atlanta public schools desegregated (9 Negro students in 4 high schools, 12th and 11th grades, through pupil placement plan approved by court).
--Georgia Tech admitted first Negro students (3).
--Interstate Commerce Commission ordered desegregation of bus and train terminals.
--YWCA desegregated cafeteria, first downtown eating place.
--New Atlanta Airport opened, all facilities desegregated.
--Most college audiences desegregated.
--City tennis courts closes when Negroes attempted to use them.
--Following 1961 performance in Atlanta, Metropolitan Opera announced it would not play before segregated audience, also Actor's Equity.

1961: --Stouffeur's Restaurants opened desegregated.
--Academy Theater and other private drama groups admitted Negroes to audience.
--Atlanta's Symphony Orchestra audience desegregated.

1962: --U. S. District Court invalidated city ordinances requiring segregation in city parks and public places, and
at public assemblies, in theaters, public halls, and other places of public assembly where admission is for charge or free; ordered city pools desegregated in 1963.
--Downtown and arts movie theaters operated desegregated after Metropolitan Opera performance before desegregated audienc and after meetings with students and citizens groups.
--Peachtree Manor Hotel accepted first Negro guests (ball players) after discussions with citizens groups.
--Agnes Scott College trustees announced acceptance of applications from Negroes effective for 1963-64 term.
--Oglethorpe University announced acceptance of applications from Negroes.
--Emory University requested declaratory judgment from Superior Court which declared that the tax exemption status of the University would not be jeapordized by accepting Negro students; admitted first Negro students in Nursing School.
--Georgia State College admitted first Negro students.
--Negro policemen in Atlanta given right to arrest whites in line of duty.
--Atlanta hired first Negro firemen.
--Atlanta Art School accepted Negro students.
--Archbishop ordered Catholic parochial schools desegregated.
--Chamber of Commerce admitted first Negro member (did not represent change in policy, invitation was sent by mistake; no Negro members admitted since).
--Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority announced policy of considering Negroes for internships, admitted Negro physician to Grady Hospital staff.
--Citizens filed suit for complete desegregation of all facilities of Grady Hospital; also for desegregation of Fulton County Medical Society and Northern Dentist Dental Society.
--Fulton County Medical Soceity voted to remove "white" qualification for membership, accepted Negro members.
--Negroes in DeKalb County attempted to transfer to white schools; Board of Education made no reply to requests to desegregate voluntarily.
--Negro students in Atlanta schools increased to 44 in 9 high schools.
--Superior Court ordered removed "Peyton Wall" and wall on Harlan Road, barriers erected by city of Atlanta, because barriers had been erected as "racial buffers"; "It being unlawful and unconstitutional to legislate in respect of ownership or occupancy of real property on the basis of race or color...the Court holds, that it is illegal and unconstitutional to legislate in respect of use of public streets or portions thereof for the purpose of effecting on the basis of race or color ownership and occupancy of real property and the acquisition or disposition or the market value therof..."

Removed 3-2-1963

--City Hall desegregated.
--Decatur-DeKalb Library accepted Negro members.
--Negro elected Senator from 38th District (Fulton County).

1963: --One hundred forty-four students in 10 Atlanta high schools.
--Several stores hired Negroes in sales jobs.
--Archbishop ordered Catholic hospitals desegregated.
--Lovett School refused to consider Negro applicant.
--Westminster School refused to test Negro because of no policy of considering applications from Negroes.
--Trinity Presbyterian School accepted Negro students.
--Oglethorpe University accepted Negro student.
--Emory University accepted Negroes in undergraduate, graduate and medical schools.
--Atlanta Speech School accepted Negro student.
--Grady Hospital accepted Negro Intern.
--Smith-Hughes Vocational School desegregated.
--Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce removed "white" qualification for membership; elected Negro as one of 5 "Outstanding Men of Year."
--Northern District Dental Society removed "white" qualification for membership.
--Atlanta city pools desegregated.
--Nine neighborhood and 11 drive-in movies in Greater Atlanta desegregated.
--Two airport hotels desegregated.
--DeKalb Building desegregated.
--State Capitol desegregated.
--Fourteen hotels agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates, up to certain percentage of total convention group.
--Approximately 30 restaurants agreed privately to desegregate. Day-to-day changes in policy and lack of public information resulted in some "re-segregation", less than 20 now certain.
--DeKalb County Commission adopted policy statement regarding rights of all citizens, states no discrinination in county jobs, reference to race in personnel forms and application blanks removed.
--Decatur City Commission stated no discrimination in city jobs, recreation facilities, excluding swimming pools.
--City of Atlanta changed policy of separate Negro and white civil service registers, to one register.
--Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Journal eliminated reference to race in Help Wanted and Obituary columns.
--DeKalb Area Trade School accepted applications from Negroes.
--City of Decatur hired Negro Relocation Officer for Urban Renewal.
--South Fulton Hospital (Hill-Burton) opened with policy of permitting Negro physicians to admit and tend patients.
--Increasing number of white churches accept Negro visitors (Negroes denied admission at First Baptist Church. Rev. Ashton Jones, white minister who refused to leave church when refused admittance in company of Negroes, arrested for disturbing divine worship, sentenced to 18 months in prison, 6 months at public works, $1,000 fine, with bond set at $20,000.)
--Steady but slow breakthroughs in employment, stimulated and encouraged by regulations concerning U. S. Government contracts, "selevtive buying" campaigns, and negotiations by citizens groups.

10-10-63 Grady Hospital opened 9-bed intensive treatment for short-term psychiatric patients. Will supplement 18-bed ward for whites. Negro

Note: Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, (Presbyterian) has accepted Negro students as far back as their records go.

First trials of Atlanta arrests under anti-trespass law; white student convicted.

1963

Summer, 1963

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia

Telephone: 523-1581

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This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of October, 1963, to the best of our knowledge.

EATING PLACES

C YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood and Ivy
C YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie Street
R-D Stouffeur's, Downstairs in the Merchandise Mart moderate & good food, plus bar
R-D Top O' the Mart (also Stouffeur's) - expensive, w/ music & dancing
dept. store tea rooms + snack bars { Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies
Sears-Roebuck
H. L. Green
Kress
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
dept store tea room - Franklin Simon's
Walgreen's
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Cafeteria Emory University Food Service Center
R-D Herren's
R-Sit- Yohannon's } expensive & good food
R-out Caruso's
R-out Johnny Reb's
R-out Crossroads
R-D Seven Steers (downtown) hamburgers & steaks
C Miami Buffet (downtown)
R-out Dale's Cellar
C S & W
R-out Mamma Mia
R-D Rex Fine Foods
R-out All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
C-3 Davis Fine Foods at Luckie Street, Marietta Street and Pryor Street
R-D Town House

6 restaurants downtown
7 " 2-6 miles from downtown
6 cafeterias - downtown

Most Hotels and motels will arrange private interracial parties.

HOTELS

Peachtree Manor Hotel - very cooperative in every way.
Hilton Inn } ~~will not accept group w/ 50% Negro membership~~
Air Host Inn }
Howard Johnson motel South
Other hotels will accept Negro convention delegates up to ?% the total number of delegates

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Neighborhood Movies: Gordon, Emory, Lenox Square, Cherokee, Hilan, Plaza, Atlantic, Techwood
Downtown Movies: Pocket, Academy (including Shakespeare Festival), Loew's, Fox, Rialto, Roxy, Rhodes, and Peachtree Art
Drive-Ins: Bolton, Fulton Blvd., Glenwood, Peachtree, Piedmont, Scott, South Expressway, Steward, Thunderbird, and Starlight
Stone Mountain: all facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library - all branches
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All facilities owned and operated by City of Atlanta (including swimming pools, tennis court etc.
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital x-ray and technical schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta;;of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Democracic Forum of Fulton County and DeKalb Democrats
Republican organizations of DeKalb County and Fulton County
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

HOSPITALS

Of the 16 hospitals in operation in the Atlanta area listed as members of the Georgia Hospital Association, 10 do not admit Negroes as patients. Grady and Aidmore provide segregated services. DeKalb General, South Fulton, and Kennestone provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. St. Joseph's is an integrated hospital.

Now integrated

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists, Lutheran & most Presbyterian; most others open to visitors, but policies vary with individyal churches.

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and THE ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service

5-7-64 Const

Poverty Doubles Its Grip On Atlanta's Heart in 5 Years

By BILL SHIPP
Constitution State News Editor

Atlanta's centralized area of chronic poverty and blight has spread "like a cancer" in the past five years, encompassing nearly twice as much territory as in 1959.

The hard-core blight zone now covers 23 square miles and contains an estimated 250,000 residents. Sixty-eight per cent of all Fulton County's welfare recipients live in the area, including 80 per cent of all families receiving aid for dependent children.

In 1959, the blight area included 13 square miles, contained 172,000 persons and accounted for 58 per cent of the county's welfare cases.

An outline map of Atlanta's 1959 blight area near the heart of the city is formed somewhat like a cloverleaf. Today's blight zone is a massive irregular shape with tenacles of poverty jutting out in nearly every direction.

The blight area accounts for much of the city's crime, juvenile delinquency and school-drop-outs. Much of the housing is dilapidated. Unemployment is high.

Schools and churches are moving out rapidly.

These facts are contained in the annual report to be published next week by the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services. Title of the report; "Appalachia in Atlanta, Ga."

Wellborn Ellis, Fulton welfare director, writes in the new report:

"Few may realize it—but there is . . . an Appalachian area in Atlanta, Ga.—highly concentrated in 44 census tracts covering 23 square miles comprising only 4.20 per cent of the geographical area of Fulton County."

Ellis said the Welfare department predicted in its 1960 re-

Continued on Page 19, Column 3

Close-Up 5-7-64

The City Gets To Keep the Blight

When President Johnson comes to Atlanta today he will find a city which has been enjoying robust economic health. But Atlanta nevertheless can furnish excellent evidence, if any more is required, on the need for stepped-up efforts against poverty and all that comes with it.

A report to be issued in the next few days by the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services is called "Appalachia in Atlanta." The report is a sombre reminder that poverty can exist—indeed, spread—in the very shadow of affluence.

In the last five years, the report shows, the blighted areas of Atlanta have nearly doubled. In 1959, the blighted sections covered 13 square miles. Now they cover 23 square miles.

In these 23 square miles live 80 per cent of the families in the city receiving aid to dependent children. Sixty-eight per cent of all welfare recipients live there. And these areas are, as they are everywhere, the areas of greatest unemployment, delinquency and crime.

The striking thing is the spread of these blighted areas. The city has had, all along, an active urban renewal program. But instead of gaining ground on the slums, the city has lost ground.

And for those who contend that the fight against slums and poverty can be waged by churches and other non-government agencies, the welfare department report supplies an interesting figure.

If you drew a giant circle extending a little over three miles in all directions from the center of the city's blighted area, says the report, you would find that 82 white Protestant churches have moved out in recent years. Sixty more are making plans to do likewise. The same goes, on a smaller scale, for the Negro churches.

This, too, is a national trend. As the wealthier families move to the suburbs, they take their churches and other institutions with them.

The city gets to keep the blight and the slums and the poverty.—MARVIN WALL.

Poverty Doubles Its Grip On Atlanta's Heart in 5 Years

Continued from Page 1

port on the spreading blight area that "unless the resources of all public and voluntary health, education, welfare, recreation and child group serving agencies were focused on the needs of the people therein—it would like a cancer spread further. It has."

"Appalachia in Atlanta, Ga." also explains that while Atlanta's median annual income is $5,207, 25 per cent of the city's families have incomes of $3,000 or less annually.

"It is estimated that approximately 50 per cent of the families with incomes under $3,000 had incomes of less than $1,800 annually. The majority of these also will be found in the main zone of blight," the report says.

CHURCHES MOVING

The report notes that white Protestant churches in Atlanta have budgeted $215,000 to fight poverty, but it goes on to declare:

"Available information indicates that 82 of the white Protestant churches have in recent years moved out from a 3.2-mile radius from the center of the (blighted area) and that an additional 60 of them are now making plans to do likewise. Similar trends of church relocation are indicated among the former Negro churches and those of other faiths."

Figures in the report show church attendance among the impoverished is extremely low.

MOSTLY NEGROES

The report indicates a high concentration of Negroes in the blighted area, declaring 76 per cent of the welfare cases in the 23-mile zone involves Negroes.

(Sixty-one per cent of all Fulton's welfare recipients are Negroes.)

In a section of the report entitled "Battle Plans: Operation Anti-Poverty," the Welfare department suggests an Anti-Poverty Commission be established to "assume over-all responsibility for the acquisition of additional resources and manpower and the direction of the campaign against blight."

PROJECTS SUGGESTED

It proposes that the Community Council of the Atlanta Area Inc. be given additional funds to expand its present anti-poverty research projects.

The report further asks for the establishment of a non-profit organization "which would have authority to receive and to use such federal, state and local government tax funds and charitable contributions" to battle poverty.

The report calls for continued cooperation among local unemployment, health, education, housing and welfare facilities in the battle.

* * * * * * *

5-12-64 Const.

A Quiet Laborer for Racial Good Will

The civil rights headlines generally go to abrasive demonstrations and political debate.

But much of the solid progress is achieved the hard and undramatic way: through information, negotiation and conciliation. Such efforts rarely get much publicity.

The Council on Human Relations of Greatef Atlanta is one of these quiet laborers in the vineyards of good will. It gathers facts on such matters as desegregated restaurants and equal-opportunity employers. It provides forums to achieve better community understanding of racial issues. It even has played a significant role in interpreting Atlanta constructively to visitors from new nations.

The Council does its work on an extremely modest budget. It is currently seeking to raise $20,000. It is most worthy of public support.

Allen Lists Civil Rights As Topmost Metro Problem

5-28-64 Journal

Mayor Ivan Allen said Thursday he plans to recommend to a soon-to-be-named special committee of Metropolitan government that they consider what happens after the civil rights bill is passed as their most pressing, immediate problem.

Ivan Allen Jr.

The mayor touched on this in his motion to set up a steering committee to attempt to solve metropolitan problems at the Wednesday meeting of government officials from the five-county metropolitan area.

Mr. Allen felt Thursday that his mention of the post-civil rights bill problems on these various city and county governments had not gotten much attention by officials who are going to be concerned with it eventually.

THIS IS going to be "the biggest social change, in magnitude," in the country when the civil rights bill passes in late June or early July, the mayor said.

"This basically will require that every citizen be guaranteed equal rights in areas of public accommodation, education and jobs."

He said he was "convinced that Atlanta, having gone through in the last few years a series of steps to provide equal opportunity for all citizens, will be able to meet the change and carry it out in orderly, peaceful fashion."

HE NOTED that many restaurants, hotels and motels already provide equal access for whites and Negroes.

"In my opinion, the failure to carry out in orderly fashion the provisions of the bill will result in federal court cases and other strong-arm intervention from the federal government and I don't think this should be necessary to eliminate discriminatory practices, the mayor said.

SOME 45 governments in the metropolitan areas represented at Wednesday's meeting "have had little experience in coping with "the public accommodations problem, Mayor Allen said.

"They are going to wake up some day in late June or early July and be confronted with the full impact of it."

He said he planned to urge the committee of seven or more persons to be appointed by the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission to consider as one of their cooperative programs the development of plans for use after the civil rights bill is adopted.

"THERE'S no need to come down to the last day and not be prepared," he said. That is why communities get "in trouble," the mayor said. "They wait too long to make preparations."

He said that when the bill is passed (he assumes it will be), he is certain" the great majority of the religious, civic, educational and business organizations in the community will advocate and assist in carrying out orderly plans" for its implementation. — SALLY RUGABER.

Negroes to Fill Any Empty Classes

6-9-64

By HAL GULLIVER
Constitution Education Writer

The Atlanta Board of Education voted unanimously Monday to make the "fullest possible use" of vacant high school classrooms this fall—a decision that will mean several hundred more Negro pupils in each of several former white high schools.

Superintendent of Schools John Letson called it the "most far reaching action" yet taken by the board affecting school desegregation.

Atlanta high schools affected most by the decision include Bass, Murphy, O'Keefe and West Fulton.

Each of these schools could currently accept about 300 to 400 additional pupils, one school official estimated.

Atlanta's Negro high schools are, by comparison, crowded beyond their normal capacity.

The board's action came on a move by Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University and the only Negro member of the board.

Clement said he would go along with a controversial plan to change the Smith-Hughes Building into a junior high school for Negro eighth graders on one condition: that the board "at the same time instruct our administration to make the fullest possible use of presently available high school facilities."

T. Charles Allen, who made the original motion, accepted this amendment and the board approved it unanimously."

"I don't want to see 300 vacant seats in any school," Clement said.

Before the vote on Clement's proposal, board chairman Oby Brewer Jr. asked Letson to com-

Continued on Page 7, Column 4

Negroes to Fill Empty Classes

Continued from Page 1

ment on the possibility of using all vacant high school space next year.

Letson said applications for high schools by eighth graders and for transfers by other high school students were still coming in.

"We have several thousand applications still to be processed. At present 668 (Negro) pupils are transferring to formerly all-white schools," he continued.

"You feel you can accomplish the fullest utilization of this space?" Brewer asked.

"If approved by the board," Letson said, nodding.

"We've just faced up to what the courts have said we must do," Clement commented after the meeting.

If fully implemented, the board's action Monday would mean transferring Negro pupils from overcrowded high schools to high schools not now filled to capacity.

"We're not going to bus anybody across town. Nobody's in favor of that," Brewer told The Constitution after the decision.

Current enrollment figures indicate that Bass High School now has about 750 students — 350 under capacity. Other schools in similar situations include Murphy, about 400 students under capacity; O'Keefe, about 300 under capacity, and West Fulton, about 300 under capacity.

The motion to convert Smith-Hughes into Central Junior High School provided for an expenditure of $235,192. After renovation the building will house about 1,200 Negro eighth graders from Washington and Price high schools.

Several Negro parents appeared at the meeting to protest the plan.

Jesse Hill Jr., Atlanta businessman and chairman of the All-Citizens Registration Committee, read a two-page statement to the board expressing opposition.

One reason given by Hill for opposition was "the past record of the Board of Education in these matters . . . to avoid more than token desegregation."

Metro Herald 6-10-64

White Exodus From City To Be Speeded

The City of Atlanta, already faced with a dwindling white population, was hit with another staggering blow this week when the City Board of Education voted to shift hundreds of Negro students to predominantly white areas to "fill empty classrooms".

On the surface it might seem that this is the wise and proper thing because the Negro schools are over crowded. However, it had already been announced that over 600 Negro students would be sent to predominant white schools in compliance with the federal court's edicts. These Negro students had formally requested transfer to these schools.

However, if as was announced, over 1,000 more Negro students are transferred to four schools it will mean only one thing, white residents of these areas will sell their homes and leave the city limits just as quickly as they can.

Regardless of right or wrong, our white citizens are not going to live in such a situation.

One has only to ride through the Kirkwood, East Lake, Grove Hill and Bass areas to see what is already happening. Literally, hundreds upon hundreds of white homes are for sale. It is actually shocking.

Now with the latest announcement by the Board of Education, more and more homes will go on the market. Based on careful studies at least 15 to 20,000 additional white residents in these areas will move from the city limits within two years. And the end is not in sight.

Call it prejudice, ignorance or whatever you like, white families are not going to live long in a school area where massive integration of the schools is in effect. They are not going to expose their children to such an explosive condition for long.

MASSIVE INTEGRATION PUTS HOMES ON MARKET

City Of Atlanta Facing Loss Of Some 20,000 White Residents From School Board's Action

Metro Herald 6-10-64

The City of Atlanta will lose at least 20,000 white residents within the next two to three years as the now slowly diminishing white population loss will be greatly accelerated as a result of action taken by the Board of Education on Monday night and by the failure of the city government to close certain public swimming pools in white areas that have been "taken over" by Negro swimmers.

These are harsh and ugly facts, but they are facts that cannot be ignored.

For the past five years Atlanta citizens have been warned that within the next few years the Negro population will surpass the white population within the city limits. Mayor Allen has spoken with alarm about the situation and so has former Mayor William B. Hartsfield. Finally, the Chamber of Commerce spoke out publicly about the grave problem.

Now the Negro school enrollment has surpassed the white enrollment in Atlanta's public school system. The continued loss of white residents adds to this unbalance every semester. Many of the finest, best trained teachers are leaving the city system because of this fact and the problem worsens each year.

Last week it was reported that almost 700 Negro students would be transfered by their request to predominantly white high schools. However, this figure included transfers to 12 of 16 schools. Only West Fulton was faced with massive integration.

ALREADY APPROVED

Here is the breakdown of the schools and total number Negro students already approved for transfer under the "transfer plan" adopted sometime ago by the Board of Education. These figures do not include the students who will be transfered to "fill the empty seats" in all the predominantly white schools.

Northside	22
Grady	19
Bass	64
Brown	27
Fulton	31
George	12
Murphy	102
Roosevelt	15
Southwest	3
Sylvan	2
West Fulton	371

Schools to which no Negro students were assigned on the "transfer plan" under which each student was allowed to request a transfer were Dykes, North Fulton, East Atlanta, Therrell and O'Keefe.

However, the Board of Education on Monday voted to "fill every empty classroom" with Negro students. This means that some 1,500 additional Negro students will be sent to prodominantly white schools in every area of the city. The bulk of this group would go to four high schools, Bass, Murphy, West Fulton and O'Keefe.

Already repercussions had been seen in these neighborhoods from the previously announced transfer plan.

Hundreds upon hundreds of white homes in these areas have been listed on the market. "For Sale" signs have sprung up overnight. White parents are literally running away just as quickly as they can sell.

A great majority of these residents are home-owners. At least 75 percent have children of school age. The others are elderly, retired citizens or persons nearing retirement age.

Many are selling their homes at a loss. Others who are not cannot hope to purchase a comparable home with the funds from the sale of their present homes.

As the white residents of these areas move away, area businesses suffer and many close out, and churches lose their members to such an extent that the buildings are put up for sale and in every instance the financial loss to the congregation or denomination is very great.

Studies show that when a white neighborhood or area is lost, at least 95 percent of the white people move outside the City of Atlanta.

Most of these people agree that school integration cannot be prevented, but massive integration is another thing.

Failure of city officials to act in areas where they can help has resulted in unrest and encouraged white movement from the city.

Last year white residents in the Candler Park area requested that the public swimming pool be closed, knowing that the pool could not be operated on a segregated basis. Hundreds of white home-owners in the areas joined in this request as well as several white church congregations in the immediate area.

This is no mixed neighborhood, yet Negro attendance at the pool was about 8 to 1 over the whites. Despite the requests of white home-owners and white churches, the pool was not closed. As a result the neighborhood is in turmoil as the present swimming season opens.

Here is one opportunity that city officials by-passed, yet there is nothing in the city code or charter which requires the city to operate public swimming pools.

6-20-64

George Boswell cont

There's No Letup In Atlanta's Boom

"Certainly, Atlanta's never seen anything like it before." Thus concluded a survey by Constitution business editor, Jim Montgomery, published earlier this week. Building permits in the metropolitan Atlanta area are sure to surpass $250 million this year. More than two million square feet of shopping center space and other retail store space will be started or completed this year. Construction of public facilities, new motels, hotels, apartment buildings, factories, warehouses, and residential units are at a peak.

This construction boom, of course, is a culmination of the continuing growth in population, industry and transportation facilities in the area. The five-county area is increasing in population at a rate of approximately 30,000 a year. This represents more than 7,500 families.

* * *

Mayor Allen reports that the unemployment rate in Atlanta is perhaps the lowest in the country—2.4 per cent. This is about as close to full employment as normally can be achieved. The construction boom accounts in part for this record employment, bringing on some worries about future unemployment when it slows.

Growth has its headaches, as we all know. Providing the services for a constantly expanding business and residential community is a phenomenal job. We never seem to catch up. The planners cannot work fast enough. In fact, most plans are out of

Eugene Patterson is on vacation.

date before they can become effective. Inability to move fast enough acts as an automatic brake on rate of growth, but there is no way to measure its exact effect.

Fulton County reports it is having trouble getting bids on construction contracts which are within or reasonably near estimates for the work. It is blamed on the construction boom and the low unemployment rate. Take your choice but we'll take the boom and full employment.

* * *

Inconveniences are accompanying this explosion. The traffic problem grows worse daily and all the construction adds to it. Unless there is a speedup of the expressways and perimeter route, the congestion—already intolerable—will become catastrophic.

For the state to treat this traffic problem in a routine manner is to ignore the vast importance to the state's economy of the greater Atlanta area whose bounds are ever-expanding. This growth should be nurtured, not hamstrung. If it is nurtured, the dividends will be shared by all Georgians.

Work soon will be undertaken on the South Expressway. Neither Georgia nor the City of Atlanta can afford to have this dragged out over a period of years. As Rep. Jack Etheridge told the Highway department Thursday, "No other one artery or highway in Georgia is more important than this one. It must be understood that this is not an Atlanta project alone, but an areawide one affecting a majority of the people in Georgia."

Faith Leaders Here Urge Rights Law Compliance

7-6-64

Atlanta religious leaders of all faiths Monday issued a call to all citizens "to uphold with order and dignity both the letter and spirit of the law."

This statement on the civil rights law passed last week was issued by Catholic Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, and Dr. Robert E. Lee. They were joined by Methodist Bishop John Owen Smith, Episcopal Bishop Randolph R. Claiborne Jr., and 200 priests, ministers, and rabbis of the metropolitan area.

"AMERICA IS a land of law," they said. "Its greatness rests upon the determination of all citizens to obey the law.

"But it is also a land undergirded by the moral law," the statement continues, "which teaches that all men are equal in God's sight, all His children, and therefore, one in brotherhood."

The statement concludes with the hope that religious faith will lead "to a new and profound expression of the ideals of brotherhood and good will in the search for national tranquility."

THE FOLLOWING is a complete list of those signing Monday's statement:

Mack Anderson, Stephen W. Ackerman, Theodore G. Ahrendt, Wallace M. Alston, Ernest J. Arnold, John C. Ball Jr., Ronnie D. Ballard, Edward Banks, Noel C. Bartenshaw, Harwood Bartlett.

Raymond A. Beane, J. W. Bell, Eusebius J. Beltran, Joseph J. Beltran, Robert E. Bingham, Joseph L. Black, Robert Botkin, L. W. Bottoms, J. H. Boyce, Harvey C. Boyd, Frank Bozeman, Jack R. Bozeman.

Daniel D. Brand, Edward M. Brown, Raymond Buck, James A. Budd, Frank M. Bulloch, M. J. Burke, John Busby.

C. W. Carpenter, John C. Cavanaugh, Lon B. Chestnutt, J. Walker Chidsey, Randolph R. Claiborne Jr., Marshall Clary, Edwin C. Coleman, Walter G. Cook, W. L. Cottrell, Kenneth P. Craig, Paul J. Craven Jr.

Edward A. J. Danneker, Stuart E. Davis, A. S. Dickerson, Bonneau H. Dickson, A. M. Dillmann, Edward J. Dodwell, C. L. Donnell, Walter J. Donovan, Eugene T. Drinkard, Dennis Dullea, P. C. Enniss Jr.

James W. Fair, Emanuel Feldman, Austin Ford, Conald Foust, Dale Freeman.

Tobias Geffen, William H. Geren, Charles Gerkin, Thomas Gilvey, Simon Glask, Raphael Gold, R. Govern, Blount H. Grant Jr., Charles Gray, John N. Gregg, C. J. Gresham.

Edgar M. Grider, J. D. Grier Jr., F. Van Haddad, Warren L. Harbert, F. Alban Harmon, Marquis L. Harris, James L. Hartnett, John L. Hein, William G. Hoffman, W. Ray Holdren, Charles E. Hoover, Louis F. Huckaby.

B. J. Johnson Sr., B. J. Johnson Jr., Bevel Jones, G. Ray Jordan, Matthew W. Kemp, E. Owen Kellum Jr., S. S. Kelly, R. Donald Kiernan, James E. King, M. L. King Sr., Christian Kochenbrod.

J. Edward Lantz, Richard Leary, Robert E. Lee, Fitzhugh Legerton, Herbert Leslie, Charles C. Lindsay, William H. Littleton.

Michael Manning, Norman Manning, R. N. Martin, Walter J. Mathisto, Leonard F. X. Mayhew, Robert L. McBath, Daniel McCormick, Thomas H. McDill, John McDonough, Doug McGinty, T. T. McNulty.

George J. Meiluta, Genius Merritt, Frederick A. Mayer, John A. Middleton, Charles A. Milk, Max Milligan, James A. Milland Jr., F. W. Montgomery, Augustine Moore, R. W. Moore Richard B. Morrow, D. C. Morton, John J. Mulroy, James T. Murray.

Joseph A. Nader, John D. Needham, P. J. O'Connor, Stuart R. Oglesby, Nathaniel E. Parker Jr., J. G. Patton, John H. Patton, Carroll D. Payne, Eugene Pickett, Marion Pierson, Leander A. Pinkston.

Donald R. Poole Jr., William L. Power, N. T. Price, Fred Prope, Barnard Quinn, Harold J. Rainey, S. Ranzone, Michael J. Regan, Edwin G. Rogers, Clarence W. Rhoda, J. McDowell Richards, Harry V. Richardson, W. T. Richardson.

Frank M. Rose, Charles R. Roper, Thomas J. Rosbotts, Frank W. Ross, Jacob M. Rothschild, Frank Rull, Lester Rumble.

Hugh Saussy Jr., J. W. Scarborough, Harold H. Schulz, [illegible] Schulz, Charles Schwab, [illegible] J. S. Schern, Emory R. Sa[illegible] Albert E. Simmons, Sam Sim[illegible] Smith, Leonard Spanjers, [illegible]

Carla Standard, Wi[illegible]der, C. S. Stinson, Harry J. Sto[illegible] Frank L. Stubbs.

Edward E. Tate, [illegible] Taylor, Charles A. Taylor, [illegible] Thorington, Lewis A. Tisd[illegible] Thorne, Harry Tisdale, Leon Tucker, T. W. Tucker, Herman L. Turner.

Samuel C. Usher, S. W. Wade, Dennis Walsh, J. C. Ward, Joseph Ware, Charles Weesner, James L. Welden, Joseph C. Whitner.

Allison Williams, Ralph L. Williamson, W. W. Williamson, Charles E. Wilson Jr., David R. Wilson, Donald L. Wilson, Eugene T. Wilson, Paul F. Wohlgemuth, John Lee Womack, E. Eager Wood Jr., Milton L. Wood, Raymond D. Wood, John Yungblut.

Closing of Pools Okayed By East Point Council

7-7-64
5

By RONALD TRIPP

The East Point City Council Monday night overwhelmingly approved closing the city's swimming pools for an indefinite length of time. The action came in response to an attempt to integrate the city's formerly all-white pool Sunday by four Negroes.

Speaking before an overflow crowd which frequently interrupted the councilmen's words with "Amens," hoorays and loud clapping, Mayor Otis H. Stephens recommended that the pools be closed and the matter be referred to the Parks and Recreation Department for further study.

A motion was presented to that effect and passed.

ONE BY ONE, the city councilmen spoke up before the action was passed to "personally endorse" and "wholeheartedly commend" councilman H. B. (Buck) Watson of the 3rd Ward for ordering the closing of the pools Sunday afternoon when the Negroes arrived.

He had said earlier, after asking for legislative courtesy soon after the council meeting began, that he felt there were those who disagreed with his action and that he was ready to submit his resignation if the council so directed. They did not.

Referring to the recently passed civil rights bill signed into law Thursday night by President Johnson, Mr. Watson said that he did not "know the contents of this monstrosity" and that in Sunday's pool closing he was only performing a duty he "felt was necessary to the safety of the citizens of East Point."

Later, Bruce Bannister of the 2nd Ward said, "Let it go on the record that the council is not going to tolerate any violence in this city."

THREE PEOPLE Sunday were charged with disorderly conduct — fighting — and an apparent dynamite explosion Sunday night did no damage.

Harvey McNeely of the 3rd Ward said how fortunate the Negro citizens of East Point were "because the city fathers . . . many years ago . . . built two pools," one for Negroes and one for whites.

At least twice he said that integrated pools would be a liability to East Point taxpayers, and he cited Atlanta's swimming pools as an example. He did not elaborate.

(Atlanta's swimming pools are integrated.)

Mr. McNeely recommended that if the pools were to be operated on an integrated basis, the council should "close (them) tonight permanently."

AT NO POINT during the meeting was there any opposition from those present to the action taken concerning the swimming pools.

When questioned later Mayor Stephens said he had no idea when the pools would be reopened.

In other business the council took action on city works and several rezoning requests.

They turned down a request to rezone a piece of land at a Washington and Stone Road intersection from residential to neighborhood business. Mr. Bannister said that the council had "to have a stopping point to this somewhere," referring to several other rezoning requests for neighborhood business that have been approved recently.

All but one voted to deny the request. He was Craig Pinyan of the 2nd Ward.

Citizens May Register July 20 For September Primaries, Have Thru Sept. 14 For General Election

Fulton County citizens, who have not registered to vote, still may do so under the new law recently enacted by the Georgia General Assembly.

To be eligible to vote in the September primaries, citizens have through July 20 to register.

The registration books will be open through Sept. 14 for the general election in November.

160,000 WHITE VOTERS 1-15-64 Metro Herald

Fulton Voter Registration Up 20% Over '60 Presidential Race As List Passes 211,000 Mark

Voter registration in Fulton County has shown a tremendous increase since the Kennedy-Nixon Presidential election in 1960, according to Leon Hay, Chief Registrar of Fulton County.

Mr. Hay says that at the time of the last Presidential Election there were approximately 32% of the potential eligibles registered to vote, but the percentage now is 52%, meaning that more than half those eligible to vote in Fulton County are now registered voters.

At the end of June the Fulton Registration lists totaled 209,-424 with 1,500-2,000 additional cards ready to be transferred to the registered voters list in the next few weeks when applicants shall have completed their required residential period to become eligible voters. In other words, they have "signed" up and will be "registered" when they shall have lived in the County the required length of time.

No figures are available and Mr. Hay hesitated to venture a guess as to the proportion of white and colored voters, but did say there were approximately fifty thousand colored voters which, if true, means the whites still out-number colored voters by approximately 3 to 1.

This estimate is arrived at by subtracting the 50,000 colored voters from the 211,000 total, which means it can be assumed there must be over 160,000 white voters eligible to participate in the September Primary and November general election.

The Registrar states the official figures will be available in the next few weeks.

7-10-64 Journal

NEGROES REPORT COMPLIANCE HERE

"General compliance" has been the rule at a number of Atlanta restaurants where Negroes have tested the new public accommodations law, according to the Atlanta Negro Summit Leadership Conference.

Conference co-chairman Clarence Coleman said Friday the group met Thursday to hear reports of persons selected and sponsored by the conference to apply "this artificial testing program."

"There were only two or three reports of refusal" to serve Negroes, Mr. Coleman said, "and we still must verify those reports."

By "artificial testing," Mr. Coleman explained, "I mean I hope the time will come when Negroes will not have to go for the specific purpose of seeing if they can obtain service in a place of public business but will feel able to whenever or wherever it is practical for them to do so."

During "this period of transition," he said, the testing will continue. He added it will be done in a quiet, orderly manner. Restaurants selected for testing, he said, are ones already believed to be willing to accept Negroes.

Mr. Coleman said the conference would like to receive information from any persons who have experienced or observed compliance or non-compliance with the new law. He said conference coordinator George Bess can be reached at MU. 8-8778 for such reports.

7-10-64 Journal

Negro Employment By County Studied

By TOM GREENE

Fulton County's Equal Employment Opportunities Committee plans to hold "frank" discussions with county department heads about the possibilities of hiring more Negroes.

The committee, appointed by the county commissioners to look into the county's employment practices "to determine if employment opportunities are being denied because of race or other reasons and to work for equality of employment opportunities," held its second meeting Thursday.

County manager Alan Kiepper, chairman of the committee, presented the members with a detailed report prepared by the Civil Service Board showing that of the county's 1,322 employes, 216 of them were Negroes as of June 1.

THE NEGROES were employed in 28 job classifications. But Mr. Kiepper pointed out that the county has just adopted a new classification plan so that the number of classifications probably has changed, though not the number of employes.

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, dean of Morehouse College, said it is "obvious that we have very few" Negroes employed by the county and "in a large number of categories we have none at all."

Dr. Brazeal added that "there are very few Negroes employed in any categories that require skill," except in the health department.

"The picture here (report) indicates just what's before us . . . as time goes by. In substance, you've got to say that we have to start from scratch, that is if we are going to have integrated employment," he said.

MR. KIEPPER added that "in fairness, it has to be said that these Negro employes are used in Negro areas."

The manager said, as the committee had agreed in its first meeting, that since the Civil Service Board does its recruiting and testing on an equal basis without regard to race, the "key people" in the hiring scheme are the department heads.

The committee agreed to call in department heads for discussions on the problem, starting with Dr. James F. Hackney of the Health Department.

Mr. Kiepper also said his office would begin studies on the possibilities of setting up an in-service training program with a couple of pilot projects to improve the advancement opportunities for all employes.

Dr. Brazeal said such a program would help to lead to true "integrated employment," that is, putting Negroes in positions in which they would be working with persons other than Negroes. While he said "there is nothing wrong, as such," with Negro employes working with Negroes, "I think in Atlanta and Fulton County we're ready" for having them work with whites also.

Fulton Expected to Register 500,000 To Vote by Deadline on Sept. 14

About half a million persons in the Atlanta metropolitan area are expected to be registered to vote in the November presidential election.

The registration deadline is Sept. 14.

Registered voters should outnumber by nearly 175,000 those registered to vote in the last presidential election from the five-county area.

Fulton County assistant registrar Fredrick Wright expects more than a 50 per cent increase in registered voters in the county over the number four years ago. He said 50 to 100 persons are registering daily and predicted more than 215,000 would be included in Fulton County's final tabulation. He said, however, there was no way of knowing what figure would be reached.

The registrar's office in the Fulton County Courthouse will be open from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday and closed on Saturday until the deadline.

DeKalb County already has 110,000 registered voters and expects about a thousand more. The increase is 40 per cent over voters registered for the last presidential election.

Registration hours in the DeKalb Building are 8:30 to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday. The office is closed on Saturdays but will be open until noon on Saturday, Sept. 12.

Neighborhood voter registration will take place during the same hours on Aug. 25 at the W. D. Thomson Elementary School in north DeKalb and at the Toney Elementary School, Aug. 27, in south DeKalb.

The Cobb County registrar's office, expecting about 50,000 to register, is open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday and from 9 a.m. to noon on Saturday. The office is at 108 Washington Ave., across from the county courthouse.

In Clayton County, persons may register at the courthouse rom 8:15 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday and from 8:15 a.m. until noon on Saturday. County registrar C. F. Duffee expects 20,500 registered voters in Clayton.

Hours to register at the Gwinnett County courthouse in Lawrenceville also are 8:15 a.m. to 5 p.m. on week days and 8:15 to noon on Saturdays. About 26,500 persons are expected to register by the deadline.

TRAINING COURSES IN THE TRADES, BUSINESS
AND HEALTH EDUCATION
TO BEGIN SEPTEMBER, 1964

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THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
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Carver Vocational	Fees	Hoke-Smith	Fees
Beauty Culture	$20.00	Air-Conditioning & Refrigeration	$20.00/ trisemeste
Carpentry	$ 5.00/mo		
Cabinet Making	$ 5.00/mo	Appliance Servicing	$20.00
Dry Cleaning	$ 5.00/mO	Automobile Mechanics	$20.00
Drafting	$ 5.00/mp	Beauty Culture	$20.00
Furniture Upholstering	$ 5.00/mo	Cabinet Making	$20.00
Machine Shop	$ 5.00/mo	Commercial Cooking & Baking	$20.00
Plastering & Lathing	$ 5.00/mo	Industrial Electricity	$20.00
Shoe Repair	$ 5.00/mo	Machine Shop	$20.00
Tailoring	$ 5.00/mo	Industrial Power Sewing	$20.00
		Printing	$20.00
		Radio & TV Repair	$20.00
		Sheet Metal	$20.00
		Welding	$20.00

BUSINESS

Carver Vocational	Fees	Hoke-Smith	Fees
Bookkeeping	$3.00/course	Bookkeeping	$5.00/course
Filing Procedures	$3.00/course	Calculator	$5.00/course
Office Machines	$3.00/course	General Clerical	$5.00/course
Office Practice	$3.00/course	Stenography	$5.00/course
Shorthand (beginning and advanced)	$3.00/course	Secretary	$5.00/course
Typewriting (beginning and advanced)	$3.00/course		
Comptometer	$3.00/course		

HEALTH EDUCATION

Hoke-Smith	Fees
Practical Nursing	$150.00

COURSES REQUIRING HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION

TRADES

DeKalb	Fees
Appliance Repair	$75.00/year
Automobile Mechanics	$75.00/year
Diesel Mechanics	$75.00/year
Drafting	$75.00/year
Electrical Construction	$75.00/year
Plumbing	$75.00/year
Machine Shop	$75.00/year
Radio-TV Repair	$75.00/year
Refriegration, Heating and Air-Conditioning	$75.00/year
Welding	$75.00/year

BUSINESS

DeKalb	Fees
Secretarial Science	$75.00/year
Accouncing	$75.00/year
Clerical	$75.00/year
Punched Card Accounting	$75.00/year

HEALTH EDUCATION

DeKalb	Fees
Practical Nursing	$140.00/year
Medical Office Asst.	$75.00/year

COURSES REQUIRING HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION WITH MATHMATICS AND SCIENCES

TECHNICAL

Hoke-Smith	Fees	DeKalb	Fees
Technical Illustration	$20.00/tri-semester	Electronic Technology	$140.00/year
		Electrical Technology	$140.00/year
Data Processing Technology	$20.00	Chemical Technology	$140.00/year
Drafting & Design "	$20.00	Data Processing Technology	$140.00/year
Electronics Technology	$20.00	Mechanical Technology	$140.00/year
Instrumentation Technology	$20.00		

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

HOKE-SMITH TECHNICAL SCHOOL, 535 Hill Street, S.E., Atlanta, Ga. (JA 5-2777)

Applications can be picked up in the school office (or mailed upon request) and must be in no later than 5:00 p.m., August 21, 1964. Office is open Monday - Friday, 8:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Registration will be held the week of August 24, 1964.

CARVER VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, 1275 Capitol Ave., S.W., Atlanta, Ga. (JA 3-6902)

Applications can be picked up at the school office (or mailed upon request). Registration will be held August 24-September 1, 1964, from 2:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. No prior application is necessary.

DEKALB AREA TECHNICAL SCHOOL, 495 North Indian Creek Dr., Clarkston, Ga. (off Memorial Drive), 443-7151

Applications can be picked up at the school office (or mailed upon request), and must be in no later than 5:00 p.m., August 21, 1964. Aptitude testing is required. Office is open Monday - Friday, 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m. Registration will be held September 3rd and 4th, 1:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m., on September 5 from 8:30 a.m.-12:00 noon.

Eugene Patterson

11-20-64

Two Boosts For Atlanta

Atlanta got two great votes of confidence Thursday—one at home and one abroad. At home, the national government thought enough of this city to send it every cent it asked for—$452,000—to help finance its Community Improvement Program.

This is urban renewal money. It will be paired with $229,000 of Atlanta's own. The $681,000 will finance an overall plan for the city's future. A city with a past growth like Atlanta's obviously has a future that impresses Washington as being worth federal investment.

Nor is that all. If current hopes are fulfilled, more than a million dollars more will shortly be forthcoming from the U.S. government to match Atlanta's impressive private effort in its Community Action Program. This federal money would come under the Economic Opportunity Act. And it would not be antipoverty money squandered without plan; it would be another solid federal investment in Atlanta's own self-starting project to help people help themselves.

* * *

Foreign regard for Atlanta and its future was impressively shown by the decision of the British crown to upgrade the United Kingdom's consulate in Atlanta to a consulate general.

A consulate general ranks second only to an embassy in diplomatic influence. While Great Britain has 23 consulates and consulates general in the United States, in addition to its embassy, Atlanta now becomes one of the nine consulates general.

The eight others are in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston and New Orleans. Thus Atlanta has joined the big league of the international set. (While New Orleans retains its old ranking as a British consulate general, influence in the South shifts to Atlanta.)

The British move is a tall feather in Atlanta's cap. The English didn't build an empire by betting on losers.

Two other nations—West Germany and Israel—maintain consulates in Atlanta, staffed as Britain's is by full-time professional diplomats.

In addition, 13 other nations have honorary consuls here. They are U.S. citizens named by the foreign governments to represent their nations' interests in Atlanta.

The 13 are France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, El Salvador, Panama, Eduador, Uruguay, Peru, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Mexico and Belgium.

The decision of Britain to upgrade its consulate was big news in the diplomatic community—and in Atlanta, which welcomes it and is honored by it.

Another day, another move forward by the South's busiest city.

Eugene Patterson

Two Wrongs Equal No Right

There has to be law, and there has to be order. The small SNCC-led group that is in the process of assassinating Atlanta will be dealt with on that basis by the police. This group's mass rushes against police lines are perverting the "nonviolence" they profess into a term of contempt.

The restaurant owners, who ref
hotel owners and others in volunt
shame of discrimination, are quick t
They are getting it, from a city t
The police cannot let the peace
extent that these demonstrators seem
ting hurt.

* * *

Atlanta police are not going to
police who are trying to keep incid
alternative but to arrest those who s
incidents happen. This the police ar
They are not interfering, Birm
tionally-guaranteed peaceable assem
obey instructions for maintaining or
are jailing those who deliberately d
disorders—with physical force, not
mass rushes against blocked doors.

The police are not running a taxi
restaurant owners by locking people
out warrants. The owners can go g
say who goes to jail. The police, inc
making the judgments on who and w
turbance and threatens the common
mass arrests.

In short, this city which so many
is doing its level-headed best to pro
threaten to wreck it.

* * *

It is not a time for misdirected a
munity, whose responsible leaders o
ried the civil rights cause so far her
is dismaying many of them as much
community; we hope they will speak
This is a time for the SNCC peop
alike to note who it is they are pleas
Observing the weekend brawl, L
cording to The New York Times, "I s
We sure aren't glad to see it. W
go home and grow up, and that th
vocally proclaim their right to discri
that it is they—not SNCC, or the Ch
desegregated restaurants—but they,
a public accommodations law. Let

36 Negro Students Now on Georgia Rolls

By United Press International

Integration of the University System of Georgia, begun with the publicized and stormy entry of two Negroes at Athens in 1961, has risen to 36 this fall, a United Press International survey indicated Thursday.

The fall term enrollment not only more than doubled last year's figure but brought integration to four new campuses and introduced the novelty of admission of a white student to a previously all-Negro college.

The white student was admitted to Savannah State College. Other campuses integrated this fall for the first time were at Valdosta State and Columbus State colleges.

West Georgia College at Carrollton and Armstrong College at Savannah accepted one Negro each last summer, but these students did not return for the fall session.

Full records have not arrived at the State Board of Regents office in Atlanta but a canvass of the institutions showed these current enrollments of Negroes.

The University of Georgia, where integration began in January 1961, now leads all the formally all-white university system units with 15 Negroes enrolled, but only eight of them in Athens.

Walter Danner, university registrar and admissions officer, said seven off - campus enrollments were graduate students taking part in an Atlanta area teachers program.

The eight enrolled on the campus at Athens include one student taking Saturday courses only, Danner said. Danner said Georgia had "six or seven" last year.

Georgia Tech in Atlanta came second with 10, all of them studying on the campus. Tech last year had six, one a graduate student. Tech was first integrated in the fall of 1961.

Georgia State in Atlanta this fall has six. The downtown college was first integrated in 1962.

Valdosta State has enrolled two Negroes. A third applied and was accepted but the application later was withdrawn. Columbus has one. The white student at Savannah State completes the list.

Enrollment figures for the fall session had not firmed up but Danner estimated enrollment in Athens at about 10,500. He said it possibly would go higher.

The lone white student at Savannah State has about 1,100 Negro classmates, it was estimated.

WILEY BRANTON

Atlanta Is in Forefront of Quiet But Momentous Civil Rights Move

By PAT WATTERS

AGAINST all the fanfare and fervor of the buildup to a civil rights moment of truth in Washington, a probably more significant development has been taking place this summer in the background. And an Atlantan is in the forefront of it, Wiley A. Branton, a Negro leader strangely unsung, unknown locally, but of the very top echelon nationally.

The nation's seven leading civil rights organizations have, after years of sometimes vicious, always enfeebling internecine competition, temporarily banded together — agreeing to quit disagreeing over means to mutual ends.

This coincides with a new stabilizing force in the underwriting of the civil rights revolution. As described by Reese Cleghorn recently in the New Republic, big-time money and organization, largely through efforts of the Taconic Foundation headed by Stephen R. Currier of New York, are finally coming behind the revolution.

NEW PHASE

Some might say that with the development, the revolution has moved into a final, familiar, uniquely American phase — gilt-edge respectability. No longer, anyhow, should there be the impetus or temptation toward unnecessary extremes (proneness to violence for example) for the sake of fiscal survival.

Mr. Branton of Atlanta has been named to coordinate the activities (including raising $1,500,000 jointly) of the seven civil rights organizations. In the words of one sometimes irreverent Negro leader, this makes him "president of the Negroes in America."

This new move could be the beginning of a long-range unified approach of civil rights organizations, said Mr. Branton . . . Of Atlanta, he said fixed patterns of segregated housing may be the most significant stumbling block to desegregation. This didn't matter as much before all the court orders . . .

A quiet-spoken, deliberate man, Mr. Branton would be the first to disclaim such a title. For him, it will be more work of the same hard kind he has done for a year and a half as coordinator of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council. (Another important joint effort of Negro organizations, this project reported 115,000 new voters registered in the South its first year, and 25,000 voters saved from purge lists.)

Mr. Branton will continue both jobs during the six months he has been named to the new one, commuting from here to New York. He brings to it a shrewd and undeluded ability to appraise organizations and individuals, and a demanding control of purse strings.

Mr. Branton came to Atlanta from Little Rock. He was chief counsel in the famous school desegregation suits there. He has served as a civil rights lawyer in other phases of the revolution, has spoken over the nation on the subject, has lived unperturbed through sieges of Arkansas harassment for his activities (a cross was burning on his lawn when the youngest of his six children was brought home from the hospital . . . and yet white court officials presented him a silver tray when he moved), and he has received many honors and awards outside Atlanta.

STARTLING

He startled people earlier this year when in reply to charges he was an outside agitator in Greenwood, Miss., he pointed out he was descended from a pioneer family, a French trader and Indian princess, for whom Greenwood and Leflore County were named. Ensuing publicity brought a joking telegram from his brother, a lawyer in Los Angeles whose clients include Nat King Cole. You had to open your big mouth, it said. Now they probably won't serve me in bars out here. (It's against the law to serve drinks to Indians in California.)

This is the joking approach to a worlds-apart anomaly which as one friend put it, makes Mr. Branton look white among whites, Negro among Negroes. (Quietly and surely with grim humor, he desegregated many staunchly segregationist Atlanta restaurants long before the student drive. Of one, he says, "I stopped eating there because they wouldn't desegregate . . .")

The serious approach is more profound. Mr. Branton's life, with another chapter beginning with this new, vital job, is a large factor in changing American history.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF
GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303
Telephone: 523-1581

. . . There is little argument
that there will be change in 1964
. . . but what kind of change in
Greater Atlanta, and how will be
accomplished?

Will restaurants be open?
Will hotels be open?
Will schools be open?
Will housing be open?

WILL HEARTS AND MINDS BE OPEN?

GIVE

DOLLARS FOR DEMOCRACY

GIVE

to the

COUNCIL OF HUMAN RELATIONS OF
GREATER ATLANTA
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WHAT THE COUNCIL DOES

COLLECTS FACTS:

On integrated facilities, school transfers, MDTA and Apprentice programs, available houses for sale, Hill-Burton projects, etc.

SUPPLIES FACTS:

To individuals who want to patronize integrated facilities, groups working to extend desegregation, public officials who need informal information, writers and students.

PROVIDES A COMMUNITY FORUM:

-e.g., Series on Human Relations and Metropolitan Growth

Feb. -- Realtors, government housing officials, planning officials on Housing.

March- Professionals in industrial management, vocational education, training, labor, on Employment.

April --School Board and Professional Educator on Education.

PLANS AND ASSISTS IN COMMUNITY PREPARATION FOR CHANGE:

-e.g., Special programs to encourage school transfers, orient Negro students to new "white" schools, assist individual transfer students and families.

OFFERS HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION:

-e.g.,Panel of Americans special intergroup program for students.

GIVES OPPORTUNITIES FOR FRIENDSHIP:

To Negroes and whites as they meet in all kinds of situations, from dinner parties to picnics.

PRESENTS BROAD BASE OF COMMUNITY SUPPORT FOR DESEGREGATION:

576 individual members, from all parts of the Metropolitan area, cutting across racial, religious, professional lines.

INTERPRETS ATLANTA TO VISITORS FROM OTHER STATES AND COUNTRIES

-e.g., Ambassador from Ceylon, Official of Tanganyika, northern Baptist ministers, British journalist.

WORKS WITH ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE:

Special program to interpret and enlist support of white community; observors in court, visitors to jails, contacts with families of student demonstrators, information to ASLC.

COOPERATES WITH OTHER AGENCIES:

-e.g., With YWCA in workshop for high school students, with ACLU Lawyers Committee in distributing information in Newsletter, with state, regional and national agencies. (The Council is affiliated with the Georgia Council on Human Relations)

SOME SPECIFICS ACCOMPLISHED BY THE COUNCIL IN 1963:

. Negotiated desegregation of Smith-Hughes Vocational School.

. Negotiated desegregation of neighborhood and drive-in movies.

. Designed, printed and distributed 35,000 anti-discrimination stickers.

. Prepared, kept current and distributed list of integrated facilities in Greater Atlanta.

. Presented speakers to interracial audiences including Associated White House Press Secretary, Protocol Officer of U.S. Department of State, and Atlantans invited to Presidential White House Conferences.

. Helped publish Directory of Equal Opportunity Employers in Metropolitian Atlanta area.

. Programmed more than 100 visitors at average of 3 days each for State Department.

. Counseled with Negro transfer students and parents.

. Maintained liaison with Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference, printed document ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY for community information.

. Assisted officials and citizens in Decatur and DeKalb County in human relations developments.

. Planned special programs to increase support and use of desegregated facilities, including restaurants and swimming pools.

. Cooperated with other agencies in programs to extend desegregation in education, employment, housing, health services, social services, etc.

WHAT IT IS:

A private, voluntary, tax exempt organization of individual members who live in Greater Atlanta, who pay annual dues, elect officers, serve on committees, give money and join with fellow citizens to enlarge the "coalition of conscience" to bring about better human relations in our community.

WHAT ITS RESOURCES ARE:

Director's salary currently paid by the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee, but all other expenses paid out of funds from individual contributions.

WHAT IT NEEDS:

$20,000 to fill increasing demands for more information, more human relations education, more opportunities for friendship, more preparation as Metropolitan Atlanta, with the rest of the nation, faces inevitable changes.

WHO RUNS THE COUNCIL:

Members elect 5 officers and 20 Directors for 2-year terms. This Board of Directors is solely and completely responsible for the policies and program, and the staff works under its direction.

Officers for 1964-66

Chairman -Mr. M. Stanford
1st V. Chm.- Dr. J. Rothschild
2nd V. Chm.- Dr. E. Weaver
Secretary -Mrs. Sujette Crank
Treasurer -Mr. H. Jackson

Directors Are

Mrs. Philip Brachman
Mr. Martin Handrick
Mrs. Clifton Hoffman
Dr. William Jackson
Dr. Jon Johnston
Mr. Sinclair Jacobs
Rev. Eugene Pickett
Miss Norah McNiven
Dr. Sam Williams
Mr. Q. V. Williamson
Mrs. P. Q. Yancey
Dr. Tilman Cothran
Mr. Carl Holman
Mr. Donald Hollowell
Mr. Charles Mathias
Dr. Margaret Rowley
Mrs. John Stanley
Dr. John Tumblin
Dr. Clinton Warner
(Mrs. E. Paschall, Ex. Drct.)

Date_____

I pledge $_____ for the support of the COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA for April, 1964 to April, 1965.

Payable: Now_____

Installments_____

In Full_____

_____
(Signed)

NAME:_____

ADDRESS:_____

_____

TELEPHONE:_____

Contributions are tax deductible

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
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Atlanta, Georgia
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AU - rec. records by Sept. 1984 -

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

4-21-64

from SRC minutes of exec. committee, 6-30-54

...Discussion turned to a proposal to place the files of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, to which the SRC is lawful successor, in the custody of the Atlanta University Library, with the stipulation of the right of access to the files by personnel of the SRC at times convenient to the library of AU, and with the provision for review by the SRC of proposals for extensive research in the files of the CIC. The Executive Committee agr agreed that a proposal of this kind might be made to AU.

May 28, 1964

Mrs. Annette H. Phinazee
Trevor Arnett Library
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Dear Annette:

(And please call me Montez) Little by little I am getting together some things for the Negro Collection display for SRC. Today I'm mailing the reports of the executive director that are available; others that we now have only one copy of I will photocopy as I can and send along to you. The Leadership Reports and some of our other things you did not have went out on the 26th. I am sorry that we had no more copies of Negro Farmers in South Carolina. If I cannot find a copy anywhere, I will alsomake a photo copy of it, because it would be, I believe, useful for now and the future. You will note that I added to the list you sent several press releases and a few other things that we did not have listed on the publications list because we had only a few copies left. I have also gathered up a number of things which were not originated by SRC, but which we worked on with people sort of unofficially, or which SRC people worked on officially in other capacities, and which we distributed in quantity. We do not have to have any credit for such materials--the idea I had was that if you do not have them you should, because they are good reference material for students and others and they will help to make your information more complete. Attached is a list, as much for my information as yours, so I will not duplicate as I send you other things from time to time.

Eventually, I will copy old financial reports and some other documents--I am doing this along as I have a breathing spell, and so it will be slow but (I hope) fairly constant.

I am really excited about this, and by working together on it I hope we can both add a great deal to the Negro Collection.

Some time ago I compiled a list of articles written by Negro writers for New South for someone who was interested in this. Would this be a good thing to send, even though you may have bound collections of New South? If you don't have all of New South, I can go back and send you as many as we still have--there will be a few gaps, but the more recent ones that we no longer have I can make photo-copies of.

All this is making a lot of work for you, I know, with the cataloging and all, so if I'm sending too much just call me and tell me to slow down!

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright
Research Associate

Mailed separately:

Reports of the Executive Director
1952, 1961, 1960, 1958 (Summer)
SRC By-Laws and list of members
Minutes of Annual Meeting: 1964
Financiaà statements: 1962, 1963
Budget, 1964
Suggestions for New Program Emphasis, Appendix II
VEP registration report, 3-10-64
Report L-47, Jacksonville
Some General Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock
Federal Civil Rights Act of 1960, Summary and Analysis
The Negro & Employment Opportunities in the South: Miami
The Law and Civil Disobedience, by Harris Wofford
School Desegregation--Help Needed? Morland for Potomac
Racial Discrimination in Employment: Proposals for Corrective Action, Notre Dame Conference, Feb. 8-11-63, Daniel H. Pollitt
Address by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to American Bar Association, 8-6-62
Statement of L. W. Dunbar before Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, 3-6-62
VEP News release, 3-31-63: 64 Acts of Violence in Mississippi
President Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill, An Analysis (SRC)
Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, Sept. 1961
Letter From Birmingham City Jail, M. L. King, Jr.
Field Reports on Desegregation: Clinton, Tenn. 1956
Report on Mississippi, by Miss. Advisory Committee to USCCR, 1963
What the Armed Forces Taught Us About Integration, Morton Pruner
The Day They Changed Their Minds, NAACP
The Louisville Story, by Omer Carmichael
A Church, A School--, Ralph McGill
When A City Closes Its Schools, E. Q. Campbell
Action Patterns in School Desegregation, PDK
This Is What We Found, Ralph and Carl Creger
South Carolinians Speak
Crisis in Norfolk, Jane Reif
Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends and the Housing of Minority/ Groups

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

May 1, 1964

TREVOR ARNETT LIBRARY

Mrs. Montez Albright
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thanks, again, for assisting me in getting SRC publications. I have looked for the publications on your list dated January, 1963 and I would like to have the following titles if they are still available. We have the annual reports of the Executive Director for 1944, 1957, and 1963. We would appreciate having any others that can be sent to us. We lack Leadership Reports nos. 5, 12, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24-46, 47 – Here is a list of the other titles that are desired:

Federal Programs to Promote Employment and Development in Rural Communities, by Hayes Mizell.
School Desegregation: The first six years.
Southern Student Newspaper Opinion on the University of Mississippi.
A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal, by John Lofton.
A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina.

Sincerely,

Annette

(Mrs.) Annette H. Phinazee

AHP:flc

to get

Reports of Director
1945
46
47 ✓
48 ✓
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
– Summer
58
59
60 ✓
61 ✓
62 ✓

Sent
5-26-64 – MA

plus press releases available and a few other things not on current pub. list.

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Attachment G.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

Operating Budgets and Income Forecast - 1964

(Proposed)

SYNOPSIS

Budgeted:		
General Operations	$ 212,729	
Special Projects	384,984	
Total		$ 597,713
Income Forecast:		
General Operations	$ 112,850	
Special Operations	384,985	
Total		$ 497,835
Balance to be Raised:		
General Operations	$ 99,879	
Special Projects	------	
Total		$ 99,879

P. 1 - Proposed Budget, General Operations

P. 2 - Projected Income, General Operations

P. 3 - Proposed Budget, Special Projects

Projected Income, Special Projects

GENERAL OPERATIONS

ITEM	PROPOSED 1964	BUDGETED 1963	Spent, 1963	Spent, 1962
Salaries	$133,109	$103,781	$106,799.02	$101,328.56
Social Security	3,000	2,500	3,202.63	2,796.58
Travel	11,500	10,000	9,021.84	10,506.84
Telephone & Telegraph	5,100	5,000	5,388.81	4,977.01
Executive Committee and Annual Meetings	7,000	7,000	7,000.00	6,690.93
Consultant Fees & Travel	2,000	4,500	1,523.53	3,632.24
Books, Subscriptions, Research Materials	4,500	3,000	4,579.99	2,756.72
Office Supplies and Equipment	4,500	4,500	4,065.55	3,535.52
New South, Postage, Printing and Fees	9,800	9,800	10,644.06	7,314.30
Postage, General	2,300	2,100	2,359.90	1,879.24
Printing	11,500	11,500	7,603.83	11,009.96
Rent	8,920*	7,200	7,200.00	7,200.00
Accounting	700	700	625.00	635.00
Reinvestment in Trust Fund			2,306.46	
Insurance, General & Staff Benefits	6,500	5,000	6,644.13	4,584.02
Foreign Visitor Expenses	1,000	600	1,064.57	886.64
Miscellaneous	1,300	1,300	2,037.45	1,853.01
TOTALS	$212,729	$178.481	$182,066.77	$171,586.57

*This assumes that offices will be moved to occupy entire 5th floor of 5 Forsyth Street in order to get necessary space. An alternative is to enlarge, at considerable expense, and with unsatisfactory results, our present quarters, which would also increase our annual rental by $600.

Proposed Miminum Operating Budget - 1964		$212,729
Projected Income: (General Operations)		
Foundations:		
Field Foundation	$ 25,000	
New World Foundation	30,000	
Marion R. Ascoli Fund	1,000	
Taconic Foundation	25,000	
Adele Levy Fund	1,000	
Chace Fund	5,000	
		$8870000
Other:		
Overhead from Project Grants	$ 15,000	
Individual Contributions	1,500	
New South Subscriptions	7,500	
Other	1,000	
Sale of Literature	850	
		$ 25,850
Total, Projected Income		112,850
Balance to be raised $99,879.00		
Income, General Operations 1963	$176,684.01	
Income, General Operations 1962	$178,861.75	

SPECIAL PROJECTS, 1964

Proposed Budgets:

Southern Leadership Projects		$ 15,000
Grants-in-Aid Program		55,900
Voter Education Project		300,000
Administration & Research	$ 75,000	
Reserve for Publication & Writing of Final Report	10,000	
Field Grants	215,000	
Fellowship of the Concerned		4,085
Special Fund for Educational Projects		10,000
TOTAL		$ 384,985

Income Expectable:

Southern Leadership Project Rockefeller Brothers Fund		15,000
Grants-in-Aid Program		
Field Foundation	$ 30,900	
Taconic Foundation	25,000	55,900
Voter Education Project		
Foundations	$ 260,000	
Miscellaneous	40,000	300,000
Fellowship of the Concerned		4,085
Special Fund for Educational Projects		10,000
TOTAL		$ 384,985
Balance to BE RAISED		--------

MA — Gwd
PA

STAFF MEMO

To: Leslie W. Dunbar

From: Vernon Jordan, Paul Anthony, Ruth Alexander, Montez Albright

Re: the old SRC records, including the ones now stored at AU and more recent old records now stored at SRC

We recommend that a resolution be submitted at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, outlining the following procedure:

1. That the Executive Committee take action immediately to officially designate Atlanta University as the recipient of the old SRC records now stored there and such records now stored at SRC as would be found useful to a complete history of SRC. The above action should be contingent upon the willingness of Atlanta University to become the official recipient of these recores with all that this implies in cataloging and making them readily available to scholars, historians, etc.

2. That Pat Watters, or another appropriate person, immediately proceed to North Carolina for the purpose of tape recording Mrs. Ames account of the formation of the SRC and any other reminiscences about the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, etc., and that this person discuss with Mrs. Ames the disposition of any other recored in her possession.

   Further, that this same procedure be followed with other early founders and members of SRC, e. g., Dr. Hancock, Josephine Wilkins, Rufus Clements, Ralph McGill, Bishop Moore and any others now available.

   These tape recording would be considered a part of the total SRC records mentioned above for Atlanta University.

3. That some appropriate person from SRC or from the Atlanta University Library go to Chapel Hill to look at the material on SRC given to the University of North Carolina. Such examination would include any papess given by Mrs. Ames, Howard Odum, Guy Johnson, Rupert Vance and others. This person would then initiate discussion with the University of North Carolina on how copies of any materials of special interest might be gotten to Atlanta University for inclusion with the other records.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

NATIONAL COMMISSION
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MEIER STEINBRINK
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LABEL A. KATZ
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MAURICE BISGYER
Executive Vice-President, B'nai B'rith
MRS. MOE KUDLER
President, B'nai B'rith Women

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STAFF DIRECTORS
NATHAN C. BELTH
Public Relations
OSCAR COHEN
Program
ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Community Service
J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration
LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

•

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

PA
MA
state group interested

February, 1963

Dear Friend:

I would like to inform you of what may be one of the most important break throughs in the Intergroup Relations field vis-a-vis audio-visual materials. Undoubtedly, you know or have heard of Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard University's Department of Social Relations.

Last year, utilizing a graphically illustrated lecture technique, he presented a series of programs over what is often considered the outstanding education station in the country - WGBH-TV in Boston. The series was eminently successful and many of the people with whom I am in contact were enthusiastic about it.

The ADL cooperated in the series and we now have in film form five of the lectures on race relations. I believe that you will find "Epitaph for Jim Crow" a vital and constructive addition to the courses you are already teaching. I can make available to you, upon request, any one or more of the films for preview, if you are interested in purchasing them. Each sells for $85.00 and audio-visual libraries certainly should seriously consider this series. Rentals are $7.50.

Some people have used these with ADL's previous two films in the Point of View series -- Princeton University's Dr. Melvin M. Tumin's "Anti-Semitism in America" and N.Y.U.'s Dr. William Van Til's "Challenge To America." The latter two illustrated lectures are also available in inexpensive printed form.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Mort Sobel

Morton J. Sobel, Director
National Department of
Colleges and Universities

MJS/jk
Enclosures

February 20, 1964

Mr. Jerome E. Klein
Director
Lane Bryant Annual Awards
465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Klein:

Our director, Leslie W. Dunbar, would like to nominate Aaron Henry, of Mississippi, for consideration in your nominations for the 1963 Lane Bryant Annual Awards. Mr. Dunbar is out of the office with a virus, and requested that I send in the nomination.

Instead of the usual letter of endorsement, we are enclosing a copy of an article by one of our staff members, published in the December 1963 issue of The Progressive, and which we believe tells about Mr. Henry more vividly and understandably than we could in a letter.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate
for the executive director

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS
For Volunteer Service to the Community
465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

ASK ABOUT THE
LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS
FOR COMMUNITY
VOLUNTEER SERVICE

NEW YORK N.Y.
U.S. POSTAGE 04
PB METER 105770

MA. I would like to nominate Aaron Henry [illegible] Professor [illegible]

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

LWD

Shouldn't we nominate someone?

AL

NOMINATION FOR LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS FOR 1963

Two Awards are presented annually, one to a group and one to an individual.

I, hereby nominate: _____ 213 Front Ave. Clarksdale, Miss.

(Mr. Miss Mrs.) Name Address City State

for one of the $1000 Lane Bryant Awards for 1963 in recognition of his outstanding volunteer community service.

_____

If nominating a group, give name and title of director.

List the names of three persons or organizations closely familiar with the accomplishments of the candidate: Please Print

1. James Silver U of Miss
Name Address City State

2. Tom. Peters CBS Reports 44 Witherbee Ave. Mamaroneck
Name Address City State

3. Ray Wilkins NAACP 20 Westchester St. 40th St.
Name Address City State

_____

Nominator's name Title Address City State

RULES FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE LANE BRYANT AWARDS FOR 1963

1. All entries and manuscripts become the property of Lane Bryant, Inc., and are not returnable. No entry fee is required. All entries must be mailed with sufficient postage. A 200 word statement about candidate must accompany nomination.
2. Lane Bryant may request additional information from applicant for the judges' consideration.
3. Any material submitted may be used by Lane Bryant, Inc., in publicity or advertising or by any publication obtaining permission from Lane Bryant, Inc.
4. Supplementary material may be submitted, consisting of no more than 30 pages, in binders no larger than 11"x14".
5. Decisions of the judges are final.
6. No employees or immediate relatives of employees of Lane Bryant, Inc., and its affiliated stores or of the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research may submit entries.
7. One or more entries may be submitted by any individual or group or organization, anywhere in the United States.
8. All entries for the 1963 Lane Bryant Annual Awards must be received by the Lane Bryant Awards Committee, 465 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., before midnight, March 15, 1964. (If any further information is desired, call LExington 2-0200, Extension 309, New York City).

I FEEL THAT _____ WORTHY OF THIS HONOR BECAUSE:
(he, she, they) (is, are)

A 200 WORD STATEMENT DESCRIBING THE NOMINEE'S ACTIVITIES MUST ACCOMPANY THIS BLANK.
PLEASE BE SURE TO GIVE THE THREE REFERENCES REQUESTED ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THIS CARD.

DEADLINE FOR ENTRIES... MARCH 15, 1964

AWARDS FOR WORK PERFORMED DURING 1963 WILL BE PRESENTED NOVEMBER 1964

LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS

For Volunteer Service to the Community

465 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

January, 1964

Dear Friend:

Nominations for the 1963 Lane Bryant Annual Awards are now open. As you may know, Lane Bryant seeks to recognize and honor those unsung volunteer workers who, by their dedication and unselfish efforts, improve the human condition of their fellow men.

1964 will mark the sixteenth anniversary of the Awards presentation. Two Awards of $1,000 each will be given -- one to a group and one to an individual -- for outstanding volunteer service to the community.

Because your name was given as a reference for a candidate in last year's Awards program, we would like you to again submit a candidate for the 1963 Awards. We are sure that you are familiar with the work of a deserving volunteer or group in your community whose efforts deserve recognition. Although the candidate you endorsed did not win last year, you may submit the same nominee again, if you wish, as well as any other volunteer worker or group you may know. Many of our candidates have been submitted as many as three times before winning an Award.

The enclosed brochure will tell you about the work of our 1962 Award winners. Both the brochure and enclosed nomination card will be mailed to you, upon request, in any amount you wish.

There is no limit to the number of nominations one person may make. Both groups and individuals may be nominated for the Awards. All nominations must be received by March 15, 1964. Candidates for the Awards will be screened by the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University before being presented to the 1963 Awards Committee (listed below) for final selection.

We hope that you will help us, once again, to seek out deserving candidates for the Awards, and look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jerome E. Klein

Jerome E. Klein
Director

CJ-25
enc.

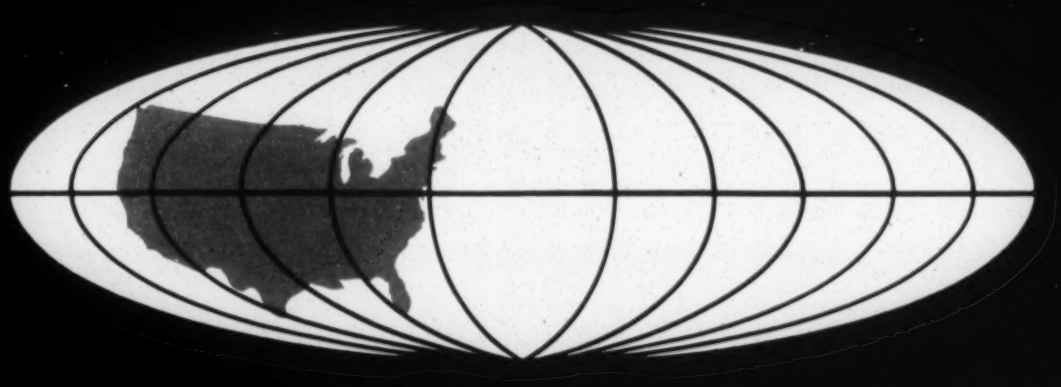
1963 AWARDS COMMITTEE: ADOLF A. BERLE, *Former Assistant Secretary of State* ~ FELISA R. GAUTIER, *Mayoress of San Juan, Puerto Rico,* ~ J. PETER GRACE, *President W. R. Grace & Co.* ~ DR. JAMES M. HESTER, *President, New York University* ~ NORMAN THOMAS, *Writer and Lecturer*
Committee Advisor: DR. ROBERT K. MERTON, *Associate Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University*
Staff: JEROME E. KLEIN, *Director* ~ CORINNE LATTA, *Assistant Director* ~ CELIA JACOBS, *Manager.*

AWARDS COMMITTEE MEMBERS 1948-1962

Walter H. Annenberg
Dr. Carl Binger
Sarah G. Blanding
Frances P. Bolton
Lee H. Bristol
Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck
Pearl S. Buck
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Erwin D. Canham
Emanuel Celler
Bennett Cerf
Mary Ellen Chase
Cyrus S. Ching
Margaret Clapp
Dr. Everett R. Clinchy
Jacqueline Cochran
George V. Denny, Jr.
Paul H. Douglas
William O. Douglas
John E. Drewry
A. Biddle Duke
Irwin Edman
Marion B. Folsom
Dr. George H. Gallup
Barry Goldwater
Joseph C. Grew
Alfred M. Gruenther
Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
Rufus Carrolton Harris
H. J. Heinz II
Christian A. Herter
Oveta Culp Hobby
Mildred McAfee Horton
Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton
Dr. Bryn Hovde
Hubert H. Humphrey
Jacob K. Javits
Robert L. Johnson
Kenneth B. Keating
Estes Kefauver
John F. Kennedy
Dr. Russell Kirk
William F. Knowland
Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir
Dr. John A. Lapp
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker
James A. Linen
Mrs. Oswald B. Lord
Mark A. McCloskey
Margaret Mead
Helen Menken
Dr. Karl Menninger
Robert B. Meyner
James A. Michener
Marianne Moore
deLesseps S. Morrison
Charles Munch
James F. Oates, Jr.
Basil O'Connor
J. C. Penney
Professor Walter Piston
Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Orville Prescott
Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest
Clarence B. Randall
Mrs. Ogden Reid
Richard Rodgers
Mrs. Mary G. Roebling
Ruth Bryan Rohde
George Romney
Howard A. Rusk, M. D.
David Sarnoff
John J. Sparkman
Frank Stanton
William E. Stevenson
Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Stuart Symington
Dr. Harold Taylor
Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
Joseph N. Welch
John Hay Whitney
Henry M. Wriston

RECIPIENTS OF AWARDS 1948-1962

1948 —— Citizens Schools Committee, Chicago, Illinois
1949 —— The League of Woman Voters, Des Moines, Iowa
1950 —— The Catholic Interracial Council, Wilmington, Delaware
1951 —— The Milwaukee County Association for Retarded Children, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1952—*Individual*— Harry Clinton Eva, The Bronx, New York
Group —— City Manager Advocates, Brookfield, Illinois
1953—*Individual*— Joseph J. Yancey, Jr., New York, N.Y.
Group —— Los Angeles Tenth District California Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc. Los Angeles, California
1954—*Individual*— Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., New Orleans, Louisiana
Group —— Virginia Council on Health and Medical Care, Richmond, Virginia
1955—*Individual*— Mrs. William Burns, New Haven, Connecticut
Group —— United Church Women of Atlanta, Georgia
1956—*Individual*— Danny Kaye, Beverly Hills, California
Group —— The Allegheny Conference on Community Development, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
1957—*Individual*— Rev. W. L. Buffington, Augusta, Georgia
Group —— Clarksburg Non-Partisan Association, Clarksburg, West Virginia
1958—*Individual*— Mrs. Jessie Hughes, St. Louis, Missouri
Group —— Chagrin Falls Park Community Center, Chagrin Falls, Ohio
1959—*Individual*— Harry A. Gregg, Greenfield, New Hampshire
Group —— Progress Village, Inc., Tampa, Florida
1960—*Individual*— Dr. Jessie Royer Greaves, Paoli, Pennsylvania
Group —— Citizens' Committee of the North End, Hartford, Connecticut
1961—*Individual*— Mrs. Lester G. Auberlin, Detroit, Michigan
Group —— Henry Street Settlement, New York, N. Y.
1962—*Individual*— Mrs. Mariá Isabel de Atiles Moreu, San Juan, Puerto Rico
Group —— The American Field Service, New York, N. Y.



LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS

Presented on November 21, 1963 • The Plaza Hotel • New York City

1962 ANNUAL AWARDS COMMITTEE

Judges who select the recipients of the Lane Bryant Annual Awards are chosen from among distinguished Americans representing leadership in government, volunteer work, education, business, religion, and the arts and sciences.

Christian A. Herter
Former Secretary of State

Miss Marianne Moore
Writer

David Sarnoff
Chairman of the Board
Radio Corporation of America

John J. Sparkman
United States Senator
(Alabama)

John Hay Whitney
Editor in Chief and Publisher
New York Herald Tribune

Committee Advisor
Dr. Robert K. Merton
Associate Director
Bureau of
Applied Social Research,
Columbia University

FORMER ANNUAL AWARDS JUDGES

Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton
Clarence B. Randall
Senator Estes Kefauver
The Hon. Angier Biddle Duke
Orville Prescott
Joseph C. Grew
Justice William O. Douglas
James A. Linen
Dr. Mary Langmuir Essex
Oscar Hammerstein II
Congressman Emanuel Celler
Jacqueline Cochran
Dr. Frank Stanton
Dr. Charles Munch
Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
James A. Michener
Erwin D. Canham
Alfred M. Gruenther
Mrs. Mary G. Roebling
George Romney
Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton
Mary Ellen Chase
George V. Denny, Jr.
The Hon. Marion B. Folsom
Dr. George H. Gallup
Senator Jacob K. Javits
Basil O'Connor
Joseph N. Welch
Mrs. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Dr. William E. Stevenson
Senator Kenneth B. Keating
Henry M. Wriston
Dr. John A. Lapp
Governor Robert B. Meyner
Cyrus S. Ching
Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest
Senator William F. Knowland
Mrs. Albert D. Lasker
Richard Rodgers
Helen Menken
Robert L. Johnson
Dr. Russell Kirk
Lee H. Bristol
Mark A. McCloskey
Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton
H. J. Heinz, II
President John F. Kennedy
Dr. Carl Binger
Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck
Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Dr. Bryn Hovde
Sarah G. Blanding
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Bennett Cerf
Dr. Margaret Mead
Dr. Everett R. Clinchy
Dean John E. Drewry
Pearl S. Buck
Senator Stuart Symington
Mrs. Ogden Reid
Professor Irwin Edman
Walter H. Annenberg
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
The Hon. Ruth Bryan Rhode
Senator Paul H. Douglas
Margaret Clapp
Dr. Karl Menninger
Dr. Harold Taylor
J. C. Penney
Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison
Senator Barry Goldwater
Walter Piston
Mrs. Oswald P. Lord
Rufus C. Harris
James F. Oates, Jr.

Stephen Galatti
Director General

The One Thousand Dollar Group Award

American Field Service

New York City, New York

A Japanese boy dines with his "family" in Minnesota... an American girl shares Sukiyaki with her Japanese hosts in Tokyo... a German student plays her guitar for a children's group in a Louisiana library... an American girl goes hiking with her summer "brother" in Bavaria—all of these youngsters holding in their hearts the future of our world, a world brought closer together in love and understanding by the American Field Service.

Founded as a volunteer ambulance service in France during World War I, the American Field Service strove to continue its program of international understanding by establishing Fellowships for American and French students to study for one or more years in each other's country. After World War II, the organization reestablished its scholarship program as the need for strengthening the bonds between nations grew. The experiment was so successful that the new program was directed entirely to teenage youngsters from 16 to 18 years old.

Today, AFS brings students from 60 countries to attend American schools in more than 2600 communities for one year. It also sends over 1100 American students abroad through its summer program and full school year program. Exchange students are carefully selected so that their visits become enriching experiences for themselves and the people with whom they come in contact. Students from abroad are encouraged to participate fully in the lives of their host communities and live in American homes as members of the family. At the end of the school year, AFS organizes bus trips to broaden the students' picture of the United States. In 1962, 75 buses made stops in 750 communities where volunteer groups acted as hosts and offered their facilities for relaxation and enjoyment. The bus trips are climaxed by a visit to the President at the White House.

Since the inception of the American Field Service, more than 21,000 students have participated in its scholarship program, both in the United States and abroad. The communities themselves raise 60% of the necessary funds to host a student for one year. The rest of the money comes from the student's family, individual donations, foundations and corporations. The American Field Service, which will mark its 50th anniversary in 1964, is one of the greatest open doors to international understanding and friendship existing in today's troubled world.

The One Thousand Dollar Individual Award

Mrs. María Isabel De Atiles Moreu

Santurce, Puerto Rico

Mrs. María Isabel De Atiles Moreu

A brand new building which brings new life to more than 500 crippled children and adults each year . . . a clinic where an infant receives the help he needs to straighten his deformed limb . . . a doctor adjusting the brace on a small leg . . . a third grade class which looks like any other until you notice the crutch propped behind the specially constructed chair—these are tangible results of a woman's work, dedicated to alleviating the lonely burden of the handicapped.

Born and educated in Puerto Rico, Mrs. Atiles Moreu became increasingly aware of the plight of the handicapped though her long service as a schoolteacher. Facilities in Puerto Rico for their rehabilitation and schooling were non-existent.

In 1954, Mrs. Atiles Moreu established the Puerto Rico Chapter of the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults and organized an active fund raising campaign. The first tangible result of her efforts was a small rehabilitation center located in a garage. In 1956, the center was moved to larger premises and the first school for the handicapped in Puerto Rico was founded. To serve the center, Mrs. Atiles Moreu enlisted the aid of a voluntary corps of medical consultants recognized by the Medical Association of Puerto Rico.

In 1958, Mrs. Atiles Moreu was instrumental in obtaining through legislation both the land and funds necessary to erect a modern rehabilitation center for handicapped children and adults who cannot afford to pay for the services of a private physician. In addition to physical and occupational therapy, the center, which opened in 1962, offers hospitalization, surgery, dental services, and academic education for crippled children. Since the inception of the program, more than 5,000 persons have been served.

Continually enlarging her vision and accomplishments, Mrs. Atiles Moreu established a small rehabilitation center in Mayaguez and embarked on a project for another school where the crippled can be trained to become self-supporting by holding jobs in industry.

A completely dedicated volunteer, Mrs. Atiles Moreu is responsible for bringing new hope and faith in the future to thousands of handicapped children and adults in Puerto Rico.

THE FIFTEENTH
LANE BRYANT ANNUAL AWARDS
For Distinguished Volunteer Service in 1962

It is appropriate in a nation founded on great hope and great faith in the individual that the volunteer should be the hero.

Since the inception of the Lane Bryant Annual Awards program in 1948, thousands of nominations have been made each year. Selecting finalists has been the responsibility of Dr. Robert K. Merton and his staff at Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research.

Nominations have come from every state—from Governors, United States Senators, Congressmen, Mayors, university presidents, members of Presidential Cabinets and other persons prominent in the public eye. They come, too, from private citizens in all walks of life. Every area of volunteer effort has been included.

To determine the merits of each, the Bureau of Applied Social Research first applies five tested criteria of exclusion. When applications have been cut to approximately one-fourth the number originally submitted, more exacting specific criteria are applied, including community need, scope, use of resources, means used, effectiveness, and magnitude of obstacles encountered and overcome.

The few remaining nominations of individuals and organizations are then presented by Dr. Merton to a distinguished group of judges for final selection.

Although a nominee may not win the Award on first nomination, years later, through subsequent nominations, a group or individual may be the finalist. Because volunteers spend years—even lifetimes—accomplishing their goals, their work may reach a pinnacle in later years which the Awards Committee considers worthy of the $1,000 Award.

The magnitude of a volunteer's work is not the most important criterion on which the Awards program was conceived. Lane Bryant's aim is to unearth those unheralded, unpaid volunteers who, by their dedication and extraordinary efforts have in some way found a solution to age-old or just-born problems of humanity.

Nomination Procedures

Lane Bryant invites nominations for the 1963 Annual Awards for exceptional voluntary service in the United States. Any individual or organization engaged in voluntary and unpaid activities in any area of activity benefiting the community, state, or nation is eligible for nomination. March 15, 1964 is the deadline for entries for work performed during the year 1963.

All nominations received by Lane Bryant will be given to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University for screening and investigation.

Two Award winners will then be selected by the 1963 judges. One Award will be presented to an individual and one to a group for the most outstanding voluntary contributions to their communities during the past year. Each will be presented with one thousand dollars and a plaque commemorating their achievement. The final choice of the winners rests entirely with the Board of Judges which varies from year to year, but is always composed of prominent citizens interested in furthering community progress.

Official nomination forms must be used for all nominations. A 200 word summary of the candidate's accomplishments is also required. Clippings, pamphlets and other supporting material may also be submitted.

For information and nomination blanks, write to the Lane Bryant Annual Awards, 465 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Awards for work performed in 1963 will be presented in November, 1964.

File

CCAP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

April 17, 1967

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Last Tuesday we put together a rather large delegation to meet with OEO on SWAFCA. Because of OEO's problems on the Hill--Republican and Southern Democratic coalitions, this could be very sticky.

It was good to meet with you here in Washington. I look forward to the piece on CDGM.

Sincerely,

Dick Boone

Richard W. Boone

April 6, 1967

Mr. Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens Crusade Against
Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dick:

The attached is for your information; you may already be aware of the situation.

We have taken some interest in the development of this program, and Al Ulmer of our staff may want to later talk with you about what might be done to salvage it, or call on you for help.

It was good meeting you and talking with you last month. I finally finished the CDGM piece, and will be sure you get a copy when it comes out. Your help was valuable.

— BU note made. JS.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures - 3.
Xeroxed news clips re OEO.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS W. YOUNG, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

orig. filed: PW Travel Expense

May 22, 1967

Mr. Robb Burlage
Resident Fellow
Institute for Policy Studies
1900 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dear Robb:

It was good being with you all again; though I must admit I felt at times kind of superfluous.

My expenses included round trip air fare, $83.37, and hotel, $24.42. I think other expenses should be borne by the Council since I was able to get some Council business done while up there.

My regards to your good wife and the others there.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encls. - 2.
(xeroxed copies of hotel and air line bills.)

July 31, 1967

Mr. John R. Bertrand
President
Berry College
Mount Berry, Georgia 30149

Dear Dr. Bertrand:

Thank you for sending the material about Berry's role in community progress. It will be valuable to the projects I'm working on. I still hope to get someone interested in making copies of the tapes.

It was good meeting you. If we can ever be of service, please call on us.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

BERRY COLLEGE

MOUNT BERRY • GEORGIA 30149

AREA CODE 404 • 232-5374

Office of the President

July 5, 1967

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Enclosed is the material which I promised to send you when you were in my office last week.

Let me know if I can be of further help to you.

Sincerely yours,

John R. Bertrand

John R. Bertrand
President

JRB:ch
Enclosure

August 24, 1967

Mr. C. R. Locke, Director
National Conference of Bar
Examiners
American Bar Center
1155 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Mr. Locke:

This is in reply to your letter asking my frank opinion as to the moral character, legal ability, and fitness for the practice of law of Wiley Austin Branton, former director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council and presently a special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States of America.

In the three particulars, I can reply, on the basis of personal association with him and of course on the basis of his rather prominent position and career, that he possesses the very highest record and qualification.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

cc: Wiley A. Branton

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

August 22, 1967

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Thank you very much for your very fine recommendation in my behalf to the National Conference of Bar Examiners and for sending me a copy of the same. I appreciate and value your long friendship.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley

WILEY A. BRANTON
Special Assistant
to the Attorney General

August 8,.1967

Mr. C. R. Locke, Director
National Conference of Bar Examiners
American Bar Center
1155 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Mr. Locke:

Your letter of August 4 arrived at a time when Mr. Watters is away on vacation. He will not return to the office until August 22, and I hope the personal information you seek concerning Mr. Branton can wait until that time. I can, however, verify the fact that Mr. Branton was the Director of the Voter Education Project during the time you mentioned. I worked as secretary to the Research and Field Directors of the project, and as secretary to Mr. Branton during the last months of the operation.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

National Conference of Bar Examiners

AMERICAN BAR CENTER
1155 EAST 60TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
C. RICHARD LOCKE, DIRECTOR

CHAIRMAN
WILLIAM H. KING RICHMOND, VA.
SECRETARY
FRED G. FRANCIS PRESTONSBURG, KY.
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MERRILL R. BRADFORD BANGOR, ME.
WILLIAM C. O'BRIEN AURORA, ILL.
RICHARD C. COCKRELL DENVER, COLO.
R. LOWELL MILLER SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

August 4, 1967

Rec'd 8/7/67

Pat Watters, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Our Conference has, as one of its purposes, the work of investigating the moral character and fitness for the practice of law of those attorneys of one state who seek admission to the bar of another. In this connection we have been asked to prepare the required report on WILEY AUSTIN BRANTON, a member of the bars of Arkansas and Georgia who is now applying for admission to the bar of the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Branton says he was Director of The Voter Education Project from January 1962 to April 30, 1965. We wish to verify this information, if possible, and, as you are a reference, we would like your frank opinion as to Mr. Branton's moral character, legal ability and fitness for the practice of law.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

C. R. Locke

C. R. Locke, Director

CRL:nb

All information solicited and received for character reports is confidential and restricted to official use by the proper admitting authority.

September 18, 1967

The Honorable Julian Bond
House of Representatives
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Julian:

I think that your idea for a monthly round-up of southern governmental news affecting Negroes is of course good, needed, and likely of success.

I don't know how big the market would be, but judging from the kind of response we get to NEW SOUTH, it would largely depend on your finding some good way to let people know about it. Our customers seem satisfied; the problem is that we just don't have enough customers. I would guess this will be a major problem for you, too.

As to southern newsmen as stringers, our experience has not been encouraging. We have increasingly tended to rely on news clips and local sources other than newsmen, calling the latter rather than relying on them to write out material. Again, there are probably good men; the problem is finding them. The well known ones who are worth a damn, like Bill Minor in Jackson, are already spread thin stringing for everybody else. I never was impressed with the calibre of some of the guys (among those I knew) used by Southern School News; in fact, I never was much impressed with Southern School News.

Specifically on whether a year of subsidized operation would be time enough to build up your subscription list, I would say only if you work like hell at promoting the thing.

All of the above I know sounds negative, belying my first sentence. But all I'm trying to do is suggest that it won't be easy. The main thing is that there is a vacuum of authoritative and reliable reporting on the South -- worse now than I have ever seen it. Those interested still in the place need the kind of service you are talking about, us included, and the South needs to get more people interested. Good luck with it, and if we can be of help, let me know. In fact, I'd like to talk with you about it next chance we have.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

House of Representatives

Atlanta

September 8, 1967

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I'm writing to ask your opinion of an idea of mine.

I imagine you remember what Southern School News used to look like and how it read; factually, objectively describing everything there was to be described about school integration, its successes and failures, in the South.

I thought about a publication of that same nature, dealing in this instance with racial problems in general throughout the Southern region. To keep the scope from becoming too broad, I would concentrate on governmental actions that affect race. (By government, I mean everything from the Mound Bayou, Mississippi city council to George Wallace's plans for '68.) I would try to issue this publication monthly, include in each issue a state-by-state review (like that in each New South) with general articles dealing with particular, broader problems on a state-by-state and region-by-region basis.

Most important, this publication would try to avoid editorializing on the subjects it reports, and would concentrate on telling what happened, for what reason or at whose direction, and what possible effects this occurrence will have. But I won't say whether "happenings" that I report are good or bad.

You can see that what I have in mind is rather ambitious. What I'd like to pluck from your nimble wit is the following, assuming that such a project has finances for a year's operations in hand at present:

- is there a market for such a publication?
- could Southern newsmen be used as stringers as some were used for the Southern School News?
- would a year's subsidized operation allow ample time to build a break-even base of subscribers?

I ought to add that I envisioned subscriptions to this thing at about $10 per year. I ought also indicate that I don't intend this to be a newspaper, or a new, Southwide edition of the Southern Courier. I thought its readership might be found among scholars, journalists, the curious (about the South) and others not directly involved on the Southern scene.

At any rate, I hope you can find time to think this over and let me hear your thoughts on it.

Sincerely,

Julian

Julian Bond

JB:ph

March 19, 1970

Mr. Jerry Berman
Assistant General Counsel
Center for Community Change
1000 Wisconsin Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Berman:

Ken Dean has asked that I send you the enclosed copy of the hearings transcript on Head Start in Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA: hs

May 12, 1970

Dr. Jerold D. Bozarth
Arkansas Rehabilitation Research
and Training Center
Uiversity of Arkansas
West Avenue - 346 N. West Avenue
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

Dear Dr. Bozarth:

Thank you for letting us read your prospectus for your book on rehabilitation counseling. It seems to me it would be a very desirable work for the professional practicioner and administrator I am just afraid, however, it would not have enough general, lay interest for us to undertake it.

Yours sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/lb

Encl.

ARKANSAS REHABILITATION RESEARCH AND TRAINING CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
WEST AVENUE ANNEX — 346 N. WEST AVENUE
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS 72701
501 575-3656

DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH
G. FRANK LAWLIS, Ph.D.

April 29, 1970

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Sir:

This letter is to explore the possibility of publishing a book of readings with the Southern Regional Council.

I have included the first prospectus of the book which is tentatively titled, Models and Functions in Rehabilitation Counseling. One of the more prominent figures in rehabilitation counseling education has tentatively agreed to write a foreword for the book. This person is Dr. John Muthard who has applauded the idea of bringing together articles of this type and who is one of the recognized authorities in the field of rehabilitation counseling.

I have also received permission from the authors to use the articles which are enclosed. You may want to receive their permission. Several of the publisher sources of the articles do require a fee for commercial publication of the articles in books of readings, (e.g., those published in journals of the American Personnel and Guidance Association and American Psychological Association.)

The topic covered by the readings will be a limited one; however, the potential audience is actually a rather large one. The potential readers would include rehabilitation counseling educators, rehabilitation counseling students, and rehabilitation counselor practitioners and administrators. There are approximately 90 rehabilitation counselor education programs in the United States which have an average of 40 students per year. It is quite likely that such a book of readings would be used extensively in courses for the students. In fact, three counselor educators have indicated to me that they would use the book extensively. Six directors of State Vocational Rehabilitation offices have also indicated that they would recommend

the book to their counselors.

The rehabilitation counselor practitioner and administrator population would include at least 10,000 employees. The population is a growing and changing one which would easily result in new individuals as potential buyers of the book. There are also many occupational areas such as rehabilitation nursing, occupational therapy and similar professionals which would be a potential market for this collection.

I have sent a copy of the prospectus to several publishers asking about the conditions, arrangements, etc.

I sincerely hope that your company will be interested and look forward to hearing from you in the near future. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jerold D. Bozarth

Jerold D. Bozarth, Ph.D.
Senior Research Scientist
Assistant Professor
Department of Psychology

JDB/eds
Enclosure

File

June 16, 1970

Miss Kathleen Blake
P.O. Box 1632
Auburn, Ala. 36830

Dear Miss Blake:

Thank you so much for your request about non-academic university workers. I think the enclosed article from the spring, 1970, NEW SOUTH, published by the Council, is relevant to your concerns. I will keep on the look-out for further materials.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA:h

P.O. Box 1632
Auburn, Alabama 36830
June 15, 1970

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Sir:

I am working in Auburn, Alabama, and am concerned over the wages paid the non-academic employees at Auburn University. Before planning what should be done here in that regard, I would like to know of similar experiences had at other comparable southern universities in the effort to increase wages and extend benefits. I would particularly like to know to what extent the workers were organized and how that was accomplished, tactics used, the extent, type, and significance of student involvement, and examples of present and past wage scales and fringe benefits. I would appreciate your sending any information or studies you have on this subject as well as your directing me to other resources. (I can accept a bill up to $5.00.)

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Kathleen Blake
Miss Kathleen Blake

June 16, 1970

Mr. Gerald L. Bray
1567 Lejune Rd. S.W.
Coral Gables, Fla. 33134

Dear Mr. Bray:

Thank you for writing us of your interest in working for us. While we have nothing specific at this time to offer you, we will keep your resume on file for future reference.

Sincerely yours,

REA/h

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

EAGLE-A
TYPE-ERASE
25% COTTON

1567 SW LeJeune Rd.
Coral Gables, Fl. 33134
June 14, 1970

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
New South
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I would like to be considered for an editorial position with the New South and/or other publications of the Southern Regional Council, especially the South Today.

I have some writing experience as a news reporter and editor. I would be glad to come to Atlanta for an interview if a suitable opening exists. My resume is inclosed.

Sincerely,

Gerald L. Bray

Gerald L. Bray

GERALD L. BRAY

1567 SW LeJeune Road
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

Telephone: 305-444-6395

Single U.S. Citizen 5'8" 145 pounds 28 years old

job objective . To begin work as an editor or editorial assistant.

education UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA

1970 . M.A. in American Studies. .Concentration in American thought and culture from 1865 to the present. .Graduate assistant at the Center for Urban Studies of the University of Miami. .Delegate to the graduate student council. .Previous graduate study at the University of Michigan.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY NEW YORK, NEW YORK

1966 . B.A. in Government from Washington Square College. .Concentration in History and English. .Regents Academic Scholar. . Member of History club, Debating Society and college literary magazine. .Expenses financed partially through scholarship. Freshman transfer from Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

experience UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL DETROIT, MICHIGAN

1969 . Employed as a reporter with the Detroit bureau. .Duties included general reporting and rewrite, radio news writing, and copy editing for the state wire. .Prior work as a trainee with the Bay City Times, Bay City, Michigan and the Flint Journal, Flint, Michigan from June, 1968 to January, 1969.

military service . Active duty from May, 1966 to May, 1968. Served as a clerk-typist, Specialist Four, with the United States Army Combat Developments Command, Fort Lee, Virginia. .Present reserve classification 4A.

personal background . Born in St. Louis, Missouri. .Brought up in Milford, Connecticut, Princeton, New Jersey and East Meadow, New York. Son of an industrial psychologist. .Graduated from East Meadow High School in upper quarter of class. .Active in school athletics and publications. .Received community journalism award for column in local newspaper. .Caseworker for the Department of Social Services of the City of New York prior to military duty.

interests . Interested in contemporary fiction, music and political affairs. .Enjoy photography and several sports.

references . References will be furnished on request.

June, 1970

June 17, 1970

Mr. Jack Bass
Charlotte Observer
Columbia Bldg.
Columbia, S.C.

Dear Jack:

Another note to add to the one of the yesterday. Did you tape the graveside eulogy for Mr. Dabbs and if so would it be possible for us to borrow it long enough to transcribe it?

Sincerely,

BA/h

Bob Anderson

June 15, 1970

Mr. Jack Bass
Charlotte OBSERVER
Columbia, S.C.

Dear Jack:

Many thanks for sending us the film. We made prints from it and are enclosing the negatives. Your column on Mr. Dabbs was one of the best I've ever seen on him.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

BA/h

Bob Anderson

June 10, 1970

Mr. Jack Bass
The Charlotte Observer
Columbia Building
1203 Gerrais Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Jack;

Your column on Mr. Dabbs's funeral caught his spirit just as beautifully as the funeral itself did. I am very moved by it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/lb

WILLIAM MORROW & COMPANY, INC. • PUBLISHERS
Morrow Junior Books • Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co. • Reynal & Co.
105 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10016
Phone: 212 • 889 • 3050
Cable: WILMOROW NY

File

November 16, 1970

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

John Neary of Life Magazine has written the first full biography of Julian Bond which William Morrow & Co. will have the privilege of publishing. I found it fascinating for many reasons, not the least of which is the portrayal of the problems facing the black leader who is still seeking a way to work within the system.

I would like to request the opportunity of sending you bound galleys for a brief comment. If you so desired we would like to use your comment for promotional purposes. Please return the enclosed post card signifying whether you wish to receive bound galleys.

Thank you.

Cordially,

Hillel Black

Hillel Black
Senior Editor

HB:mlk
Enc.

B

November 23, 1970

Mr. F. M. Boney
Department of History
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Nash:

Many thanks for the articles. They will be very helpful in preparation of the Council's school report.

As I told you in Louisville, we will probably do a special report on Athens. I will not do that section myself, but I will take the liberty of suggesting to the staff member who does that he get in touch with you.

Hope you can get your typewriter repaired!

Sincerely,

Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

PMG:lb

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

November 17, 1970

Prof. Paul Gaston
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul,

Here are the articles I think you referred to in our chat at the S.H.A. convention in Louisville. I fear they tend to antagonize more people than they please, but to me they seemed to point out some rather obvious facts. The Clarke County integration program continues to work fairly well, but we do have some significant discipline problems. Everything considered, integration is working here, but it will take awhile to iron out the rough spots.

All goes reasonably well here except that it is virtually impossible to get a promotion in our department.

My typewriter has just conked out, so I will conclude this letter rather informally. Let me know if you plan to come over the way for a visit – we are only about 75 miles away.

Sincerely,

Nash

F. N. Boney
History
U. of GA.

"B"

November 23, 1970

Mrs. Rosellen Brown
197 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York 11217

Dear Posey:

I just wanted to say how much I was impressed and how much I felt from reading your poetry. It stays with me, like the memory of a dream.

I got a mention of it in New South--and though I don't feel competent to review poetry, am still hoping somebody will ask me to review your book.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:lb

P. S. I had read the proofs; the book arrived today, and it is as beautiful in design as the poems.

B

July 1, 1971

Mr. Tom Bevier
City Room
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bevier:

It seemed easier just to XEROX the whole memorandum and so here it is. I would emphasise that it is not an official SRC document, and should not be quoted, but more a background compiliation of trends evident from past and present census figures and various interpretive analyses of dempgraphic experts.

I hope it will be helpful to you. The Chickenbone Special is also enclosed.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Encls.

B

September 15, 1971

Mr. Taylor Branch
Managing Editor
The Washington Monthly
1150 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Branch:

I enjoyed (and was enlightened by) Harrison Wellford's revelations about the fire-ant fighters. Thank you for sending it. We used to poke fun, as I remember, at Phil Cambell's activities in this realm when I was on the Atlanta Journal; I guess we should have taken it more seriously.

I admire your magazine, and remember with admiration, too, your work here in behalf of Mr. McCarthy.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:lb

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY
1150 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
202-659-4866

August 30, 1971

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I thought you might be interested in the cover piece of our September issue, Harrison Wellford's Agribusiness: Overkill on the Farm. Phil Campbell is one of the stars in Wellford's account of the fire ant program, one of Congressman Whitten's agricultural atrocities.

As a native Georgian and a veteran of some dabbling in politics there, I have long admired your writing.

A complimentary copy of the magazine is enclosed.

Yours truly,

Taylor Branch

Taylor Branch
Managing Editor

Enc: September issue

October 13, 1971

Mr. Jim Branscome
Box 1939
Lexington, Kentucky 40501

Dear Mr. Branscome:

I received your letter regarding your quarrel with Frank Smith about strip-mining. The fact that I agree with your position and have quarreled with Frank about the same thing impels this response to your letter. It seems to me you destroy your credibility with the loose and irresponsible use of such terms as "racist" and "profit-mongers" (whatever that is). To compare Frank Smith with such men as Bull Connor and Ross Barnett is exactly the kind of demagoguery the latter two gentlemen engage in or, if not that, reveals on your part an appalling inability to distinguish among individuals and human values. Racism is a very real and dangerous disease. To use the term against anyone you happen to disagree with is to dull its meaning and diffuse the opposition to its reality. Frank Smith may well be wrong about strip-mining. But a racist he is not. Indeed, he is as much as any white Southerner I know both an enemy of it and victim of its savagry.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:lb

Answer

Box 1939
Lexington, Kentucky 40501
September 27, 1971

Dear Friend:

Recently I sent you a copy of testimony that I was to have given to the House Subcommittee on Mines and Mining before they postponed the hearings. A copy of the testimony came to Mr. Frank Smith's attention. I am enclosing his reply for your reference.

Mr. Smith is still regarded in some quarters as a man concerned about the people of the South. He is, I believe -- or was until recently -- an officer of the Southern Regional Council. Irregardless, he still holds a presidentially-sanctioned position at TVA, thanks to his friends in the last Democratic administration. Insensitivity and racism aside, what is important about Smith's letter is that it reveals straightforwardly TVA's strong support of the technologically-enforced slave system which is annihilating the Appalachian people.

To those who do not understand the mine safety question raised by Smith, the fundamental point is that so long as there is stripmining there will never be safe underground mines. Lives of both miners and non-miners in this region have always been subjected to the whim of profit, to the marketplace. TVA is in the stripmining business for one reason only -- cheap coal. So long as mine operators have to compete with cheaper stripmine coal, they will never make the mines safe. After all, this is America, not Germany or England where mine disasters are unknown. (Hitler's mine safety record with slaves in the mines was better than Americas.) TVA is, therefore, actually contributing to mine deaths and disease with its purchase of stripmine coal. Stripmining is also a death-dealing business which is becoming even more dangerous as mountain people arm themselves to protect their lands and homes.

The issue with TVA and Mr. Smith is not aesthetic or environmental;the issue is human life and freedom in the mountains. Smith and TVA have got to go the way of the Bull Connor's, the Ross Barnett's, and the other racists and profit-mongers who stalk this land.

Sincerely,

Jim Branscome

Jim Branscome

Testimony
Subcommittee on Mines and Mining
House of Representatives
September 24, 1971

Gentlemen:

My name is James Branscome. I am Director of Save Our Kentucky, Inc., a statewide coalition of Appalachian mountain groups and conservation organizations dedicated to the abolition of stripmining for coal in Appalachia and Kentucky. Prior to becoming director of this organization, I was director of youth programs for two years for the Appalachian Regional Commission. I am thus very familiar with stripmining in the Appalachian mountains. In April I introduced a resolution which passed at the White House Conference on Youth to abolish the stripmining of coal nationwide. I am pleased to be able to share my experience with stripmining before this committee.

Appalachia has suffered much at the hands of America. Its fathers have been killed by the thousands and maimed for life by the hundreds of thousands in America's coal mines. Its children have starved and been warped by diseases thought extinct while America prospered with coal, timber, and labor stolen from the Appalachian mountaineers. It is important to know, Gentlemen, that this rape was carried out and is continued by the "best" in America -- its best families, its most respected personalities and corporations. Appalachia made Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller; she has kept Dow-Jones healthy; her sons have died in greater numbers on the battlefields of Southeast Asia than any other minority; her rape has always been America's gain; her plunder has meant timber for safe suburbs and electrical power for America's unquenchable thirst for industrial progress. Gentlemen, I do not recite the history of Appalachian exploitation to appeal to your sympathy. I do so to lead you to understand that all of these forces which have raped the region so successfully now act in concert. They have come together to render the final assault on the land and the people through the stripmining of coal. Stripmining is the final attempt of America to annihilate the Appalachian people.

I come with no great confidence that anything I say can move the Congress of the United States to abolish stripmining. There is not one ton of coal stripmined in Appalachia that does not cause human suffering; yet the Congress has shown little alarm about this. I could recite you instance after instance of cases where a man's property and home and his drinking water have been destroyed by stripmining. But I do not believe the Congress or the country is very interested in the human suffering. Certainly the country and the Congress have showed sympathy to the region. They heard of starvation and sent food stamps; they heard of black lung disease and they passed a law; they heard of poverty and they sent more welfare; they heard of suffering and they sent cameras to film "Christmas in Appalachia." No one doubts the capacity of this country and this Congress to react; for reaction does nothing and costs very little. The children still go hungry; the people are still driven from their land by the bulldozers and to city ghettoes by their poverty; more men die now in the mines than they did before you passed your mine safety law because of your bureaucrats. The sympathy of the Congress is worth little. Only when this nation is repelled by the sickness of Christmas in the homes of the corporate executives who wallow in affluence made by Appalachia's poverty will we expect more than just reaction. What is necessary from Congress is not reaction, but repentance. This body is America's lobby for the continued annihilation of Appalachia by stripmining.

The Congress and the country is excited about the environmental destruction that stripmining causes to Appalachia. Once again the posture has been adopted for a reaction to the problem rather than an appropriate response. The Congress has heard of the destroyed fish and trees, the acid pollution of streams, and the general ecological imbalance caused by stripmining. It has acted with some alarm. Bill after bill has been introduced in this session to put Congress on record as being disturbed about pollution from strip-

mining. All of them except that introduced by Congressman Hechler to ban stripmining outright are examples of political jockeying for the posture of concern rather than commitment, of response, rather than repentance.

So long as Congress entertains arguments from those who say that abolishing stripmining will create an energy crisis, it reveals itself to be more concerned about cheap power than it is about the Appalachian people. So long as Congress entertains the argument that stripmined land can be reclaimed, it reveals itself to be duped by industry propagandists and unaware of the carnage, human and environmental, only a few hours drive from the Nation's Capital.

How great does the cry of a people have to become before the Congress of this land can hear them above the clatter of self-directed profit seekers who spread false alarm about brownouts? How many people will have to drown in the next mammouth Appalachian flood for the Congress to hear their cries above those of TVA bureaucrats who take the coal cheaply from the people of Eastern Kentucky and use the profit to build flood control projects for land developers in Tennessee?

If Congress can make no more of a response than to speak of federal regulation of stripmining, then it is better that it do nothing. Bills such as that introduced by Congressman Hays would ask three federal bureaucrats to do what Congress itself does not have the courage to do -- to abolish stripmining. It is better that Congress make no response than to promise relief once again that it cannot deliver. No one who knows anything about federal regulatory agencies could possibly believe that a new one would do anything to halt stripmining. A President who would attempt to appoint an airline stewardess to a Mine Health and Safety Advisory Board would certainly appoint a stripminer to lead the Federal Reclamation Department. A President who would appoint a political hack to the job of enforcing the Mine Health and Safety Act would surely appoint three electric power producers to the Federal Reclamation Advisory Board. If an unconcerned President (as this one obviously is because of the weak legislation he has proposed for stripmining) did not render a federal reclamation law useless, it is a certainty that the coal-oil-steel-bureaucrat lobbying complex in Washington would.

Sincerity on the part of Congress has never withstood very well the bureaucratic bunglers who are asked to deliver on the promise, especially in matters pertaining to Appalachia, and therefore, to the riches of America's richest.

By attempting to regulate stripmining Congress will be overlooking the fact that the environmental damage it does is not nearly so great as its affront to human welfare, property rights, and an open political process in the coalfields. It will also be ignoring the obvious faidure of even the strongest reclamation laws. It would certainly be overlooking the experience in Kentucky with what is reputed to be one of the "strongest" state reclamation laws.

In 1966 the Kentucky General Assembly adopted a statute which states that stripmining constitutes "an imminent and inordinate peril to the welfare of the Commonwealth." In full the legislature said:

> "The General Assembly finds that the unregulated stripmining of coal causes soil erosion, damage from rolling stones and overburden, landslides, stream pollution, the accumulation of stagnant water and the seepage of contaminated water, increases the likelihood of floods, destroys the value of land for agricultural purposes, destroys aesthetic values, counteracts efforts for the conservation of soil, water and other natural resources, destroys or impairs

the property rights of citizens, creates fire hazards, and in general creates hazards dangerous to life and property, so as to constitute an imminent and inordinate peril to the welfare of the Commonwealth."

In 1966 the legislature created the Department of Reclamation to end the peril of stripmining to the Commonwealth. Hundreds of thousands of destroyed acres later, thousands of miles of polluted streams later, thousands of slides and floods later, it is obvious that the Department of Reclamation now represents itself a part of that imminent peril to the general welfare. It is not a regulatory agency; it is a public relations arm of the strippers. It has promoted the fallacy that the destruction can and is being reclaimed.

In 1968 the Department of Reclamation permitted 11,100 acres of land to be stripped in Kentucky; in 1969 it increased to 13,700 acres; in 1970 it was up to 23,600 acres. Over 120,000 acres of Kentucky land has been laid to waste by the strippers' giant land moving machines, D-9 dozers, and auger drills. There is no evidence to indicate a stabilization of the amount of stripping in Kentucky. According to the Department of Reclamation, they issued permits to 174 new stripmine operators in 1970. In order to retrieve the estimated coal reserves in Kentucky which can be stripped with present know-how and machines, nearly 600,000 acres of Kentucky land will be destroyed.

Twenty-six states have coal deposits which can be stripped. Twenty-three states currently have stripmining. 77 percent of the country's total of economically strippable coal reserves is west of the Mississippi River.

Nineteen states have some form of stripmine regulations, but only Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia are reputed to have strong regulations. The results in all states, including these three, have been dismal. It is important to emphasize that the regulations are not designed to prevent damage from stripmining, but rather to "minimize" it. (A statement the State Reclamation Director Elmore Grim is fond of making.) Bill Hayes, District Supervisor for the Hazard District Office of State Reclamation, in an interview in Coal Facts (August 19, 1971), described the regulations which he enforces in Kentucky as "inadequate". Norm Williams, Deputy Director of the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources, which is charged with reclamation laws in that state, quit his job last fall, saying that regulation did not work. He supported a ban on stripping in West Virginia.

Many people have seen advertisements in newspapers showing reclaimed lands. What most do not realize is that these token reclamation projects cost thousands of dollars per acre and are done in very, very few places. Some examples of good reclamation costs:

(A) In Butler County, Pennsylvania, the state sought to reclaim stripmined areas in Moraine State Park to effective use. The cost was $10,000 per acre.

(B) In Elkins, West Virginia, the state studied the feasibility only of stabilizing theland on a stripmined area, and found the costs to be $2,000 per acre.

(C) In Norton, Virginia, the school system sought to build a school on an abandoned stripmine and found the costs to be $8,000 per acre for reclamation.

(D) American Forests journal estimated ten years ago that it would cost $1,800 to $3,000 per acre of coal for "complete restoration" of the surface at a proposed stripmining site in what is now Daniel Boone National Forest.

(E) A federal study estimated that the cost of restoring the Coal River Watershed in West Virginia would cost a whooping 26 million dollars, probably an amount equal to the private profit taken from the stripmining.

Reclamation is a fiction; a grand lie. The so-called reclamation which the strippers practice does not even merit the description of "repair work." They cannot put the top back on a mountain. It is obvious toanyone who does not see with the eyes of greed that a scraggly locust plant is not a grand oak, that a silt dam is not a protector of pure streams, that puny clover roots cannot hold tons of earth on a bench, and, finally, that there is no such thing as a prohibited slope to a stripper. Even if strippers were really people who cared about the land, reclamation would still be impossible in these mountains. Strippers are not caring people, but rather prospectors astride bulldozers drunk with the thought of profit.

It is time we made the public recognize this often obscured fact: the destruction is done before the so-called reclamation work ever begins. I repeat, reclamation is a grand lie. As Elmore Grim, the "enforcer" of the 1966 regulations, has admitted, "Hell fire, we've got some problems. This is a trial and error process, we're writing the book as we go along."

Under these so-called stringent regulations on stripping, Kentucky has now become the nation's number one stripmine coal producer. Almost one-fourth of the stripmined coal produced in America last year was produced in Kentucky -- about 63 million tons. The nearest state to Kentucky was Ohio, with 37 million tons. Under this supposedly strong law, the devastation has escalated, not decreased. It is important to point out that the Hays Bill before this committee is almost a word-for-word version of the Kentucky law, with the exception in many instances that it is weaker. The Hays Bill, calling for a Federal Reclamation Commission, would cause Kentucky's bad experience with stripmine regulations to be repeated in other states and allow the devastation to continue in Kentucky. We cannot afford federal regulation. Only a total ban is of any importance to Appalachia. The Nixon Bill would have no effect whatsoever because all of the Appalachian states already have regulations. The Nixon Bill is an insult to the people of the mountains in view of the threat which stripmining poses to their lives, rights, and property. Appalachia deserves better from the White House.

As devastating as stripmining is to the mountains and rivers of region, it is a mistake to believe that stripmining's only threat is to the environment. Its greatest threat is economic and political. Stripmining threatens to destroy Appalachia's underground mining industry and the jobs of thousands of miners. The fight against stripmining is a battle between big construction companies, big machinery manufacturers, big electric utilities, big banks and big corporations outside of the region who want to destroy Appalachia's lucrative underground mining industry and those who want to preserve the jobs of the coal miners and, at the same time, protect the environment of this region. If stripmining continues to accelerate at its present rate, for instance, in less than two years it will produce more than three-fourths of all coal mined in Kentucky. It already produces one-half of the coal mined in the state. Because stripmining employs less than a third as many men as underground mines to produce the same amount of coal, the continuation of stripmining will mean massive unemployment in the Kentucky coalfields. The economic depression will be far greater than that of the fifties when automation brought starvation to Eastern Kentucky. Continuation of stripping will create a total welfare state in Eastern Kentucky and Appalachia. Abolishing stripmining is the only way to halt an economic and environmental holocaust of massive proportions.

The greatest fiction yet put forward by the strippers is that an end to stripmining will be harmful to the economy of the mountains. The truth is that stripping is a short term economic benefit to a very few that guarantees the future povertyof all. A SOK analysis of the figures reported by the most recent report of the Kentucky Department of Mines and Minerals reveals that a ban on stripmining in Eastern Kentucky would create 6,632 new jobs in underground mining in Eastern Kentucky. Figuring on an average basis, in underground mines in Eastern Kentucky, each man produced 2,544 tons; using this figure and computing the number of men which would have been employed had the tonnage produced by stripping been done by underground mining, 11,214 men would have been employed as opposed to the 4,582 employed in stripping operations. This would represent a 30 percent increase in mining employment in Eastern Kentucky. No public works or poverty program has ever come close to creating this number of high paying jobs in such an unemployment ridden area of the United States, especially in Appalachia. This ban would not result in the loss of a single ton of coal. The industry propaganda about a coal shortage is irrelevant when we consider that the U. S. exports about 10 percent of all the coal it produces. This new employment in mining would result for the first time in a serious hope for economic recovery in Eastern Kentucky. As well, with a ban on stripping of coal, Eastern Kentucky's considerable tourist industry potential will not be destroyed.

The loss of jobs is not the only economic harm brought on by stripmining. Stripmining brings economic depression to areas surrounding it. The counties in Eastern Kentucky experiencing the greatest amount of stripmining are also those experiencing the greatest outmigration of people. People are driven from their homes by landslides, flooding, loss of wells and water, and by silt dams which block entry to property. The tax base has decreased as much as 33 percent in heavily stripmined counties, undercutting schools and social services which have to be supported by taxpayers in urban and non-stripmining counties. Alternative industries cannot locate on the unstable lands or near the polluted, flood-prone streams. The pall of visual ugliness discourages hunting, recreation, and tourism.

Stripmining is threatening Kentucky's tourist industry. Scientific studies have indicated that Cumberland Falls, Buckhorn Lake, Jenny Wiley, and Lake Cumberland are threatened by stripmining. Bethlehem Steel faces a potential indictment from the Federal Trade Commission for claiming that it was able (actually the work was done at taxpayer's expense) to reclaim Fishpond Lake in Letcher County, Kentucky, for recreational purposes. Overloaded coal trucks in Eastern Kentucky cause an estimated 3.5 million dollars damage a year to roads for which the taxpayers must pay in repair damages.

Stripmining is a short term economic benefit to a very few that guarantees a future loss for all.

Underground mines in Letcher County announced recently that they were laying off several hundred men because the need for coal had fallen off. They did not close because of the Mine Health and Safety Act, but because they cannot compete with the cheaper coal produced by stripminers. Robert Holcomb, president of Coal Operators and Associates, and Fred Luigart, president of the Kentucky Coal Association, say that the industry cannot afford the increased cost of safety programs, yet they have put together more than $100,000 for television ads supporting stripmining. If these coal industry spokesmen were serious about mine safety, they would spend this money to improve safety programs instead of defending strippers.

It is to the political and legal process that, however, stripmining poses the greatest threat. With its always attendant lawlessness and misuse of political power, stripmining destroys the confidence of the people in the political and judicial process of the state.

It promotes a double standard of justice. For example, a person who throws a piece of litter on the highway is arrested and fined. A stripmine operator can overload his trucks and destroy the same highway and he goes free without paying a cent. Stripmining violates environmental law certainly. But it, more importantly, violates law number one -- the law of common decency. It pollutes streams, destroys crops, damages homes, violates property rights, endangers the public safety; above all, it cherishes nothing and honors only profit. No other enterprise in Appalachia so threatens democracy, the open political process, and the environmental and economic well-being of the citizens of this region.

There is no better example of this lawlessness and double standard of justice than the continued enforcement of the broad form deed. The broad form deed was the instrument used in many states at the turn of the century by coal companies to purchase the mineral rights under a landowner's surface. Many Eastern Kentuckians signed them with an "X" and accepted 50 cents an acre for coal that eventually would be worth millions. The broad form deed contained a little-noticed clause which stated that the operator could do whatever was necessary and proper to get the coal out of the ground. At that time the clause meant deep mining, period; no disturbing the surface.

With the advent of large scale stripmining, the strippers began using the broad form deed as an excuse for not compensating the landowner for his coal and for authority to literally destroy a man's land. Every state except Kentucky has abolished it! That is why abolishing the deed should be a part of any federal legislation. The abolition of the deed will take nothing from the coal companies; they will still own the mineral rights. All that will happen is a mistake will be ended -- no landowner ever gave his knowing consent in the broad form deed for the stripmining of his property. Abolishing the deed would set the record straight. The companies never had the right to strip where they said they would only deep mine. What's right is right. The broad form deed is America's "no-knock" provision for Appalachia. Under Washington's "no-knock" law they can only tear down your door; in Appalachia they can come in the night and bury your home and there is nothing you can do about it.

This year the Congress has an opportunity to ban stripmining through the Hechler Bill. If Congress passes anything less than a ban, it will continue the Congress' present policy of promotion of stripmining. Through its tolerance of the Tennessee Valley Authority's rape of Kentucky by the purchase of stripmine coal, the Congress is allowing a massive injustice to continue with federal support. TVA buys more than 71 percent of its stripmine coal from Kentucky. Kentucky's devastation, therefore, is testimony to the falsehood that TVA promotes reclamation. By allowing the Bureau of the Mines to continue its policy of bureaucratic bungling and non-enforcemnt of the Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969, the Congress is contributing to the confusion which allows coal corporations to say that they are forced to stripmine because the safety law is too strict. The Congress should also prohibit the Department of Defense from purchasing one million tons of stripmine coal each year. The only serious and helpful response that the Congress can make is to halt its present policy of stripmine promotion and ban stripmining altogether. Anything less, will mean Congressional sanction of the continued annihilation of the Appalachian people.

Jim Branscome
Director
Save Our Kentucky, Inc.
Box 1939
Lexington, Kentucky 40501

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

September 22, 1971

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

Thank you for forwarding me the copy of Jim Branscome's testimony and his reference to me.

Mr. Branscome is apparently one of those emotional persons who, in his concern about aesthetics, has lost a balance of concern about human welfare. The main basis of his testimony is to urge a greater increase in deep mining, even though his statement includes an accounting of the lives lost and the increased dangers of deep-pit mining. The enclosed clipping about a discussion of one of his compatriots shows the common reaction about the disregard for human lives involved in deep coal mining.

Mr. Branscome's statement on page two that TVA takes coal from east Kentucky to build flood control projects for land development in Tennessee is totally erroneous, to put it politely. As a former official of the Appalachian Regional Commission, he should know as much. TVA's coal is purchased under a power program, under which we are barred by law to divert one penny to any other type of program. This same law requires us to buy from the lowest bidder. Our flood control projects are all directly financed by the government. They, of course, are no more designed for land developers in Tennessee than Mr. Branscome's organization is designed to build profits for the deep-pit mining companies or memberships for the United Mine Workers.

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr. September 22, 1971

I agree with Mr. Branscome about the terrible poverty existing in east Kentucky. It is a poverty that existed long before any coal at all was mined there, and it will continue until some better use is made of the land. Unfortunately, too many of those who are concerned about the condition of the people are making no constructive efforts to improve the situation in the future. For instance, the broad-form deed could very likely have been abolished, had people like Mr. Branscome not attempted to take the easy way of blaming all their troubles on TVA. He is a victim of what I call the Kentucky-TVA syndrome, whereby everybody connected with coal in Kentucky blames all their trouble on TVA, instead of on companies or agencies which they have the power to control.

TVA buys only about 15 percent of the coal from east Kentucky, yet the inference of his letter is that we buy it all. Of course, it is a major portion of our own supply of coal, but if we removed ourselves from the Kentucky market entirely, it would not change the situation there at all, and it would actually result in less pressure in achieving proper reclamation programs.

TVA is still the only major coal buyer in the country that has a reclamation requirement in its coal contract. We do not claim that our reclamation is perfect, but it is getting better every day, and after a few years it will result in more economically productive land than existed before mining.

I suggest that Mr. Branscome do something about saving the lives of the people now lost in deep-pit mine accidents or crippled by black lung rather than act as unwitting agent for the exploitation of the people who work in deep mines.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith
Director

Enclosure
CC: Mr. James Branscome, Director
Save Our Kentucky, Inc.
Box 1939
Lexington, Kentucky 40501

I agree Kentucky ought to be saved but there must be some better ways to go about it.

Unrepresented Strippers Are 'Stripped' at Kentucky Seminar

BY WILLARD YARBROUGH
News-Sentinel Staff Writer

MIDDLESBORO, Ky., Sept. 18 —College students with open minds were there, environmentalists were on hand, and scores of media representatives were taking notes for their reports to newspapers, television and radio.

Alas, Donald Johnson wasn't. As a result, the stripping of coal in mountainous areas of Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia was painted without challenge as an evil monster that should be stopped in its tracks and eliminated forever.

Johnson was to present the strippers' viewpoints and explain why coal was needed to fire TVA generating units that produce energy to turn wheels of industry and make homes and business offices comfortable winter and summer. He is owner-manager of Crescent Coal Co., Elkhorn City, Ky., and president of Surfacing Mining & Reclamation Association.

Union College representatives explained, at a seminar at its Environmental Education Center housed in Cumberland Gap National Historical Park here, that Johnson was flying to Middlesboro but presumably was grounded by hurricane-spawned weather.

Couldn't Be Reached

This writer attempted to reach Johnson by telephone today, to see what he would have said, but his phones at home and office went unanswered. No one at the media seminar was on hand Friday afternoon to present his viewpoints.

Johnson was to debate with Dr. Branley Branson, biology professor at Eastern Kentucky University at Richmond. Dr. Branson used up more than an hour of time to verbally strip the strippers bare. He pulled no punches.

Neither did four media panelists, two of whom admitted they did not report objectively on coal stripping but were "advocates" for environmentalists who oppose stripping as harmful to man's ecology. These two were Phil Primack, a staff writer as a Robert Kennedy fellow at The Mountain Eagle weekly at Whitesburg, Ky., and William Greenburg, science news editor for The Nashville Tennessean.

'Undebatable,' He Says

"How can you write the 'other side' of the story when there is no other side?" asked Primack, whose newspaper has resisted stripping and holding corporations for years in the Southeastern Kentucky coalfields.

"We at my paper advocate ending damage to our environment," explained Greenburg. "The issue isn't even debatable!"

The other media panelists, writer David Ross Stevens of The Louisvialle Courier-Journal and Mary Moss of WAVE-TV News, Louisville, also expressed anti-stripping views.

The big gun was fired, however, by Dr. Branson who insisted he was speaking for himself as a biologist, wilderness advocate and environmentalist rather than for his institution. He favors a halt to all stripping everywhere, but made one small concession.

'Ifs' Listed

"If coal strippers will prevent runoff of silt and acid wastes into streams — either of which kill all marine life, destroying some fish species forever, making waters unfit for drinking, swimming or use by industry — and if giant faces and spillbanks caused by stripping can be prevented — then I would say OK to continued production of coal in this manner," he said.

But wouldn't a halt to stripping put a lot of people out of work and further penalize poverty-beset Appalachia communities?

"Under 17,000 people are engaged in stripping in the U.S.," put in a young man in the audience. "That wouldn't hurt the economy."

Would seminar participants be willing to forgo such creature comforts as air conditioning to lessen demand for stripped coal needed for electricity? Those who replied said no.

No Tax Advocates

Would participants subscribe to one new theory that all Americans pay a fuel tax, since they enjoy the benefits of coal-produced energy, with this tax being used to reclaim stripped coal surfaces? Not one said he would.

What would they do if stripped coal prices double so that producers could better repair earth's damage? Those who commented didn't like the idea.

"We can get all the coal needed in this country by returning to deep mining, right here in Appalachia," volunteered Dr. Branson, "even if it means higher costs and might claim the lives of more miners than are lost in surface mining."

One Is Humane

Writer Greenburg objected to placing human lives in jeopardy, since underground mining statistics show such operations are more dangerous than stripping. And Dr. Branson said he didn't know the answer, since he wasn't an economist, on whether high coal prices might push a noncompetitive fuel off the market in favor of other fuels.

Union College students from the Barbourville area were making notes on the proceedings, mindful that their fathers or neighbors in some instances were making a livelihood by working in the coal-stripping fields.

There were no advocates on hand for the coal industry, and a single reporter who asked questions the industry might have asked wasn't too popular. So nobody heard the other side.

File

B

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

THE MEDILL SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

October 22, 1971

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, NE.
Suite 2
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Waters,

I regret that I will be unable to keep our appointment set for 1 p.m. Monday, October 25 by Mr. Tobe Johnson of the Afro-American Studies Program.

A necessary change in my research design has caused the postponement of my Atlanta trip. However, when I do come within the next few months, I'm sure I'll be in a position to make a more significant use of our time together.

I shall look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Lillian Bell
(Mrs.) Lillian S. Bell

cc: Mr. Tobe Johnson

B

January 3, 1972

Mr. Lou Bryan
448 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bryan:

It was good to hear from you again. I did not know that you had retired.

I appreciate getting to see your story from the Sumter paper.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

File

448 N. Main
Sumter, S.C.
Dec. 20, 1971

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Bob,

I hope you recall that we met when I was in Atlanta with that fouled-up HEW Office for Civil Rights. Anyway, my card is enclosed. Since then I have had disability retirement, separation from my family, and other traumatic experiences--no sexperiences, I swear, so my brains are scrambled, but my talent goes on and on and on, ad infinity, ad nauseam. As you know, I am from James McBride Dabbs country, and I visit Mrs. Dabbs, his widow, in Mayesville, about 10 miles from my home. I'm reading a book on Mary McLeod Bethune, as I didn't realize that this great black woman and this great white man came from the same rural area. Anyway, the book on Mrs. Bethune says that white and black children got on together (in Reconstruction days, when she was a girl, all were poor, white and black) as well or better than they do today in the disinterested, disintegrating, and desegregated (schools only) society of today. My verse In Memoriam (James McBride Dabbs) has the approval of Mrs. Dabbs, and I hope you will like it.

Also my verse:

We know
The flame
Of liberty
You helped
To keep alight
Will not
Blow out;
It will go
All about
The world--
The world
You loved
The world
God made
So beautiful
And bright.

Prayer

God knows His way
But we do not
And must not say
We are forgot
If when we bow
Our hearts in prayer
We hear no ready
Answer there;
So on must pray
By night or day--
Nor ever may
We say Him nay--
But hope our prayer
Is acted on
Somehow, somewhere
Ere we be gone.

My lawyer brother, who has done much for civil rights here behind the scenes, miraculously maintaining good relations with all in the community, extremists of left or right, whether black or white, wanted me to write

over

(he is a member of SCR or at least South Carolina Council on Human Relations) and gets your publications as I do:

In re latest issue of South Today. Schools in Jackson, Miss. make it together thus far. But--is there any progress in the Carolinas, esp. S.C., or in Georgia, or anywhere in the South, in the integration of civic service clubs such as Ruritan, Rotary, X Pilots (female type), and such like groups? It must come and should have yesterday, but he says, for example, in Sumter Rotary today—black man? No, no no, there ain' no way! Is it that bad everywhere, or is there progress elsewhere? If so, where, and how can we XX find out how it came about? We want it here. Answer if you can and will--briefly or as much as possible.

Yesterday I attended a state NAACP conference in Cheraw, honoring the grand old man of the NAACP in SC--Mr. Levi G. Byrd, a great "little man" as Mrs. Ruby Hurley of the Atlanta Region said in her tribute to him. Nearly 51 of his 71 years spent in pushing quietly but effectively for organization of a state conference of NAACP and the opening of front doors to blacks in SC. Roy Wilkins was the main speaker, and I had never heard him before. I admitted to 71, but said he was still young and strong when it came to justice for black people--not by yelling and screaming, but by fighting with ballot and court suit, not by hating and burning. "Uncle Tom" was aggreat Christian example, in my book. But those who say "never" among whites and those who say "yesterday!" and demand reparations of an unreasonable and unfeasible type, or who want to have "their own thing" without help or association with whites are aloggside each other on the wrong side. When blood of black or white is shed--it's all the same, all blood is red. Season's greetings--Christmas means not a thing to me--only faith, and hope and charity. I warn you, if you answer, you'll get another letter from me--I know you're busy, but please answer what my brother wants to XXX know--if you can--he's my keeper and I am his.

Sincerely yours,

Lou

Lou Bryan

'71 is nearly gone
Lord, give us strength
To go "Right on!"

I believe Jesse Jackson (originally from S.C.) has dealt almost a death blow to SCLC by his withdrawal to form a new group, PUSH. I always though it a mistake not to appoint Jackson, with his charisma and organizational genius, as the immediate successor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Bob:

My coverage of the great musical talent at Morris, a small black denominational college 3/4 of a mile from my present address, where I grew up, and where I live now with my mother (10 children she had) who is 84. I want to help Morris, and need an angel with $1500 to get me "structured in" as Adjunct Prof. of Communication (I have M.A.) and Poet and Folk Artist in Residence--for 1972--know any angels or can you suggest a source?

THE SUMTER NEWS, SUMTER S.C., DECEMBER 16 - 22, 1971, PAGE 5

Morris Choral Society Pleases Packed Audience

BY LOUIS C. BRYAN

Pack the hall with rows of people may well have been the watchword, as Maestro J. Weldon Norris led the Morris College Choral Society in a Christmas recital of electrifying artistry, before an enthusiastic audience of music lovers.

The event, held Sunday evening in the jammed White Memorial Hall, included contemporary British composer Benjamin Britten's "Ceremony Of Carols" by the ladies of the choral society, performed with fervor and beauty never surpassed in the memory of this reviewer's acquaintance with this lovely collection of old English poems of Christmas set to music by the gifted Britten. "Deo Gracias" was particularly pleasing in this part of the program.

A group of more familiar carols followed, of which "Bring A Torch" and the "Carol Of The Drum" were outstanding. At intermission, the director graciously paid tribute to the determination, dedication and motivation of his group of young voices, whose achievement was made possible, he said, only by hard work, and, it must be added, his talent and their own. He also explained that the next number was by the "neglected" genius Antonio Vivaldi, and Italian predecessor of Johann Sebastian Bach, the latter of whom borrowed a little, here and there, from the works of the former, according to Maestro Nelson. This work, the "Gloria," consisted of several parts, all sung in Latin, with brief English translations of the meaning of each section inserted into the programs given to the audience.

During intermission a gift was given and glowing praise bestowed on Assistant Choral Director Miss Levone Tobin, who besides assisting as director, served as a "volunteer" in the choral group. One of the standout performances of the evening was the duet sung by Miss Tobin and Miss Martha Spence in the Britten work.

The "Gloria" was surpassed not in beauty but in popularity and enthusiasm on the part of the audience only by the famed "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's "Messiah". One of the great musical works of all time, for which it is customary for the audience to stand, it was majestic in its glory and its splendor, and crowned an evening of outstanding musical achievement. In addition to the beautiful performances by the soloists, including Miss Fredericka Stewart, the outstanding contribution made by the ensemble of local musicians which accompanied the choir must be recognized. These included Frank West, oboe soloist, Ruth Fraser, cello soloist, Frank Armbrust, and Dean Owens, harpist, imported from Florida to play the difficult accompaniment for Britten's "Ceremony Of Carols."

To sum up, the performance was, in one word, great! Sumter is fortunate indeed to have in the Morris College Choral Society and its talented director a combined cultural resource of the highest quality. At the rehearsal, which this reviewer was privileged to attend, the rapport between leader and singers was inspiring to behold!

SMALL TALK

BY WATT HUNTLEY

A DAILY ROUTINE

It became noticeable in a certain town that one of the local ministers had a habit of leaving his study at the church every afternoon about 3:30 and returning in about 30 minutes.

Their curiosity aroused, a group of businessmen near the church decided that it was more than they could stand. They appointed one of their number to investigate.

The next afternoon the [illegible] the church on

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ... A 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

B

January 3, 1972

Mr. Lou Bryan
448 N. Main Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bryan:

It was good to hear from you again. I did not know that you had retired.

I appreciate getting to see your story from the Sumter paper.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson Jr.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

File

REA,jr:lb

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your reply. I wish you and SRC a successful '72, and can only conclude, regretfully, that the answer to my question about whether there has been any notable success in the integration of civic service clubs is in the negative, so far as your present information indicates, with respect to areas or cities within SRC's ken. Well, perhaps it will prove a fruitful field for/of inquiry and endeavor in the coming months, and if I can, perhaps I may be a means of starting something in that direction here. If so, I will surely send you info which may be worth using in one of your publications.

Sincerely,

Lou

Lou Bryan

B

File

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

THE MEDILL SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

February 28, 1972

Dear Pat,

I'm sorry it was impossible to get back to your office Friday. After I dropped off the check for your book, I went on to two other stops, then to the public library to read World microfilm not otherwise available. It took much longer than anticipated, and I ended up rushing back to the Regency to barely make the bus to the airport.

Atlanta is so much more than I'd ever dreamed. The trip most excellent with one exception: I didn't get to talk to you as I wished.

3-6-72 is

It will help fill this void if you will mail the printed materials I was to pick up on my return visit to your office. Then, if you will be so kind, I'll write to you on any particulars.

Thanks for the cordial reception and the delightful lunch at Emile's.

Sincerely,

Lillian

Lillian S. Bell

Please address reply to:
4400 West Eleventh Avenue
Gary, Indiana 46404

B/

May 4, 1972

Mrs. Lillian S. Bell
#304 Dryden Hall
1570 Oak Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Dear Mrs. Bell:

The attached pamphlet should take care of your needs on the origins of the Council; I'm sorry I didn't think to give you a copy when you were here. My title is director of information.

I enjoyed talking with you while you were here, and I hope when you are done with your dissertation you will share it with us. All good luck with it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:lb

Enclosure

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

THE MEDILL SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

May 1, 1972

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters,

Thank you for sending Climbing Jacob's Ladder. I have sent in a requisition for payment which you should receive shortly.

As I read over my notes and the publications you sent me, I'm still not dead sure of your present title with the organization, nor do I have a clear statement of the founding and development of the organization. I checked the university library, and although they have several of your publications, I don't find that exact information there either.

If you can supply both without difficulty, I'll be forever grateful.

Sincerely,

Lillian Bell

Lillian S. Bell

Please address reply to:
#304 Dryden Hall
1570 Oak Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201
(312) 864-9578

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

APR 24 REC'D

THE MEDILL SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

April 21, 1972

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters,

I shall never forget my Atlanta research trip last February. It has become particularly vivid since reading Down to Now, a magnificent, searching account of the "movement," and realizing the vital role of many I met there.

I'm now in residence at Northwestern, working almost around the clock to get all my research data together for the dissertation, by June. My topic is The Role of the Press in Black Politics, 1960-1970. I feel certain that your book The Arrival of Negroes in Southern Politics will contain useful insights.

Would you be kind enough to send it directly to me, with a bill, of course. This short cut will save valuable time and will be very much appreciated.

I am looking forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Lillian Bell

Lillian S. Bell

Please address reply to:
304 Dryden Hall
1570 Oak Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201
(312) 864-9578)

via air mail.

December 19, 1967

Dear Bill:

It was good hearing from you, wretched though be your handwriting.

I'll look forward to seeing you and talking with you (this letter may pass you on the way down). I'd like to talk with you about writing. Maybe in the process, I can pin down some new feelings and thoughts I have been having about the whole process. One thing at least I'm certain of (and the older I get the less I'm inclined to certainty in any field), and that is McCuhan (sp?) ain't right.

Come by when you get here.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. William Beardslee
Graduate House
Western Reserve
10660 Carnegie
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

December 8, 1917
Cleveland

Dear Pat,

I have been just about to write all fall, and have held off because I thought I would have something substantial to send, written up out of the letter I took last summer. The week here has been just too much to sit down & collect the notes.

I left Atlanta without seeing you [you have a vacation] and without going to Mississippi a fond love because I was called to take to do a series of physics which I had to to be allowed to enter medical school in the fall.

What has happened to me since I have been here at school is that I have found myself wanting more and more to write, to be a writer. I write poems, and they are hard at description a fair amount, but haven't done anything I feel at all good with.

I saw Dr. Coles two days ago, he being the only good example I know of someone who is with

a writer and a doctor. I don't know yet how the medical school fits in, or will fit in to writing, although I have become sure that what I want to do is write.

I know this all sounds silly perhaps — i.e. ~~that~~ that at the very end to want "to be a writer", rather ~~you~~ should start by having something to say, or someone to write about. What I am trying to say is that working for the VEP, and here in Cleveland, I constantly see things, and have seen things, I have wanted to write about, and have not, for want having been. I hope I will be able to talk to you at length when I am in Atlanta at Christmas about writing, the discipline needed, how to write, research, language, etc., what I need to read to train myself, and also about your own writing.

I had hoped earlier in the fall that I could go to Mississippi and write something into the story I was going to at the end of the summer, but I do not know what the outcome of time I will have.

I look forward to seeing you,

Bill Beardsley

May 1, 1961

Mr. Stephen Benedict
330 East 71st Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Benedict:

Thank you for your letter of April 28. I trust entirely in your good judgement and you may commit the article as you think best.

You may ppssibly be interested in the enclosed piece on the question of civil disobedience. No taint of an under-cover suggestion about publication accompanies this. I am not even sure that I would want it published. I simply would like for you to have it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive director

LWD:A

330 EAST 71st STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 28, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending along Mr. Cowan's letter. Christianity and Crisis, as you no doubt know, is a thoughtful and respected publication, but I would like very much to follow through on some ideas that might obtain a much wider audience than it offers. I took the liberty of calling Mr. Cowan and telling him that several things were in the works which we would like to pursue, but that we would certainly keep his invitation in mind. He understood completely and indicated that there was no particular deadline as far as he was concerned, since the Southern situation is of continuing interest to his periodical and your piece could appear at any time in the future, should it become available to him. Unless you have further thoughts that you wanted to give him at this point, he and I agreed that there was no need for you to reply further to him.

I have several people reading the piece at the moment and should have something to pass along to you fairly soon.

Sincerely,

Stephen Benedict

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 28, 1961

Mr. Melvin L. Bergheim
Governmental Affairs Institute
1726 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bergheim:

We have discussed your letter of March 16, and are prepared to assist with the July 12-16 visit of the foreign correspondents to Atlanta. There are enough excitement and interesting people here to make this a worthwhile occasion for them, and it ought to be instructive for us also.

We will not accept the honorarium, though we thank you offering it. On the other hand, we will gladly let you reimburse us for expenses, up to $300, in connection with the visit; we shall submit an itemized account.

I assume that the correspondents's itinerary may be crowded, and so I would doubt the usefulness of a seminar in Pittsburgh on race relations generally, which will certainly be the big topic here. There would be an opportunity, however, to get before them a fuller sketch of what is a national problem if a seminar were held in Pittsburgh, focussed on race relations in northern cities, and followed by the discussion here in Atlanta on southern issues.

We shall sometime before the event draw up plans and forward them to you for critiquing. We can do this more intelligently after participants are selected. If you know anything about specific interests of any of the participants, that would be helpful information.

If the group is all-white, putting them all up at one of the downtown hotels would be the most convenient thing; and the Atlantan would be an all-right choice. If there are non-whites included, the matter gets more complicated, and we'll have to work it out as best we can.

We are in a period of organizational flux, which explains why I, rather than Harold, am replying to you. By July we ought to be well settled, however, and able to do the honors for these people.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1726 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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March 16, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for the letter you sent me last month advising that Atlanta would be a good stopping place for the participants in the next Resident Foreign Correspondents Project. Barring an emergency session of the United Nations Security Council, a summit meeting or a world crises that would require the correspondents to be elsewhere at that time, I would like, with your help, to plan a three day visit for the group to Atlanta beginning Wednesday evening, July 12, and ending on Sunday, July 16.

Since we are working under a Ford Foundation grant, we shall be in a position to offer the Southern Regional Council a $300 honorarium for planning the program and also to cover out-of-pocket expenses for transportation, entertainment, and a few group meals if these should be necessary elements in the program.

The group will consist of twelve New York based correspondents plus one or two escorts who will be from our staff.

As I mentioned in my first letter to you about this project, we would like to orient the Atlanta program around race relations and local cultural attainments. We have been thinking in terms of including a session on race relations in the seminar at Pittsburgh just before the group travels to Atlanta, but the Atlanta program itself may be such as to make a seminar session in this topic unnecessary. What do you think?

I need hardly outline for you the ingredients of the Atlanta program, but I would hope that there would be an opportunity for the group to meet Mr. Ralph McGill in addition to the Mayor, and such members of university faculties, public school officials, and White and Negro leaders with varying points of view on desegragation as may be available in the summer time.

Please let me know whether you will be able to undertake this project. I certainly hope you can do so for I know that the correspondents will be greatly enriched if you can.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Mel

Melvin L. Bergheim

P.S. The selection committee has just begun to work so I can not say who the participants will be or what countries they will represent. However, a review of the roster of foreign correspondents indicates that there are no Negro foreign correspondents who could participate. This situation could conceivably change in the next few months, but we can not count on it. In view of this would you advise having the group stay at the Atlantan Hotel? Or do youhave some other recommendation? Participants will have $25 per diem.

Enclosures

THE NEGRO AMERICAN

A Reading List

1957

(Based on books published through June 1956)

Prepared by

EDITH HUSSEY, MARY HENDERSON, BARBARA MARX

Published by

The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

25¢ Per Copy

Interracial Publication
Number 96

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	4
Introduction	5
Reading guide	7
Books for Primary Children (pre-school and grades 1–3)	
Fiction	11
Nonfiction	11
Books for Intermediates (grades 4-6)	
Fiction	12
Nonfiction	13
Books for Juniors (grades 7-9)	
Fiction	14
Nonfiction	15
Books for Seniors (grades 10-12)	
Fiction	16
Nonfiction	17
Books for Adults	
Fiction	20
Nonfiction	21
Some other helpful materials	
Pamphlets	32
Study kit	33
Southern School News	33
Negro magazines	33
Records, films, etc.	33
Some race relations organizations	34
Index of authors	35
Addresses of publishers	39

FOREWORD

Women who do not play bridge can sometimes fit a useful community chore into the edges and corners of their housekeeping time. It is such a trio who felt a need for this reading list and undertook to prepare it. They have done an admirable piece of work.

Their first thought was that teachers and librarians might profit by knowing what books about Negroes are safe to recommend for children—safe because they avoid the stereotypes and because they qualify as literature. Then we of the National Council asked the women to consider also books which might benefit church people, and other groups added other requests. So the "little list" has grown to 260 titles, selected after elimination of many more.

Both academic background and experience in community service contributed to the qualifications which our compilers brought to their task. Mrs. Hussey (B. A. Mount Holyoke College, M.A. Columbia University) has taught high school English for many years, in both white and colored schools. Mrs. Henderson has had a long experience as model teacher and as elementary school principal. Mrs. Marx (B. A. Bryn Mawr College, M. A. Chicago University) has done field work with the League of Women Voters and is currently active in connection with Negro suffrage in Virginia. All three women have done considerable volunteer work in church, PTA, Scouting and other community organizations. All three have been interested especially in the development of children through reading.

Mrs. Hussey has done most but not all of the actual work on this reading list. Mrs. Marx gets the credit for thinking of it in the first place. Mrs. Henderson has been a valuable consultant and assistant.

The Committee on Publications and Race Relations Sunday of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations received this bibliography. Dr. Jesse Barber, one of its members, kindly reviewed the manuscript and his suggestions for revision have been gratefully followed.

Alfred S. Kramer
Associate Executive Director

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

INTRODUCTION

The Supreme Court's May 1954 school decision calls for a fundamental change in the educational pattern of a large part of the country, as well as for reexamination of racial attitudes nationally. Where desegregation is planned or started, there are adjustment problems for both colored and white. Where resistance is strong, there is need for special effort at understanding.

It is important, therefore, that Americans try to know the facts about the one-tenth of their number who are Negro. "Negro" is a covering term for sixteen million individuals who are as various as Americans everywhere. Just as their pigmentation ranges from the rare pure black to indistinguishable white, so their ancestry includes the wide variation in heritage which is a matter of pride to all Americans. Negroes reached these shores in 1619; it was a Negro who first died for our new nation in the Revolutionary War. They are not a different people. It is because of the "segregation curtain" that fictions have sprung up, fictions which distort impressions and strain relationships for both Negroes and Caucasians. To people of good will it is important to supplant such fictions with the facts.

This reading list has been prepared to help people discover these facts. Here are stories, poems, biographies, and a careful selection of historical and other studies. We have tried to touch all phases of the American Negro's progress and to present most of the Negro authors writing since 1940. Where we include earlier books, it is because they are still timely. We have tried to save your time by culling the best; if we have omitted titles that should be included, we are sorry.

To make browsing easy, the books are classified simply by age groups, and titles are listed alphabetically by authors under fiction and nonfiction headings. The Reading Guide will help you in exploring special interests. Starred books are our particular recommendations. Titles are numbered for easy reference, and there are an author index and an address list of publishers.

In addition to books, we have listed separately several pamphlets for the busy reader, a study kit especially prepared for group work, and some helpful magazines and audio-visual materials.

These books tell a vigorous and dramatic story of a people wrested from their primitive culture and thrown into Western slavery, now moving so steadily forward to full participation in our democracy. Read for enjoyment and information, remembering to note publication date. Read aloud to your children, or put the books where they will be picked up. Make recommendations to your children's teachers and to librarians. Share your copy of this list with friends. Urge church, PTA, and other organizations to circulate copies.

Any time is right for helping people to grow toward more inclusive concepts of human relations. You can assist the primary child to get the feel of brotherhood by reading aloud or otherwise sharing his interest in the books at his level. The intermediate, even though he may have heard derogatory epithets, will tend to accept the Negro child whom he finds as hero in a sympathetic, lively story. Though the junior high schooler may have been already conditioned to some extent, yet he will follow the wise adult's lead toward better attitudes; help him choose a likely book and take time to discuss his reading with him. The senior high school young person is ready for critical thinking; he should be given mental fare to counteract prejudice, and opportunity for discussion under leadership. And the adult who will reserve judgment till he reads and ponders is the hope of our democracy.

For all age levels, the reading should lead to appropriate interracial contacts in a common work or play program. For the children you deal with, look for opportunities in church, school, and neighborhood. For yourself and your friends, one of the organizations working in race relations may hold a challenge. (See Table of Contents.)

The format of this reading list follows, with some modifications, the pattern suggested by the Library of Congress manual, Bibliographical Procedures and Style, 1954.

The compilers wish to acknowledge help received from the University Place Book Shop, 69 University Place, New York 3; and from the Countee Cullen Branch of the New York Public Library, 104 West 136th Street.

EDITH L. HUSSEY

READING GUIDE

In the following guide, the nonfiction books of this list are grouped by subject matter. In most cases each book is entered only once, under the heading which seems to indicate its main contribution. A reference number at the left locates the title; the letter beside it indicates the age level: P for primary, I intermediate, J junior, S senior, and A adult. Stars mean special recommendation.

Negro History

42-I Cuthbert. *We sing America.*
* 49-I Shackelford. *A child's story of the Negro.*
* 73-J Shippen. *Passage to America.*
* 89-S Bontemps. *Story of the Negro*
113-S Redding. *They came in chains.*
*114-S Robinson. *Love of this land.*
122-S Woodson. *The story of the Negro retold.*
146-A Aptheker. *A documentary history of the Negro people in the United States.*
151-A Bontemps and Conroy. *They seek a city.*
155-A Brown. *The story of the American Negro.*
169-A DuBois. *Black Reconstruction.*
177-A Franklin. *From slavery to freedom.*
178-A Frazier. *The Negro in the United States*
185-A Guzman. *1952 Negro yearbook.*
202-A Logan. *The Negro in American life and thought; the nadir, 1877–1901.*
*210-A Myrdal. *An American dilemma.*
*216-A Ottley. *Black odyssey.*
226-A Quarles. *The Negro in the Civil War.*
*234-A Rose. *The Negro in America.*
*260-A Woodward. *The strange career of Jim Crow.*

Biography – excluding music and sports personalities)

18-P Hughes. *First book of Negroes.*
* 21-P Stevenson. *George Carver: boy scientist.*
41-I Bontemps. *The story of George Washington Carver.*
43-I Derricotte, Turner, Roy. *Word pictures of the great.*
47-I Mayer. *Our Negro brother.*
* 48-I Roy and Turner. *Pioneers of long ago.*
50-I Shackelford. *My happy days.*
51-I White, Anne T. *George Washington Carver: the story of a great American.*
* 60-J Ansley. *The sword and the spirit.*
63-J Graham. *Booker T. Washington: educator of hand, head, and heart.*
64-J Graham. *Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable.*
65-J Graham and Lipscomb. *Dr. George Washington Carver: scientist.*
66-J Hughes. *Famous American Negroes.*
* 68-J Martin. *Our great Americans.*
70-J Means. *Carver's George.*
75-J Sterling. *Freedom train; the story of Harriet Tubman.*
76-J Swift. *North star shining.*
* 77-J Yates. *Amos Fortune, free man.*
90-S Bontemps. *We have tomorrow.*
92-S Cunningham. *Paul Laurence Dunbar and his song.*
95-S Fuller. *A star pointed north.*
96-S Graham. *The story of Phillis Wheatley.*
97-S Graham. *There was once a slave.*
98-S Graham. *Your most humble servant.*
107-S Lee. *I passed for white.*
110-S Peare. *Mary McLeod Bethune.*
111-S Petry. *Harriet Tubman: conductor on the Underground Railroad.*
*117-S Thomas. *The Seeking.*
120-S Washington. *Up from slavery.*
121-S White. *Lost Boundaries.*
*123-S Yates. *Prudence Crandall; woman of courage*
149-A Barton. *Witnesses for freedom.*
*152-A Botkin, ed. *Lay my burden down; a folk history of slavery*
157-A Buckler. *Dr. Dan, pioneer in American surgery*

*165-A Day. *The little professor of Piney Woods*
176-A Forten. *The journal of Charlotte L. Forten*
*184-A Goodwin. *It's good to be black*
215-A Nye. *William Lloyd Garrison and the humanitarian reformers*
217-A Ottley. *Lonely warrier.*
219-A Ovington. *The walls came tumbling down.*
225-A Quarles. *Frederick Douglass.*
231-A Robinson. *Dark companion.*
243-A Spencer. *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's place in American life.*
246-A Tarry. *Third door.*
257-A White. *A man called White.*

Negro Culture – General

23-P. Whiting. *Negro art, music and rhyme*
*158-A Butcher. *The Negro in American culture.*

Music and Musicians

19-P. Hughes. *The first book of rhythms*
22-P Trent-Jones. *Play songs of the deep South (also suitable for I)*
62-J Eaton. *Trumpeter's tale (Louis Armstrong)*
67-J Hughes. *First book of jazz.*
87-S Armstrong. *Satchmo: my life in New Orleans.*
88-S Bontemps. *Chariot in the sky (Fisk jubilee singers)*
94-S Feather. *Encyclopedia of jazz*
99-S Handy. *Father of the blues.*
102-S Horne. *In person Lena Horne.*
103-S Hughes. *Famous Negro music makers.*
*108-S Lomax. *Our singing country (folk songs)*
118-S Ulanov. *Duke Ellington.*
145-A Anderson. *My Lord, what a morning.*
173-A Fisher. *Negro slave songs in the United States.*
187-A Handy. *A treasury of the blues.*
188-A Helm. *Angel Mo' and her son Roland Hayes.*
196-A Johnson. *The books of American Negro spirituals*

Poetry

44-I Dunbar. *Little brown baby.*
61-J Bontemps. *Golden slippers.*
*104-S Hughes and Bontemps. *The poetry of the Negro: an anthology.*
119-S Walker. *For my people.*
153-A Brooks. *A street in Bronzeville.*
192-A Hughes. *Montage for a dream deferred.*
205-A McKay. *Selected poems of Claude McKay.*

Literature, Drama, Art

93-S. Dreer. *American literature by Negro authors.*
156-A Brown. *The Negro caravan.*
160-A Connelly. *The green pastures.*
194-A Isaacs. *The Negro in the American theater.*
224-A. Porter. *Modern Negro art.*

Science

247-A Taylor. *The Negro in science.*

Sports and Players

69-J Mays and Einstein. *Born to play ball.*
71-J Miller. *Joe Louis: American.*
72-J Roeder. *Jackie Robinson.*
* 74-J Smith. *The Willie Mays story.*
*100-S Henderson. *The Negro in sports.*
109-S Louis. *The Joe Louis story.*
*124-S Young. *Great Negro baseball stars.*
125-S Young. *Roy Campanella.*

Religion and the Church

* 20-P Jones. *Small rain.*
42-I Cuthbert. *We sing America. (Also usable for J)*
105-S Johnson. *God's trombones.*
166-A Day. *Color, ebony.*
170-A Eakin. *Sunday school fights prejudice.*
*171-A Felton. *Go down, Moses.*
172-A Felton. *These my brethren.*
174-A Foley. *Bishop Healy: the beloved outcaste.*
175-A Foley. *God's men of color.*
181-A Gallagher. *Color and conscience.*
197-A Johnston. *The development of Negro religion.*
200-A LaFarge. *The race question and the Negro.*
201-A Loescher. *The Protestant church and the Negro.*
206-A McKinney. *Religion in higher education among Negroes.*
207-A Mays and Nicholson. *The Negro's church.*
*212-A Nelson. *The Christian way in race relations.*
223-A Pipes. *Say Amen, brother!*
230-A Richardson. *Dark glory.*
*232-A Robinson. *Road without turning.*
233-A Robinson. *Tomorrow is today.*
248-A Thurman. *Deep river.*
249-A Thurman. *The Negro spiritual speaks of life and death.*
*255-A Wentzel. *An epistle to white Christians.*
*259-A Woodson. *The history of the Negro church.*

Industry, Business, Labor

*191-A Hope. *Negro employment in three southern plants of International Harvester Company*
199-A Kinzer and Sagarin. *The Negro in American business*
214-A Northrup. *Organized labor and the Negro.*
*221-A Perlo. *The Negro in Southern agriculture .*
222-A Pierce. *Negro business and business education.*
*238-A Ruchames. *Race, jobs, and politics.*
*242-A Southall. *Industry's unfinished business.*
254-A Weaver. *Negro labor.*

Politics and Civil Rights

112-S President's committee on civil rights. *To secure these rights.*
*209-A Murray. *States' laws on race and color.*
*227-A Record. *The Negro and the Communist party.*
228-A Redding. *An American in India.*
*238-A Ruchames. *Race, jobs, and politics.*

Housing

*143-A Abrams. *Forbidden neighbors.*
168-A Deutsch and Collins. *Interracial housing.*
253-A Weaver. *The Negro ghetto.*

The Concept of Race

* 16-P Evans. *All about us.*
* 17-P. Evans. *People are important.*
* 40-I Becker. *The Negro in American life.*
* 91-S Boyd and Asimov. *Races and people.*
147-A. Ashley Montagu. *Man's most dangerous myth.*
*150-A Benedict and Weltfish. *In Henry's backyard.*
*183-A Goodman. *Race awareness in young children.*
220-A Park. *Race and culture.*

The Impact of Prejudice

* 45-I Fisher. *A fair world for all.*
* 46-I Fisher. *Bill and his neighbors*
*101-S Hirsh. *The fears men live by.*
106-S Lee. *Fraternities without brotherhood.*

115-S Smith. *Killers of the dream.*
116-S Sprigle. *In the land of Jim Crow.*
144-A Allport. *The nature of prejudice.*
154-A Brown. *Race relations in a democracy.*
*159-A. Clark. *Prejudice and your child.*
179-A Frazier. *Negro youth at the crossways.*
*193-A Hughes. *Simple speaks his mind.*
198-A Kardiner and Ovesey. *The mark of oppression.*
208-A Moon. *Primer for white folks.*
210-A Myrdal. *An American dilemma.*
218-A Ottley. *New world a-comin'.*
*229-A Redding. *On being Negro in America.*
236-A Rose. *Race prejudice and discrimination.*
*237-A Rowan. *South of freedom.*
239-A Saenger. *Social psychology of prejudice.*
240-A Simpson and Yinger. *Racial and cultural minorities*

Changing Attitudes

161-A Cook. *College programs in intergroup relations.*
162-A Cook. *Toward better human relations.*
*163-A Cook. *Intergroup education.*
164-A Cook. *A sociological approach to education.*
167-A Dean and Rosen. *A manual of intergroup relations.*
186-A Halsey. *Color blind.*
190-A Hiller. *Toward better race relations.*
203-A Lumpkin. *The making of a Southerner.*
*204-A MacIver. *The more perfect union.*
235-A Rose. *Sociology, the study of human relations.*
241-A Smith. *Now is the time.*
244-A Stendler and Martin. *Intergroup education in kindergarten and primary (grades.*
245-A Taba and others. *Intergroup education in public schools.*
*251-A Trager and Yarrow. *They learn what they live.*
*252-A Warren. *Segregation: the inner conflict in the South.*

Steps toward Integration

148-A Ashmore. *The Negro and the schools.*
180-A Furnas. *Goodbye to Uncle Tom.*
182-A Ginzberg. *The Negro potential.*
189-A Hill and Greenberg. *Citizen's guide to desegregation.*
195-A Johnson, Charles. *Into the main stream; a survey.*
211-A Nelson. *Integration of the Negro into the U. S. navy.*
213-A Nichols. *Breakthrough on the color front.*
250-A Tipton. *Community in crisis.*
256-A White. *How far the promised land.*
258-A Williams and Ryan. *Schools in transition.*

PRIMARY

PRESCHOOL AND GRADES 1 TO 3

FICTION

*1. Beim, Jerrold and Lorraine. *Two is a team.* Harcourt, 1945. 61 p. $2.50. Two small boys, one white and one colored, learn through experience that working together brings success and happiness.

2. Brown, Jeanette P. *Ronnie's wish.* Friendship, 1954. 32 p. $1.25; paper 0.75. A small Negro boy finds satisfying adventure in the children's zoo and learns some of the advantages of being small.

3. DuBois, William P. *Bear party.* Viking, 1951. $2.00. Though not specifically about Negroes, this engaging tale has value because it shows that the outside doesn't matter. Good to read aloud to preschoolers.

4. Evans, Eva K. *Araminta.* Putnam, 1935. 84 p. $2.50. When brown little Araminta visits her grandparents in the country near Tuskegee, Alabama, she has lots of fun and she learns to do things for herself.

5. Evans, Eva K. *Araminta's goal.* Putnam, 1938. 92 p. $2.50. Araminta and her friend Jerome Anthony learn about country life and enjoy adventures with the goat. The book has good drawings of Negro children.

6. Evans, Eva K. *Jerome Anthony.* Putnam, 1936. 88 p. $2.50. City life is strange for the small hero till he discovers his friend Araminta. Then the companions find many city enjoyments. Good drawings in black and white.

*7. Evans, Eva K. *A surprise for Araminta.* Grosset, 1942. OP. A picture book. When Jerome Anthony visits Auntie in Atlanta, he takes along a present for Araminta: a goat from the farm. Adventures follow fast.

8. Lattimore, Eleanor F. *Indigo Hill.* Morrow, 1947. 128 p. $2.25. Despite the lack of comforts, Lydia and her friends find life fascinating in this Negro rural community in South Carolina.

*9. Nolen, Eleanor W. *A job for Jeremiah.* Oxford, 1940. 80 p. $1.75. The third-grade boy will enjoy reading how Jeremiah, George Washington's servant at Mount Vernon, samples various jobs and announces his choice of one.

*10. Ryan, Elizabeth. *Higgledy-piggledy room.* Shady Hill, 1949. 24 p. OP. This charmingly illustrated primer shows little brown Nicky and Katie tidying their room as they play pretend.

11. Shapiro, Irwin. *John Henry and the double jointed steam-drill.* Messner, 1945. $2.50. Third graders can read this story of John Henry's mastery of the steam-drill, and all small fry will delight in the illustrations.

*12. Sharpe, Stella Gentry. *Tobe.* U. of N.C., 1939. 121 p. $2.50. Beautiful photographs and easy text show that little dark-skinned Tobe has a happy life with his family on the farm.

13. Tarry, Ellen. *The runaway elephant.* Viking, 1950. 37 p. $1.50. In this brightly illustrated book, little Hezekiah Horton of Harlem wins a reward for the recapture of Modoc the elephant.

14. Tarry, Ellen, and Maria H. Ets. *My dog Rinty.* Viking, 1946. $2.00. David, who lives in Harlem, is worried till his dog Rinty becomes too useful to be sold.

15. Whiting, Helen A. *Negro folk tales.* Associated Pub., 1938. 28 p. $1.40. These simple folk stories command interest in themselves and lead to appreciation of Negro culture, both African and American. They are delightfully illustrated.

NONFICTION

-- Becker, John L. *The Negro in American life.* (See Intermediate list.)

*16. Evans, Eva K. *All about us.* Capitol, 1947. 95 p. $2.50. For children in grades 2-6, here are the facts about race, intriguingly presented. The book concludes: "Every living person is kin to us, and we are related to everybody in the whole world."

*17. Evans, Eva K. *People are important.* Capitol, 1951. 86 p. $2.50. This well illustrated little book develops for children the theme of consideration for others as individuals, regardless of cultural differences.

18. Hughes, Langston. *The first book of Negroes.* Watts, 1952. 69 p. $1.95. In this illustrated reader, little New York Terry grows in awareness that his are a great people, and that despite some difficulties our country really stands for "liberty and justice to all."

19. Hughes, Langston. *The first book of rhythms.* Watts, 1954. 63 p. $1.95. By but not about a Negro, this is a beautiful introduction to the prevalence of rhythm in all life.

*20. Jones, Jessie Orton. *Small rain; selections from the Bible.* Viking, 1943. 40 p. $2.50. These are well selected Bible verses, easy to read or to memorize, charmingly illustrated with pictures of white, Negro, and Oriental children.

*21. Stevenson, Augusta. *George Carver: boy scientist.* Bobbs, 1944. 202 p. $1.75 (School ed., $1.48). This delightful book puts adventure, humor, and idealism into the Carver story. Primary children will enjoy hearing it read, and intermediates can read it for themselves.

22. Trent-Jones, Altona. *Play songs of the deep South.* Associated Pub., 1944. 33 p. OP. This small volume, illustrated with drawings of Negro children at play, contains words, music, and dance directions for several singing games. Intermediates may enjoy them too.

23. Whiting, Helen A. *Negro art, music, and rhyme.* Associated Pub., 1938. 38 p. $1.40. The second grader can read for himself this illustrated account of the artistic accomplishments of Africans (part I) and American Negroes (part II).

INTERMEDIATE

GRADES 4 TO 6

FICTION

24. Burgwyn, Mebane. *River treasure.* Oxford, 1947. 159 p. OP. When twelve-year-old Guy runs away from his hated step-mother, he is adopted by good Aunt Delly. He lives happily with her, and eventually learns not to hate.

25. Cooper, Page. *Thunder.* World, 1954. 218 p. $1.00. Through their common devotion to a promising race horse, friendship grows between a white and a Negro boy.

*26. De Angeli, Marguerite. *Bright April.* Doubleday, 1946. 86 p. $2.75. This happy story about little brown April tells how she learns, through adventures at home, in school, and in her Brownie troop, that knowing the truth about people leads to friendship with them.

27. Dunbar, Paul Laurence. *Best stories of Paul Laurence Dunbar.* Dodd, 1938. 258 p. $2.50. Here are the well known Dunbar humor and pathos, in stories selected from four earlier volumes. There is an introduction by Benjamin Brawley. The intermediate child may want help with the dialect.

28. Evans, Eva K. *Key Corner.* Putnam, 1938. 206 p. OP. The new teacher brings improved methods and happy learning experiences to the little country school in the Negro community, and so Johnny Heath is glad when he can save the school from destruction.

29. Faulkner, Georgene. *Melindy's happy summer.* Messner, 1949. 182 p. $2.75. Sent as an "ambassador of good will" for a summer vacation in Maine, little colored Melindy has a delightful time, and saves the day for the operetta by singing Gretel's part.

30. Faulkner, Georgene, and John Becker. *Melindy's medal.* Messner, 1945. 172 p. $2.75. Melindy enjoys moving to the Bethune Building, and she enjoys school; but her greatest happiness comes when she follows the tradition of her ancestors by winning a medal for bravery.

31. Gardner, Lillian S. *Sal Fisher, Brownie scout.* Watts, 1953. 192 p. $2.50. This is the happy story of an integrated Brownie troop. The little Negro heroine makes many friends and has lively adventures. Illustrations are gay.

32. Gerber, Will. *Gooseberry Jones.* Putnam, 1947. 96 p. $2.50. Gooseberry has a hard time persuading his mother that he should be allowed to have a dog, but she finally relents. Only the illustrations show the characters to be Negro.

*33. Hayes, Florence. *Skid.* Houghton, 1948. 216 p. OP. (New edition in preparation) When Skid's family moves from Georgia to Connecticut, he finds it hard to be the only Negro boy in his school class. But his saving wit in the school play and his prowess at baseball win him acceptance and new friends.

34. Heuman, William. *Little league champs.* Lippincott, 1953. 174 p. $2.50. Made up of "the rich and the poor and the black and the white," the Little League baseball team fuses into a winning combination.

*35. Hunt, Mabel Leigh. *Ladycake farm.* Lippincott, 1952. 126 p. $2.25. Intermediates and their elders will enjoy this story about the Freed family, who move to their own farm and win acceptance in the community. The reader senses the special courage and tact which Negroes must have.

36. Jackson, Jesse. *Call me Charley.* Harper, 1945. 156 p. OP. Friendship, paper 0.75. White Tom enjoys the friendship of colored Charley, and helps Charley not to be timid about taking his rightful place in the Northern school and community.

37. Lang, Don. *Strawberry roan.* Oxford, 1946. 218 p. $3.00 Grosset, $1.50. Roscoe, the little Negro stable boy, devotes himself to the spirited red trotter David Hal and his foal Flood Tide. Roscoe wins the prize money, and decides to use it for more schooling.

38. Lattimore, Eleanor F. *Bayou boy.* Morrow, 1946. 128 p. $2.25. Beside the bayou in Louisiana, young Louis Lafayette Brown finds life with his family and friends both merry and satisfying.

*39. Meadowcroft, Enid. *By secret railway.* Crowell, 1948. 275 p. $3.00. This well written juvenile tells of the ante-bellum friendship of white Davy and free Negro Jim, their adventures with the Underground Railway, and their meeting with Abraham Lincoln.

NONFICTION

*40. Becker, John L. *The Negro in American life.* Messner, 1944. 53 p. OP. This is a picture book for children. With some help, intermediates can read for themselves this direct attack upon racial stereotypes.

41. Bontemps, Arna. *The story of George Washington Carver.* Grosset, 1954. 181 p. $1.50. "I got to know how-come and what-for," said young George. This is the story of his search for learning, and then his scientific work at Tuskegee. An earlier book by Bontemps is George Washington Carver, Row Peterson 1950.

42. Cuthbert, Marion. *We sing America.* Friendship, 1936. 117 p. OP. Here are several vignettes of American Negro life which the intermediate child should find interesting and not too difficult. Friendship Press also puts out a 31-page, 25-cent Junior Teacher's Guide, 1946, for use with We Sing America and Call Me Charley (See Fiction); this is for Sunday School teachers.

43. Derricotte, Elise, Geneva Turner, and Jessie Roy. *Word pictures of the great.* Associated Pub., 1941. 280 p. $2.65. Selecting Negroes from the fields of music, art, literature, education, science and invention, and philanthropy, the writers present biographical sketches in story form, with enough background to insure understanding of the contribution in each case. This is a reader, with vocabulary and study exercises.

44. Dunbar, Paul Laurence. *Little brown baby.* Dodd, 1940. 106 p. $2.50. Intermediates will like hearing adults read aloud from these famous dialect poems which depict happy Negro childhood. There is a biographical sketch of Dunbar by Bertha Rodgers.

✓ *45. Fisher, Dorothy Canfield. *A fair world for all.* McGraw, 1952. 159 p. $2.95. In this illustrated small book, Mrs. Fisher explains simply the various sections of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was written by representatives of 58 nations in the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

*46. Fisher, Lois. *Bill and his neighbors.* Houghton, 1950. 55 p. $2.00. In this gaily illustrated story of a fanciful junior high school activity, the students examine the nature and cause of prejudice, and find their own solution to the problem facing them. Intermediates will enjoy the picture of junior high school life, and are ready to profit from the lesson.

47. Mayer, Edith H. *Our Negro brother.* Shady Hill, 1948. 39 p. OP. This simply written, well illustrated little book tells the stories of eight Negroes who have helped America, from Columbus' pilot Nino to the union leader A. Philip Randolph.

*48. Roy, Jessie H. and Geneva C. Turner. *Pioneers of long ago.* Associated Pub., 1951. 316 p. $4.00. Heroes of Negro history are presented in brief, interesting narratives. Apparently intended for Negro children, the stories can also promote in white children an increased respect for Negro accomplishments.

*49. Shackelford, Jane D. *A child's story of the Negro.* Associated Pub., 1956. 222 p. $3.00. This little reader is for Negro and white elementary school children. There are stories of African life and slavery days, and many biographical sketches of prominent Negroes in America. Illustrations and print are good, and the questions and teaching suggestions make this a useful classroom text.

50. Shackelford, Jane D. *My happy days.* Associated Pub., 1944. 121 p. $2.65. In these autobiographical episodes we enter into the life of a busy, happy Negro family in the North, enjoying their activities at home, at school, and in the community. Good pictures.

*— Stevenson, Augusta. *George Carver: boy scientist.* (See Primary list.)

51. White, Anne Terry. *George Washington Carver; the story of a great American.* Random, 1953. 182 p. $1.50. In this recent biography of the great Negro scientist and educator, the author portrays his spirit of service and his love for all mankind.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

GRADES 7 TO 9

FICTION

52. De Leeuw, Adele. *The barred road.* Macmillan, 1954. 247 p. $2.75. When a Negro family enters her neighborhood, Susan is disturbed to see race prejudice at work among both students and teachers, in school and in the community. However, she does not yield to the group pattern, but acts upon her own truer concept of democracy.

53. Faulkner, Nancy. *The west is on your left hand.* Doubleday, 1953. 210 p. $2.50. Freed by Tod's father, Fumfire and his parents decide to go along with Tod's family in the search for a new life on land being settled by the Ohio Company; the time is 1753. Negro interest is minor, but characterization is good.

54. Gates, Doris. *Little Vic.* Viking, 1951. 160 p. $2.50. They call the colored lad Pony because of his love of horses, especially of the colt Little Vic. After much hard work and a heroic deed, Pony becomes Little Vic's jockey.

*55. Jackson, Jesse. *Anchor man.* Harper, 1947. 142 p. $2.00. (Sequel to Call Me Charley; see Intermediate list.) Charley and Duke, Negro students, enter helpfully into activities at Arlington High, where all the other students are white.

56. Means, Florence C. *Shuttered windows.* Houghton, 1938. 206 p. $2.75. A northern Negro girl visits her grandmother on one of the sea islands off the South Carolina coast. Despite the poverty of this community, the girl decides to stay; and on finishing school, she dedicates her life to helping her grandmother's people.

*57. Sterne, Emma G. *The long black schooner.* Aladdin 1953. 192 p. $1.75. Hero of this history-based novel is Cinque, slave on the Armistad, who won control of the ship, was tried and acquitted in Long Island, and finally returned to his native Africa.

*58. Tunis, John. *All-American.* Harcourt, 1942. 245 p. $2.95. It took all the boys on this team, white and colored, American and foreign-born, to make the winning record in football.

59. Wilson, Neill C. *Freedom song.* Holt, 1955. 272 p. $3.50. "Try be free," the slave boy's mother urged him. So Prometheus took his chance and escaped, along the Underground Railway. He composed a song that "had freedom bells in it," and that might have inspired The Battle Hymn of the Republic.

NONFICTION

*60. Ansley, Delight. *The sword and the spirit; a life of John Brown.* Crowell, 1955. 262 p. $3.00. This well written fictionized biography of John Brown will help the junior student to understand the forces which finally erupted into the Civil War.

61. Bontemps, Arna. *Golden Slippers.* Harper, 1941. 220 p. $2.75. This anthology gathers together the best loved of the Negro poems suitable for this age level.

— Cuthbert, Marion. *We sing America.* (See Intermediate list)

62. Eaton, Jeanette. *Trumpeter's tale; the story of young Louis Armstrong.* Morrow, 1955. 191 p. $3.00. This is a very readable account of Satchmo's life. Starting his own band at eleven, Armstrong later became recognized as a great jazz player and a true originator in the musical world.

— Fisher, Lois. *Bill and his neighbors.* (See Intermediate list.)

63. Graham, Shirley. *Booker T. Washington: educator of hand, head, and heart.* Messner, 1955. 192 p. $2.95. This is a lively, well written narrative of Booker T. Washington's childhood and his mature work at Tuskegee.

64. Graham, Shirley. *Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable, founder of Chicago.* Messner, 1953. 180 p. $2.95. This is the life story of the Negro founder of the city of Chicago; it combines historical accuracy with exciting adventure.

65. Graham, Shirley and George D. Lipscomb. *Dr. George W. Carver: scientist.* Messner, 1944. 248 p. $2.95. The accomplishments of the famous Tuskegee scientist and educator are told simply, for this age level.

66. Hughes, Langston. *Famous American Negroes.* Dodd, 1954. 147 p. $3.00. In story form the author presents the biographies of many outstanding Negroes, from Phillis Wheatley to Jackie Robinson.

67. Hughes, Langston. *The first book of jazz.* Watts, 1955. 65 p. $1.95. This small book is a fascinating primer of jazz, its characteristics, and a few of the players who have contributed to its development.

*68. Martin, Fletcher. *Our great Americans; the Negro contribution to American progress.* Gamma, 1953. 96 p. $1.00. In this attractively illustrated and printed paperback are the stories of some sixty-odd Negroes, living and dead, who have made significant contributions to American culture.

69. Mays, Willie, and Charles Einstein. *Born to play ball.* Putnam, 1955. 168 p. $2.50. Here is Willie's own modest, cheerful account of his baseball career, as told to Charles Einstein. Mays is famous as centerfielder for the Giants.

70. Means, Florence C. *Carver's George.* Houghton, 1952. 176 p. $2.50. This is a lively, sympathetic presentation of Carver's infancy, childhood, youth, and his contributions to science.

71. Miller, Margery. *Joe Louis: American.* Wyn, 1951. 198 p. $2.50. In this account we learn to know Joe Louis, the heavyweight champion, as a strong, honest character. The story ends when Louis joins the army.

72. Roeder, Bill. *Jackie Robinson.* Barnes, 1950. 183 p. OP. In this biography we meet the first Negro player on a major league baseball team, the famous second baseman of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

*73. Shippen, Katherine. *Passage to America; the story of the great migrations.* Harper, 1950. 211 p. $2.50. "African Slavery and American Freedom" is the title for the chapter on Negroes (p. 167 ff.) in this history of the great migrations to America. In fifteen pages the author has masterfully condensed the Negro's history on this continent, with emphasis on the growth toward full citizenship.

*74. Smith, Ken. *The Willie Mays story.* Greenberg, 1954. 94 p. $2.00; paper 1.00. This lavishly illustrated little paperback about the Giants' famous centerfielder will delight boyish sports fans and convey incidentally the idea that race doesn't count if a man can play ball.

75. Sterling, Dorothy. *Freedom train: the story of Harriet Tubman.* Doubleday, 1954. 191 p. $2.50. With the help of the Quakers and others who set up the Underground Railway, Harriet Tubman, the "Moses" of her people, led more than three hundred slaves to freedom.

76. Swift, Hildegarde H. *North star shining.* Morrow, 1947. 44 p. $2.75. This is a rapid inventory of Negro progress from slavery days on, written in rhythmic prose and printed with generous illustration. It notes Negroes who have contributed in many fields to America's growth.

*77. Yates, Elizabeth. *Amos Fortune, free man.* Aladdin, 1950. 181 p. $2.50. This is the true story of a young African prince who was sold into slavery in New England, bought his freedom and that of several others, and left his New Hampshire town the richer at his death.

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

GRADES 10 TO 12

FICTION

*78. Douglas, Marjory S. *Freedom river.* Scribner, 1953. 264 p. $3.00. A white Quaker youth, a Negro boy escaped from a slave ship, and an Indian lad are friends in the Florida of 1845. This adventurous story tells of their working together to bring about the Negro's escape to freedom in the Bahamas.

79. Howard, Elizabeth. *North winds blow free.* Morrow, 1949. 192 p. $2.75. This is a lively tale about a white family and their adventures in helping fugitive slaves. Love interest centers about the girl Elspeth.

*80. Hughes, Langston. *Sweet flypaper of life.* S and S, 1955. 98 p. $2.95. Paper $1.00. The varied and hopeful life of Harlem flows through this book about a grandmother who is too busy to die. The text is enhanced by beautiful photographs.

81. Means, Florence C. *Great day in the morning.* Houghton, 1946. 182 p. $2.75. Lilybelle, of the sea islands off the South Carolina coast, goes to school at Tuskegee, trains for a career in nursing, and returns with her bridegroom to work among her people at home.

82. Newell, Hope. *A cap for Mary Ellis.* Harper, 1953. 200 p. $2.50. Mary Ellis applies for nurse training in a Harlem hospital, but with a friend she is transferred to a white hospital. There the two Negro girls have an exciting time and win friends for their people.

83. Parrish, Anne. *A clouded star.* Harper, 1948. 242 p. $3.00. When they meet again in old age, Samuel Mingo recalls for Miss Amanda the story of their childhood on the dying plantation, and tells of his escape to Canada with the help of his people's "Moses," Harriet Tubman.

*84. Sumner, Cid Ricketts. *Quality.* Bobbs, 1946. 286 p. OP. Perhaps you saw the movie version of this story: Pinkie. The heroine has lived as a white person in the North. But she finds her career, and her integrity, when she comes to Mississippi and faces the challenge of being colored there.

*85. Whitney, Phyllis. *Willow Hill.* Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947. 243 p. OP. McKay, $3.00. There is anger in the community when Negroes come to live in a nearby housing project, and Val Coleman does not want to take the side of the Negroes. But her sense of fair play wins out, and with her help the school students learn to enjoy having the newcomers.

*86. Young, Jefferson. *A good man.* Bobbs, 1953. 239 p. $3.00. A simple, good tenant farmer in Mississippi aspires to paint his house white, and his frustration epitomizes the despair of all those in segregated society.

NONFICTION

*— Ansley, Delight. *The sword and the spirit.* (See Junior list.)

87. Armstrong, Louis. *Satchmo: my life in New Orleans.* Prentice-Hall, 1954. 240 p. $3.50. New Am. Lib. (no. S1245), $0.35. This is Armstrong's own engaging account of his childhood and teens in New Orleans, and his early successes as cornetist and swing artist. An earlier autobiography was Swing That Trumpet.

88. Bontemps, Arna. *Chariot in the sky.* Winston, 1951. 234 p. $2.75. Centering about the student Caleb Williams, this is actually the story of the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, and how they saved their school from bankruptcy by their concert earnings in America and abroad.

*89. Bontemps, Arna. *Story of the Negro.* Knopf, 1955. 243 p. $3.00. Starting with the African contribution to ancient civilizations, this very readable history covers the periods of slavery and freedom, in the United States and other countries. A chronology table of events important in the development of the Negro runs from 300 to 1955 A.D.

90. Bontemps, Arna. *We have tomorrow.* Houghton, 1945. 131 p. $2.75. These story-type, illustrated biographical sketches are about Negroes who have overcome special difficulties in achieving success.

*91. Boyd, William C. and Isaac Asimov. *Races and people.* Abelard, 1955. 189 p. $2.75. In clear, non-technical terms the authors explain the scientific difficulties with the concept of race, and show that the mingling of peoples has led to evolutionary progress.

92. Cunningham, Virginia. *Paul Laurence Dunbar and his song.* Dodd, 1947. 283 p. $2.75. This is a novelized biography of the great Negro poet.

*— Day, Beth. *The little professor of Piney Woods.* (See Adult list.)

93. Dreer, Herman. *American literature by Negro authors.* Macmillan, 1950. 326 p. $4.32. Intended as a text, the book contains selections of various literary types from many Negro authors, along with explanatory notes. Though it shows some lack of critical judgment, for the highschooler it is a good introduction to the field of Negro literature.

94. Feather, Leonard. *The encyclopedia of jazz.* Horizon, 1955. 360 p. $10.00. Lavishly illustrated with photographs, this book contains a historical introduction, a discussion to answer the question What is Jazz, and many biographical briefs.

95. Fuller, Edmund. *A star pointed north.* Harper, 1946. 361 p. OP. This novelized biography of Frederick Douglass gives a feeling of the hardships which Negroes faced during slavery days.

96. Graham, Shirley. *The story of Phillis Wheatley.* Messner, 1949. 176 p. $2.95. This biography, which reads like historical fiction, covers Phillis Wheatley's purchase by her Boston benefactors, the writing of her poems, and her acclaim by distinguished people of her day.

97. Graham, Shirley. *There was once a slave; the heroic story of Frederick Douglass.* Messner, 1947. 310 p. $2.95. In this vividly written biography, Frederick Douglass' escape from slavery and his life of service to the cause of freedom are given appreciative treatment.

98. Graham, Shirley. *Your most humble servant; the story of Benjamin Banneker.* Messner, 1949. 235 p. $2.95. This lively biography deals with the career of Benjamin Banneker, free Negro, best known for his work in helping plan the city of Washington, D. C.

99. Handy, William C. *Father of the blues.* Macmillan, 1941. 317 p. $5.00. This colorful autobiography, edited by Arna Bontemps, is the life story of the composer who is recognized as originator of the blues pattern in music.

*100. Henderson, Edwin B. *The Negro in sports.* Associated Pub., 1949. 507 p. $4.00. Here is the story of the rise of Negro athletes from the boxers of Revolutionary days to the professionals playing in the big leagues.

*101. Hirsh, Selma G. *The fears men live by.* Harper, 1955. 164 p. $2.75. The author shows the origin of prejudice in fear, and emphasizes people's need for love and guidance. "We need to understand ourselves and one another at the point where our private frustrations are mysteriously converted into public dangers." Specially helpful for parents and teachers.

102. Horne, Lena. *In person Lena Horne.* Greenberg, 1950. 249 p. OP. Helen Arnstein and Carlton Moss have done the actual writing for this autobiography of the famous actress and singer.

103. Hughes, Langston. *Famous Negro music makers.* Dodd, 1955. 179 p. $3.00. This well illustrated book contains new information about such musical performers as the Fisk Jubilee Singers, Bill Robinson, Marian Anderson, Lena Horne.

*104. Hughes, Langston and Arna Bontemps. *The poetry of the Negro; an anthology.* Doubleday, 1949. 429 p. $6.00. This fine collection is divided into three parts: Negro poets of the USA, Tributary poems of non-Negroes, and Poets of the Caribbean. It covers the period 1746-1949.

105. Johnson, James W. *God's trombones.* Viking, 1927. 56 p. $3.00. The author has caught the feeling of the devout early Negro preachers in these poetic versions of the "folk sermons" he remembers from his childhood.

106. Lee, Alfred McClung. *Fraternities without brotherhood: a campus report on racial and religious prejudice.* Beacon, 1955. 159 p. OP. Paper, $1.45. The author argues that "Aryanism" is the chief defect of social fraternities in American colleges, but he shows that democratic standards are making some progress.

107. Lee, Reba. *I passed for white (as told to Mary H. Bradley).* Longmans, 1955. 274 p. $3.95. Tired of discrimination, a Chicago Negro girl takes on a white identity and marries a socially prominent white man; but later she returns to her colored family. "It is a tale that should promote understanding of the irrational and agonizing quirks in the color line."

*108. Lomax, John A. and Alan. *Our singing country.* Macmillan, 1949. 410 p. $7.95. In this, the second volume of authentic American folk songs in the Archives of American Folk Songs, appear the words and music for many of the Negro spirituals, work songs, and hollers. The Library of Congress sells recordings of these songs at cost.

109. Louis, Joe. *The Joe Louis story.* Grosset, 1953. 197 p. $1.25. This is Joe Louis' own story, with editorial help by Chester L. Washington and Haskell Cohen. He covers his childhood in Alabama, his career as a boxer, and his army life, to the time of his retirement from the ring.

—— Means, Florence C. *Carver's George.* (See Junior list.)

110. Peare, Catherine O. *Mary McLeod Bethune.* Vanguard, 1951. 219 p. $3.00. Born of slave parents, Mary Bethune achieved an education for herself and founded a famous college, working always to overcome intolerance.

111. Petry, Ann. *Harriet Tubman: conductor on the Underground Railroad.* Crowell, 1955. 247 p. $2.75. In this fiction-style biography of Harriet Tubman's life and work in leading slaves to freedom in the North, chronology is carefully preserved and historical accuracy is evident.

112. President's Committee on Civil Rights. *To secure these rights.* S and S, 1947. 178 p. $1.00. This report by President Truman's committee documents our national failure to achieve complete civil rights for all, and makes specific proposals for government action. It contends that legislative and judicial action can influence public opinion toward democracy.

113. Redding, J. Saunders. *They came in chains.* Lippincott, 1950. 320 p. OP. The author uses revealing anecdotes to illustrate the story of the Negro, from the coming of the slaves to mid-twentieth century.

*114. Robinson, James H., ed. *Love of this land.* Chr. Ed. Pr., 1956. 76 p. $1.00. This small paperback summarizes the Negro's recent strides toward full democracy in such fields as education, housing, religion; it also sketches briefly his contributions to American culture.

*115. Smith, Lillian. *Killers of the dream.* Norton, 1949. 256 p. $3.75. Southerners who want to understand themselves, and others who want to understand Southerners will find in these essays a sympathetic yet perceptive portrayal of the conflict of ideals with racial discrimination. All who read it will gain new insight.

*—— Smith, Ken. *The Willie Mays story.* (See Junior list.)

116. Sprigle, Ray. *In the land of Jim Crow.* S. and S, 1949. 215 p. OP. Kimsey, $2.50. A white journalist writes of his experiences traveling through the South disguised as a Negro.

*117. Thomas, Will. *The seeking.* Wyn, 1953. 290 p. $3.50. This is the autobiographical story of a Negro's very happy integration into the life of a small community in northern Vermont.

118. Ulanov, Barry. *Duke Ellington.* Creative Age, 1946. 322 p. OP. This biography of the famous Negro band leader is illustrated with many photographs of the subject, his family, and friends.

119. Walker, Margaret. *For my people.* Yale, 1942. 58 p. $2.50. This prize-winning collection of poems (free verse and conventional), by a young college professor who represents the "new Negro," has an introduction by Stephen Vincent Benet.

120. Washington, Booker T. *Up from slavery.* Doubleday, 1953. 319 p. $3.00. Houghton, $1.96. Bantam (FB406), $0.50. This recent edition of the famous classic (first copyrighted in 1900) has clear type and a good photograph of Booker T. Washington. Though his acceptance of segregation would not be generally approved today, his emphasis upon the importance of industrial education has contributed largely to the economic growth of Negroes. There is an introduction by Jonathan Daniels.

121. White, William L. *Lost boundaries.* Harcourt, 1948. 91 p. $2.25. A Negro doctor goes to a New Hampshire practice and brings up his family as white, till his attempt to enlist in the navy requires mention of his race. In this true account, the family's reactions to the changed status form a study in sensitivities.

122. Woodson, Carter. *The story of the Negro retold.* Associated Pub., 1942. 369 p. $2.65. This is a high school text, covering "the salient facts of the history of the Negro in the United States." Good for reference; not light reading.

*123. Yates, Elizabeth. *Prudence Crandall: woman of courage.* Aladdin, 1955. 246 p. $3.00. This is the engrossing true story of a New England school teacher who risked her living and even her life to accept Negro girls into her school. The time is 1833.

*124. Young, A. S. "Doc". *Great Negro baseball stars.* Barnes, 1953. 248 p. OP. Well written in sports journalese, this meaty account covers the progress of Negroes in baseball from 1942, when Branch Rickey first scouted Negro players for the Brooklyn Dodgers, to 1952, when there were more than 150 Negro players in organized baseball.

125. Young, Dick. *Roy Campanella.* Barnes, 1952. 158 p. OP. Grosset, 1954. $1.25. A newspaper sports writer tells the life story of the Dodgers' well known catcher.

ADULT

FICTION

126. Baldwin, James. *Go tell it on the mountain.* Knopf, 1953. 303 p. $3.50. New Am. Lib. (no. 1138). $0.25. John's conversion in Harlem, at fourteen, is shown against the background of his father's religious fanaticism. Though the fact of color has its influence on the characters, this is not primarily a "race" novel.

127. Brooks, Gwendolyn. *Maud Martha.* Harper, 1953. 180 p. $2.50. The well known poet writes a novel about a sensitive, intelligent Negro girl—her growing up in Chicago, her marriage, her motherhood.

128. Creekmore, Hubert. *Chain in the heart.* Random, 1953. 401 p. OP. New Am. Lib. (no. D1156). $0.50. In this story of three generations of a Southern Negro family, the author shows their economic progress, and the intensifying strains of segregation.

129. Demby, William. *Beetlecreek.* Rinehart, 1950. 223 p. OP. After living a hermit existence as the only white person in the Negro section of a small Southern town, Bill Trapp makes friends with his neighbors. But misunderstandings lead to tragedy.

130. Dodson, Owen. *Boy at the window.* Farrar, 1951. 212 p. $2.75. In a sordid city slum, nine-year-old Coin Foreman learns the connotation of the word nigger, but after his mother's death he leaves for a happier life in the country. Vocabulary and incident make this not a book for children.

*131. Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible man.* Random, 1952. 439 p. $3.95. New Am Lib. (no. D1030). $0.50. This powerful, sometimes shocking novel deals with the inner conflict of the Negro who must pretend a servility he cannot feel. It received a national award for literary excellence.

132. Hammerstein, Oscar II. *Carmen Jones.* Knopf, 1945. 139 p. OP. For his adaptation of the famous Bizet opera, Mr. Hammerstein chose the Negro medium because, like the Spanish gypsy of the original story, the American Negro "expresses his feelings simply, honestly, and graphically, (with) rhythm in his body and music in his heart."

133. Moon, Bucklin. *Without magnolias.* Doubleday, 1949. 274 p. OP. Pocket (no. 697), $0.25. This novel about Southern Negroes shows their changing attitude—no longer a subservience toward white people, but now an independent self-respect.

134. Nathan, Leonard. *Wind like a bugle.* Macmillan, 1954. 282 p. $3.50. Set in Kansas, this novel concerns the operation of the Underground Railroad and the struggle of factions for and against slavery before the Civil War. The plot follows the adventures of the slave Little David, and the efforts

of his white benefactors to build for him a pathway to freedom. There is considerable love interest.

*135. Norway, Nevil Shute. *The chequer board.* Morrow, 1947. 380 p. OP. In this very readable novel about three men brought together in an army hospital, the author presents complex interracial situations so as to show that judgment must rest on individual worth.

136. Owens, William A. *Walking on borrowed land.* Bobbs, 1954. 304 p. $3.50. Here is a good story about a Negro school principal in Oklahoma who adjusts to a Jim Crow environment without losing his integrity and becomes a trusted leader toward better race relations.

137. Petry, Ann. *The narrows.* Houghton, 1953. 428 p. $3.95. New Am. Lib. (T1259), $0.75. Characters are well drawn in this recent novel by a noted Negro author. The New England Negro boy, Link Williams, is torn between the ambitious love of his foster-mother and the saloon-keeper's beguilements. He completes college with distinction, but meets tragedy in an unfortunate love affair.

*138. Petry, Ann. *The street.* Houghton, 1946. 435 p. $3 50. New Am Lib. (no. S1123), 1954. $0.35. In this powerful tale, the young Negro mother, Lutie Johnson, tries to cope with the problems of earning a living and keeping her integrity in a sordid New York slum.

*139. Redding, J. Saunders. *Stranger and alone.* Harcourt, 1950. 308 p. OP. This novel is a study in Uncle Tomism. The hero makes his way by following a Negro "leader" into a sycophantic relationship to the whites of his community, and finally betrays his people when they plan a demonstration at the polls.

— Seid, Ruth. See Sinclair, Jo.

— Shute, Nevil. See Norway, Nevil Shute.

140. Sinclair, Jo. *The changelings.* McGraw, 1955. 323 p. $3.75. This novel is laid in a large city in Ohio. Though the families on the street represent many national origins, the possibility that Negroes may move in brings up a problem in prejudices, which Miss Sinclair skillfully explores.

141. Walker, Mildred. *The quarry.* Harcourt, 1947. 407 p. $3.50. Easy, a runaway slave, finds refuge and a useful niche in the family of his friend Lyman, where he enters into their fortunes during the Civil War period. Though about children growing to maturity, this is written with adult vocabulary and viewpoint.

*142. Warren, Robert Penn. *Band of angels.* Random, 1955. 375 p. $3.95. New Am Lib. (D1330), $0.50. Manty has been brought up as a white person on a Southern plantation. On the death of her father she is recalled from Oberlin and scheduled to be sold as a slave. Her fight for freedom makes absorbing reading.

— Young, Jefferson, *A good man.* (See Senior list.)

NONFICTION

*143. Abrams, Charles. *Forbidden neighbors: a study of prejudice in housing.* Harper, 1955. 404 p. $5.00. Discrimination in housing aggravates many other problems in segregation because it limits communication and increases population pressures. That such residential segregation has increased explosively in America, encouraged by the political lobbying of real estate interests, is the thesis of this well documented study.

144. Allport, Gordon. W. *The nature of prejudice.* Addison, 1954. 537 p. Text ed. $5.50. Dr. Allport finds many general causes of prejudice, but notes that they become effective only as they operate in the individual personality. Hence, he says, our best hope for developing tolerance lies in education. This is a basic text for understanding the psychological causes of discrimination.

145. Anderson, Marian. *My Lord, what a morning.* Viking, 1956. $5.00. This modest autobiography by the great contralto shows no bitterness, despite the humiliations and discriminations she experienced as a Negro; and it points with optimism to improved race relations in America.

146. Aptheker, Herbert, ed. *A documentary history of the Negro people in the United States.* Citadel, 1951. 928 p. OP. As source materials for American Negro history, the editor has assembled documents written by Negroes of the periods concerned. Chapters cover the periods from Revolutionary to early twentieth century. These original papers show from earliest days a strong disposition on the part of Negroes to assert their right to freedom and respect, an attitude which has been largely concealed by the writing of history in terms of the white man's viewpoint.

147. Ashley Montagu, M. F. *Man's most dangerous myth; the fallacy of race.* Harper, 1952. 281 p. $5.00. This is the third edition of a classic study. Dr. Ashley Montagu shows that the problem of race is essentially a social one, and prejudice a display of aggressiveness. He rests his hope for solution of the "race problem" on wiser educational method. The book is heavily documented, for serious study.

*148. Ashmore, Harry S. *The Negro and the schools.* U. of N. C., 1954. 228 p. $2.75. Paper, $1.50. This impartial and analytical account of the effect of segregation upon the schools of the South was completed just before the May 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

149. Barton, Rebecca Chalmers. *Witnesses for freedom.* Harper, 1948. 294 p. OP. In these critical evaluations of selected Negro autobiographical writings, Up from Slavery onward, the author has presented the increasing protests of Negroes against discriminatory treatment.

*150. Benedict, Ruth and Gene Weltfish. *In Henry's backyard.* Abelard, 1948. $2.00. In animated-cartoon pictures and in language simplified for the semi-literate adult, this small book brings home the truth about the race myth.

151. Bontemps, Arna and Jack Conroy. *They seek a city.* Doubleday, 1945. 266 p. OP. This book tells the story of the Negro migration northward, from the days of the Underground Railroad to the period when Negroes took their place in Northern industry.

*152. Botkin, Benjamin A., ed. *Lay my burden down; a folk history of slavery.* U. of Chicago, 1945. 269 p. $3.50. These colorful stories from their own lives were narrated to Federal Writers Project workers by surviving ex-slaves.

153. Brooks, Gwendolyn. *A street in Bronzeville.* Harper, 1945. 57 p. $2.00. Various Negro types appear in these brief vignettes of poetry by a talented Negro writer.

154. Brown, Ina C. *Race relations in a democracy.* Harper, 1949. 205 p. $3.00. "Our failure to treat Negroes as persons is democracy's number one failure at home, and it is one of the nation's major embarrassments abroad." The book shows the direction of progress toward racial democracy; it is encouraging to compare this 1949 record with the present situation.

155. Brown, Ina C. *The story of the American Negro.* Friendship, 1950. 212 p. Paper $1.50. Aiming to show "the highlights rather than the details of the Negro's life in the United States," the author presents her story as one about interesting and significant human beings "rather than in terms of a race problem."

156. Brown, Sterling A. and others, eds. *The Negro caravan.* Dryden, 1941. 1082 p. $3.50. Citadel, $3.50. The editor states three purposes: "To present artistically valid writings by American Negro authors, to present a truthful mosaic of Negro character and experience in America, and to collect key literary works that have influenced the thinking of American Negroes." He quotes many early writers and some fairly recent ones.

157. Buckler, Helen. *Doctor Dan, pioneer in American surgery.* Little, 1954. 381 p. $5.00. This is the inspiring story of the Negro doctor, Daniel Hale Williams, who was the first surgeon to operate successfully on the human heart.

*158. Butcher, Margaret Just. *The Negro in American culture.* Knopf, 1956. 294 p. $4.50. In this compendium, based on materials gathered by Alain Locke before his death, Mrs. Butcher shows to what extent Negro musical, artistic, and literary expressions have entered into the American culture to enrich it, and indicates how much greater this Negro contribution can be when full participation becomes possible.

*159. Clark, Kenneth B. *Prejudice and your child.* Beacon, 1955. 151 p. $2.50. Dr. Clark examines the causes of prejudice, and shows its effect in producing conflict harmful to both white and colored children. Recommended especially for parents.

160. Connelly, Marc. *The green pastures; a fable.* Farrar, 1929. 173 p. OP. Rinehart, 1935. $2.75. This is the text of the famous play as it was used for the first New York production in 1930. It is the early Negro preacher's version of the story of God's effort to help man to virtue, through Noah, Moses, and finally Jesus.

161. Cook, Lloyd, ed. *College programs in intergroup relations.* A.C.E., 1950. 365 p. $3.75. Twenty-four teachers colleges participated in experimental programs in human relations during the years covered by this study, 1945-1949. The book summarizes each college project and draws general conclusions about effective techniques.

162. Cook, Lloyd, ed. *Toward better human relations.* Wayne, 1952. 121 p. Paper $2.50. This volume contains the conclusions of prominent psychologists and educators concerning the hope in group dynamics. It is a series of the Lectures in Human Relations delivered at Wayne University.

*163. Cook, Lloyd A. and Elaine F. *Intergroup education.* McGraw, 1954. 384 p. $5.50. Addressed primarily to teachers, this textbook has valuable information and help for all who wish to bring about greater democracy in human relations. Here are specific methods to use and the results to be expected.

164. Cook, Lloyd A. and Elaine F. *A sociological approach to education.* McGraw, 1950. 506 p. $6.00. Though this college text in sociology is not confined to the Negro problem, it presents important helps for teachers and others interested in using group dynamics for improving race relations.

*165. Day, Beth. *The little professor of Piney Woods.* Messner, 1955. 192 p. $2.95. (Condensations in Ladies' Home Journal for January 1956 and Reader's Digest for May 1956) Brought up in comfort in Missouri, Professor Jones went to rural Mississippi to found a school for the least privileged Negroes. His work has won wide acclaim; you may have heard it reviewed on the TV program This is Your Life.

166. Day, Helen C. *Color, ebony.* Sheed, 1951. 182 p. $2.25. This is the strongly spiritual autobiography of a Negro woman who finds her vocation in the Roman Catholic church. Her story covers a childhood in the South and a nursing career and long illness in New York.

167. Dean, John P. and Alex Rosen. *A manual of intergroup relations.* U. of Chicago, 1955. 194 p. $3.75. Text ed., 2.95. In a series of 27 "propositions," the authors set down the practical procedures which have resulted in improved intergroup relations, as developed in a Cornell study. The bibliography mentions several useful pamphlets on the subject.

168. Deutsch, Morton and Mary Evans Collins. *Interracial housing; a psychological evaluation of a social experiment.* U. of Minn., 1951. 173 p. OP. Studying interracial housing projects in New York and New Jersey, the authors find better intergroup relations in the one where Negro and white live side by side than in that where they occupy separate sections.

169. DuBois, W. E. Burghardt. *Black Reconstruction.* Harcourt. 750 p. OP. Saifer, 1952 (reprint). $9.00. Contents and viewpoint of Dr. DuBois' monumental study are indicated by the subtitle—"An essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880."

170. Eakin, Mildred M. and Frank. *Sunday school fights prejudice.* Macmillan, 1953. 153 p. $2.75. Church and Sunday school workers will find helpful guidance in this study of the race tolerance theme as it appears in materials prepared for use in Sunday schools.

*171. Felton, Ralph A. *Go down, Moses; a study of 21 successful Negro rural pastors.* Drew, 1952. 95 p. $.40. In this illuminating paperback the author tells the stories of his 21 subjects and then indicates the common factors in their success: their living and working in the community, their practical efforts to increase Negro suffrage and promote education and land ownership, etc.

172. Felton, Ralph A. *These my brethren; a study of 570 Negro churches and 1542 Negro homes in the rural South.* Drew, 1950. 102 p. $.40. Though these carefully assembled statistics portray a life of deprivation in the rural Negro homes, the point is made that relief can best come from guidance in using available resources. The study of the churches reveals considerable social work among the membership, but a deplorable lack of training among both pastors and lay leaders, intensified by isolation from white groups.

173. Fisher, Miles M. *Negro slave songs in the United States.* Cornell, 1953. 223 p. $4.00. More than just the desire to escape their hard circumstances appears in the slave songs, says the writer. The thinking and feeling of the slaves is expressed through the songs, in terms the white world had not previously tried to understand.

174. Foley, Albert S. S. J. *Bishop Healy: the beloved outcaste.* Farrar, 1954. 243 p. $3.50. This is the true story of a slave boy who rose to become Roman Catholic bishop of the Diocese of Maine and Assistant to the Papal Throne.

175. Foley, Albert S. *God's men of color; the Catholic priests of the United States 1854-1954.* Farrar, 1955. 322 p. $4.50. Father Foley has written here the biographies of many individual Negro priests of the Roman church, and demonstrated that the church does not discriminate by race.

176. Forten, Charlotte L. *The journal of Charlotte L. Forten.* Dryden, 1953. 244 p. OP. A well educated, sensitive, free Negro woman writes of her day-to-day activities from May 1854 to May 1864, special interest attaching to the period when she taught newly freed slaves in the sea islands of south Georgia. Introduction and notes are by Ray Allen Billington.

177. Franklin, John Hope. *From slavery to freedom; a history of American Negroes.* Knopf, 1947. 622 p. $5.00. This scholarly work is a social history, "tracing the interaction of the Negro and the American environment." To the serious student of Negro history, the extensive bibliographical notes will be of special interest.

178. Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro in the United States.* Macmillan, 1949. 767 p. $8.00; text ed. $6.50. This authoritative history, from the viewpoint of a sociologist, covers the story of the Negro in this country to the period just before the 1950's. It is an important source book on the Negro as an ethnic group.

179. Frazier, E. Franklin. *Negro youth at the crossways; their personality development in the middle states.* A.C.E., 1940. 294 p. $2.25. The sociologist examines the experiences of Negro youth in Washington, D.C., and Louisville, Ky., in the effort to determine the effect of their status upon their personalities. The book furnishes insight into the problems which these two communities faced when they undertook integration of their schools.

*180. Furnas, J. C. *Goodbye to Uncle Tom.* Sloane, 1955. 435 p. $6.00. Dealing with both the slavery period and the present, the author undertakes to demolish stereotypes—of the white Southerner and the Negro, then and now. The book is well documented.

181. Gallagher, Buell G. *Color and conscience; the irrepressible conflict.* Harper, 1946. 232 p. OP. The writer contends that the Christian cannot meet the moral problem of race prejudice by a separate-but-equal "race parallelism," but must practice full brotherhood.

*182. Ginzberg, Eli, and others. *The Negro potential.* Columbia, 1956. 144 p. $3.00. The thesis of this recent, well documented study is that our fifteen million Negroes can realize their potential only through full integration, and that enlightened self interest requires our country to grant them all the rights of citizenship.

*183. Goodman, Mary Ellen. *Race awareness in young children.* Addison, 1952. 280 p. OP. In this excellent study of "the thoughts and feelings of young children," the sociologist-anthropologist author notes the early existence of prejudices and points out ways of combatting them.

*184. Goodwin, Ruby B. *It's good to be black.* Doubleday, 1953. 256 p. $3.50. Growing up in the coal-mining area of southern Illinois, Ruby Goodwin knows trouble. But she learns both racial pride and tolerance, and so has spiritual understanding for her adult contacts with prejudice. This is her autobiography.

185. Guzman, Jessie Parkhurst, ed. *1952 Negro Yearbook: a review of events affecting Negro life.* Wise, 1952. 424 p. $4.00. The first Negro Yearbook was published in 1912, financed by a money gift from Booker T. Washington. This is the eleventh volume in the series. It contains a wide variety of "facts about Negro life and the participation of Negroes in American life," chiefly in 1951 or the period 1947-1951.

186. Halsey, Margaret. *Color blind.* S. and S., 1946. 163 p. OP. In charge of hostesses at the Stage Door Canteen in New York during World War II, Miss Halsey helped enforce a no-discrimination policy which proved to her that "the time for full racial equality is now." She writes about the experience with humor and with democratic conviction.

187. Handy, William C. *A treasury of the blues.* Boni, 1949. 258 p. OP. The first section of the book contains a historical and critical account of the development of the songs called blues. This is followed by the words and music for many of the blues songs. The book is edited by Arna Bontemps.

188. Helm, MacKinley. *Angel Mo' and her son Roland Hayes.* Little, 1942. 289 p. OP. The author impersonates the great singer in this tale of Roland Hayes' boyhood in Georgia, his work with the Fisk Jubilee singers, and his rise to fame in Europe and America.

*189. Hill, Herbert and Jack Greenberg. *Citizen's guide to desegregation.* Beacon, 1955. 185 p. $2.50; paper 1.45. This excellent recent study contains a comprehensive survey of the Negro's social and political background since Reconstruction and a detailed record of his legal status up to 1955.

190. Hiller, Margaret, ed., Dorothy Sabistan, field worker. *Toward better race relations.* Woman's Press, 1949. 190 p. OP. Following a study of the interracial practices of the YWCA from 1940, that organization voted unanimously in 1946 to accept an Interracial Charter which called for "the inclusion of Negro women and girls in the main stream of Association life." This study, financed in part by the Rosenwald fund, details the effort to accomplish the above purpose.

*—— Hirsh, Selma G. *The fears men live by.* (See Senior list.)

*191. Hope, J. *Negro employment in three southern plants of International Harvester Company.* Nat. Planning, 1953. 143 p. OP. This is case study Number 1 in a series by the Association's Committee on the South. It is the heartening account of successful application to three Southern-oriented cities of the firm's "mandatory fair employment policy."

192. Hughes, Langston. *Montage for a dream deferred.* Holt, 1951. 75 p. OP. By some this volume is rated the best of Langston Hughes' poetry. The setting is contemporary Harlem, and the poems have the strong beat of jazz music.

*193. Hughes, Langston. *Simple speaks his mind.* S. and S., 1950. 231 p. $1.95. Over his beer, Simple philosophizes about life in Harlem and in Negro America. The logic in these deceptively light essays is intriguing and convincing. Some may want to continue with Simple Takes a Wife (S. and S., 1953, $1.95).

194. Isaacs, Edith J. *The Negro in the American theater.* Theater Arts, 1947. 143 p. $3.00. This generously illustrated book covers the accomplishments of Negroes "as performers, playwrights, and composers from the early 1800's to the present." The story is one of progress.

195. Johnson, Charles S. and Associates. *Into the main stream; a survey of best practices in race relations in the South.* U. of N. Car., 1947. 355 p. $1.00. Here are outlined many ways in which the South has been moving toward better understanding and cooperation between the races. The specific practices cited here, by the late president of Fisk University and his associates, will be rich in suggestions for those who are seeking to improve race relations in their communities.

196. Johnson, James W. and Rosamond. *The books of American Negro spirituals.* Viking, 1940. 376 p. $4.95. With a deeply appreciative introduction by James W. Johnson, here are collected some sixty of the authentic Negro spirituals, with music arranged by his brother Rosamond. This is a reprinting in one volume of The Book of American Negro Spirituals, 1925, and The Second Book of American Negro Spirituals, 1926.

197. Johnston, Ruby F. *The development of Negro religion.* Phil. Lib., 1954. 202 p. OP. Subtitled "A condensed history of Negro religion," this study concludes that "a distinct flavor (has) developed from the social background . . . of a transplanted people . . . in the American cultural setting."

198. Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey. *The mark of oppression; a psychological study of the American Negro.* Norton, 1951. 396 p. OP. The book describes "the personality (the Negro) acquired while being obliged to adapt to difficult social conditions," and develops the thesis that discrimination creates psychological problems for the Negro since it tends to lower his self-esteem. Only specialists in the psychology of behavior, however, are likely to cope willingly with the vocabulary of the text.

199. Kinzer, R. H. and Edward Sagarin. *The Negro in American business.* Greenberg, 1950. 220 p. OP. The authors explore the conflict between separatism and integration, and examine business enterprise as a factor in racial progress.

200. LaFarge, John, S. J. *The race question and the Negro.* Longmans, 1944. 302 p. OP. Using statistics for the time of writing, the author argues for application of Christian principles against racial prejudices, and shows the effort the Catholic church was then making toward interracial justice.

201. Loescher, Frank S. *The Protestant church and the Negro; a pattern of segregation.* Assn. Pr., 1948. 159 p. OP. Of about 8 million Protestant Negroes, the author found about 7½ million in separate Negro denominations; and he found Protestant educational institutions also largely segregated. He notes, however, a growing number of persons who seek to change the picture.

202. Logan, Rayford W. *The Negro in American life and thought: the nadir, 1877-1901.* Dial, 1954. 380 p. $5.00. This is the first thoroughgoing treatment of the period following Reconstruction, when second class citizenship for Negroes became generally accepted. The student of this period in history will want to compare Dr. Logan's volume with Professor Woodward's The Strange Career of Jim Crow (See reference number 260).

203. Lumpkin, Katherine D. *The making of a Southerner.* Knopf, 1947. 247 p. OP. Kimsey, $3.00. A Southerner who has grown beyond her instilled beliefs recalls the traditions and tabus of the Southern way of life. "She makes intelligible the process of educating a Southern woman into regarding Negroes as real human beings."

*204. MacIver, Robert M. *The more perfect union; a program for the control of intergroup discrimination in the United States.* Macmillan, 1948. 311 p. OP. In this provocative volume, the author examines relationships between cultural groups and finds them basic to the functioning of our democracy. He urges emphasis on the national good over the group good, and calls for work to end discriminatory practices.

205. McKay, Claude. *Selected poems of Claude McKay.* Bookman, 1953. 112 p. OP. Twayne, $2.75. Before his death in 1948, the celebrated Negro poet made this selection from among his writings. Settings of the poems range from Jamaica to Harlem.

206. McKinney, Richard I. *Religion in higher education among Negroes.* Yale, 1945. 161 p. $3.00. After examining the extent and the effectiveness of religious instruction in selected Negro colleges, the author recommends more financial support for this effort and increased opportunity for religious expression by the students.

207. Mays, Benjamin E. and Joseph W. Nicholson. *The Negro's church.* ISRR, 1933. 321 p. OP. After a historical introduction, the book examines such aspects as the ministry, preaching, membership, church buildings, fellowship, financing. Findings are based on a survey of 609 urban and 185 rural Negro churches of both North and South. A revealing study for its decade.

208. Moon, Bucklin. *Primer for white folks.* Doubleday, 1945. 491 p. OP. In sections headed "Heritage," "Black and white mores," and "Today and tomorrow," Mr. Moon has collected writings by various authors in an attempt "to present a general picture of the Negro . . . and what he really wants." He aims at helping white people get rid of their stereotypes about Negroes.

*209. Murray, Pauli, comp. *States' laws on race and color.* Lit. Hdq., 1951. 746 p. $4.00. The extent to which racial practices are controlled by law, and the range of variation from requirements for segregation to protection of civil rights, are seen in this 1950 compilation, a project of the Methodist church, Woman's Division of Christian Service. There is a 1955 supplement in a separate volume, compiled by Verge Lake and Pauli Murray.

*210. Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American dilemma; the Negro problem and modern democracy.* Harper, 1944. 1483 p. (2 vols). $8.00; text ed. 6.50. In this monumental work, Dr. Myrdal points out and documents the struggle between American ideals of democracy and the practice of racial discrimination. His analysis covers all phases of Negro life. (See also number 227.)

211. Nelson, Dennis D. *Integration of the Negro into the U. S. Navy.* Farrar, 1951. 238 p. $4.00. Starting before discrimination had appeared in the navy, the book shows the growth of segregation, and then the changeover to integration for a more efficient use of manpower.

*212. Nelson, William S., ed. *The Christian way in race relations.* Harper, 1948. 256 p. OP. The Institute of Religion at Howard University did the planning for this challenging volume about the Christian's responsibility in the field of race relations.

213. Nichols, Lee. *Breakthrough on the color front.* Random, 1954. 350 p. $3.50. This is the story of integration in the armed forces after World War II and the Korean War. By implementing its desegregation policy promptly and firmly, the army has achieved a working racial democracy.

214. Northrup, Herbert R. *Organized labor and the Negro.* Harper, 1944. 312 p. $3.50. Based on field research from 1940 to 1943, this book classifies unions according to their policies toward admitting Negroes. The author finds some progress in removing color bars, but in general the reflection of locally prevailing attitudes.

215. Nye, Russel B. *William Lloyd Garrison and the humanitarian reformers.* Little, 1955. 215 p. $3.50. In this biography of the great abolitionist, the author deals chiefly with the anti-slavery movement, but also with the general reform measures in which Garrison participated.

*216. Ottley, Roi. *Black odyssey; the story of the Negro in America.* Scribner, 1948. 340 p. $3.50. Covering the period from 1619 to 1945, the author uses anecdotes and biographical sketches to illustrate the history of the American Negro, and particularly the social and economic factors which have affected his status.

217. Ottley, Roi. *Lonely warrior.* Regnery, 1955. 381 p. $4.75. This life story of Robert S. Abbott, founder of The Chicago Defender, is "a biography of a people," since it includes a survey of racial progress as seen from a Negro newspaper office.

218. Ottley, Roi. *New world a-comin'; inside black America.* Houghton, 1943. 347 p. OP. This is the intimate story of Harlem, center of the "Negro Renaissance." It demonstrates the growing demand by Negroes for full citizenship.

219. Ovington, Mary White. *The walls came tumbling down.* Harcourt, 1947. 307 p. OP. "Born of a family of culture and means, she threw herself into the most difficult social problem of America . . . the Negro question." Through her story of social work in Harlem, and of the founding and early years of the NAACP, can be discerned her courage and vision, as well as the concern many white persons have felt about racial injustice.

220. Park, Robert Ezra. *Race and culture.* Free, 1950. 403 p. $5.00. In these collected writings of Chicago University's well known sociology professor, race relations are considered in philosophical terms.

*221. Perlo, Victor. *The Negro in Southern agriculture.* Int. Pubs., 1954. 123 p. $1.75; paper 1.00. The author contends that the extension of mechanized agriculture and of absentee ownership in the South have increased the disadvantage of Negro farmers there. He says improvement can come only by action on a national scale, e.g. by national labor organizations, protection of voting rights, etc.

222. Pierce, Joseph A. *Negro business and business education.* Harper, 1947. 309 p. OP. This study, under the direction of Atlanta University and the National Urban League, covers the period from 1944 to 1946; it deals with both the status of Negro business and the growth of business education in Negro colleges.

223. Pipes, William H. *Say Amen, brother! Old-time Negro preaching; a study in American frustration.* William-F., 1951. 210 p. OP. Using the recordings of seven sermons preached in Macon County, Georgia, the author analyzes the appeal and notes the need for improved leadership. This, he declares, must come from financially independent Negroes and from friendly white persons.

224. Porter, James A. *Modern Negro art.* Dryden, 1943. 272 p. OP. Here is the record of Negro achievements in the graphic arts from pre-Civil War days. There are seventy or more illustrations.

225. Quarles, Benjamin. *Frederick Douglass.* Associated Pub., 1948. 350 p. $4.00. This is a detailed account of the life of the great Negro abolitionist, and a critical evaluation of his work. Born in slavery, Douglass became a leading orator and writer of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.

226. Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the Civil War.* Little, 1953. 379 p. $5.00. Mr. Quarles' historical account is probably the first detailed study of the color line in the Civil War period.

*227. Record, Wilson. *The Negro and the Communist party.* U. of N. C., 1951. 315 p. $3.50. Though the endorsement of such persons as J. Edgar Hoover and Eric Johnston establish that the NAACP is not Communistic, the charge of subversion has been made and repeated. This book should allay the fear. The Communists have indeed sought to seize upon legitimate grievances to woo the Negro, but the fact is carefully documented that "red and black (have been) unblending colors."

228. Redding, J. Saunders. *An American in India.* Bobbs, 1954. 277 p. OP. As a special envoy to India, Mr. Redding defends the American concept of democracy against Indian criticisms of the American treatment of minorities. (This is secondary to his chief purpose, to report to the government on the stresses within India and their causes.)

*229. Redding, J. Saunders. *On being Negro in America.* Bobbs, 1951. 156 p. OP. These autobiographical essays discuss the difficulties encountered by a Negro when he tries to escape racial considerations and be simply human. This is a book for white persons to ponder.

230. Richardson, Harry V. *Dark glory; a picture of the church among Negroes in the rural South.* Friendship, 1947. 209 p. OP. The Negro church, "the greatest institutional development of Negroes in America," has deserved more help than the national church organizations have given it, the author declares. This interesting history is accompanied by a bibliography which should be of value to colored and white ministers.

231. Robinson, Bradley. *Dark companion.* McBride, 1947. 266 p. OP. This biography of Matthew Henson, Negro friend and assistant to Admiral Peary, tells of the important part he played in the discovery of the North Pole, and the meagerness of the recognition he received.

*232. Robinson, James H. *Road without turning.* Farrar, 1950. 312 p. $3.00. This is the stirring autobiography of a man who rose from a Southern Negro ghetto to become minister of a great interracial church in New York.

233. Robinson, James H. *Tomorrow is today.* Chr. Ed. Pr., 1954. 127 p. $2.00. Journeying 42,000 miles for the Presbyterian church, the Reverend Robinson sought ways for American youth to help the youth of Asia and Africa. He reports the experience, and calls for better communication between peoples and a stronger American effort to show democracy working at home.

*234. Rose, Arnold M. *The Negro in America.* Harper, 1948. 325 p. $4.50. Beacon, 1956. $1.45. This digest of the heavily documented American Dilemma is recommended by Gunnar Myrdal as "a faithful condensation, expertly done and true to the spirit of the whole undertaking." It contains also a resume of developments in race relations after 1943.

235. Rose, Arnold M. *Sociology, the study of human relations.* Knopf, 1956. 589 p. $8.00. Text ed. $6.00. For those who left school before "human relations" became a recognized branch of study, this recent college text, though rather heavy going, can be illuminating. Try especially chapter 8 on "Caste and Classes," chapter 11 on "Social Change," and chapter 16 on "Social Conflict and its Accommodation."

236. Rose, Arnold M., ed. *Race prejudice and discrimination; readings in intergroup relations in the United States.* Knopf, 1951. 605 p. Text ed. $5.00. Intended as a source book for college courses in the subject, this book quotes many writings which show interracial attitudes. It concerns Negroes only in part.

*237. Rowan, Carl. *South of freedom.* Knopf, 1952. 270 p. OP. After achieving success as a journalist in Minnesota, Mr. Rowan returns to the South to report on conditions among Negroes there. His absorbing story pulls no punches, and accounts for Negro frustration within the pattern of segregation.

*238. Ruchames, Louis. *Race, jobs, and politics: the story of the FEPC.* Columbia, 1953. 255 p. $3.75. This well written study covers the World Wars I and II experience with government enforcement of non-discrimination in industry, the development of state FEPC programs, and the continuing effort to obtain enactment of a permanent federal fair employment practices law.

239. Saenger, Gerhart. *The social psychology of prejudice.* Harper, 1953. 304 p. $4.00. The educated general reader who wishes to make a serious study of the subject will find this a meaty volume. The book explores the causes and nature of prejudice, its effects upon the individual and society, and methods of working for its elimination.

240. Simpson, George E. and J. Milton Yinger. *Racial and cultural minorities; an analysis of prejudice and discrimination.* Harper, 1953. 773 p. $6.00. In this college text the subject of racial prejudice receives comprehensive treatment and is related to the whole area of the science of human behavior.

*-- Smith, Lillian. *Killers of the dream.* (See Senior list.)

241. Smith, Lillian. *Now is the time.* Viking, 1955. 126 p. $2.00. Dell (44). $0.25. The author, a white Southerner widely known for her best seller Strange Fruit, argues for good faith compliance with the Supreme Court school decision, especially in the light of our reputation in Asia and Africa.

*242. Southall, Sara E. *Industry's unfinished business; achieving sound industrial relations and fair employment.* Harper, 1950. 171 p. $2.50. As a member of the industrial relations staff of the International Harvester Company, a firm in the forefront in fair employment practices, Miss Southall brings excellent background to her statement of the case for non-discrimination in employment in the mass production industries.

243. Spencer, Samuel R., Jr. *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's place in American life.* Little, 1955. 212 p. $3.50. This is a mature study of Booker T. Washington's life and work in relation to his period.

244. Stendler, Celia B. and William E. Martin. *Intergroup education in kindergarten and primary grades.* Macmillan, 1953. 151 p. $2.75. Here are valuable insights for teacher or parent who wants help in training young children for acceptance of individual differences.

245. Taba, Hilda, Elizabeth Brady, and John T. Robinson. *Intergroup education in public schools.* A. C. E., 1952. 337 p. $4.00. Aiming to help teachers with problems of intergroup relations, the book reports a project by the American Council on Education for developing methods of "fostering intergroup understanding." This is one of a series.

246. Tarry, Ellen. *Third door; the autobiography of an American Negro woman.* McKay, 1955. 304 p. $3.50. Miss Tarry's autobiography recounts her experiences in New York and Alabama, her social work, and her writing. The tale is restrained and optimistic, but the strain of living in segregation is apparent.

247. Taylor, Julius, ed. *The Negro in science.* Morgan S. C., 1955. 192 p. $3.50. Aiming "to picture the present status of the Negro in science and to dramatize (his) potential," the author surveyed the interest in pure science which exists among Negroes now working as scientists (he found most of them to be teachers), and reproduced representative scientific papers. The book outlines facilities available to Negroes in research and briefs the biographies of several Negro research scientists.

*-- Thomas, Will. *The seeking.* (See Senior list.)

248. Thurman, Howard. *Deep river.* Harper, 1955. 93 p. $2.00. This small volume is a warm and penetrating study of the religious experience which is the background for some of the Negro spirituals.

249. Thurman, Howard. *The Negro spiritual speaks of life and death.* Harper, 1947. 56 p. $1.00. In this small essay, the Harvard University Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man for 1947, Dr. Thurman searches out the meanings of some of the Negro spirituals.

250. Tipton, James H. *Community in crisis; the elimination of segregation from a public school system.* T. C., 1953. 180 p. $3.75. The Midwest city of this true account accomplished desegregation in 1947. Here are the problems met and the solutions worked out during the preceding two years of racial strife.

*251. Trager, Helen G. and Marian R. Yarrow. *They learn what they live; prejudice in young children.* Harper, 1952. 392 p. $4.50. The thoughtful reader will be dismayed at learning from this book how early children pick up prejudices. The author points out ways in which schools and teachers can combat these stereotypes.

*252. Warren, Robert Penn. *Segregation: the inner conflict in the South.* Random, 1956. 66 p. $1.95. Reporting on a recent trip through the South, of which he is native, Mr. Warren concludes that the problem is not so much "to live with the Negro" as "to live with ourselves." Education for desegregation must be a "calculated" process, taking place within the process of desegregation itself.

253. Weaver, Robert C. *The Negro ghetto.* Harcourt, 1948. 404 p. OP. Mr. Weaver finds that residential segregation in the North involves serious economic and social cost, and he proposes as solution the setting of "occupancy standards."

254. Weaver, Robert C. *Negro labor, a national problem.* Harcourt, 1946. 329 p. OP. Dealing chiefly with the period 1942-1945, the author shows how war production needs and government policy improved the industrial opportunity of Negroes, even though many instances of friction occurred.

*255. Wentzel, Fred D. *An epistle to white Christians.* Chr. Ed. Pr., 1948. 96 p. $1.60. Written in almost Biblical language, this little series of essays on the meaning of brotherhood between Negro and white is a challenge to all Christians. It could form the basis for a series of significant church services.

*256. White, Walter F. *How far the promised land.* Viking, 1955. 244 p. $3.50. This "balance sheet on the status of the American Negro in 1955" covers recent progress in fields of suffrage, military service, industry, housing, health, religion, the press, etc.

257. White, Walter F. *A man called White: the autobiography of Walter F. White.* Viking, 1948. 382 p. $3.75. This narrative covers not only Walter White's own exciting life as Negro investigator of lynchings and as executive secretary of the NAACP, but also the general story of Negro developments from 1906.

-- White, William L. *Lost Boundaries.* (See Senior list.)

*258. Williams, Robin M. and Margaret W. Ryan. *Schools in transition; community experiences in desegregation.* U. of N. C., 1954. 272 p. $3.00. Here are the experiences of twenty-four communities which have moved from segregated school systems toward integration. The book states ten principles to consider in effecting such a change.

259. Woodson, Carter G. *The history of the Negro church.* Associated Pub., 1945. 322 p. $3.25. This authoritative record by the eminent Negro historian was first printed in 1921, and is brought up to 1945 in this second edition.

*260. Woodward, Comer Vann. *The strange career of Jim Crow.* Oxford, 1955. 155 p. $2.50. In these lectures, delivered at the University of Virginia, Professor Woodward makes it clear that the pattern of segregation was developed in the period 1895 to 1910 rather than earlier, and that Southerners both white and colored are doing more than is generally recognized toward achieving integration today.

SOME OTHER HELPFUL MATERIALS

PAMPHLETS

From many excellent pamphlets about race relations, we have selected the following for special mention. Where price is not indicated, single copies are probably free.

1. Alpenfels, Ethel. *Sense and nonsense about race.* Friendship, 1951. $.25. Little-known facts about the early Negro civilization introduce this examination of the concept of race.

2. American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3937 Chestnut Street, Phila. 4. *The Annals,* vol. 304, March 1956. *Racial desegregation and integration.* $2.00. This is a scholarly overview of the problems and progress in implementation of the Supreme Court's school decision.

3. American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. *Reading ladders for human relations,* 1955. $1.75. These graded brief reviews of stories about many minority groups are accompanied by teaching suggestions for school use.

4. American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. Twelfth St., Phila. 7. *Merit employment; why and how,* 1956. $.10. The pamphlet contains evidence that employment by merit is practicable, and questions and answers on how to introduce it successfully.

5. Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. *The Negro in postwar America,* by Arnold Rose. 1950. 34 p., $0.25. This is a capsule American Dilemma, with added discussion of the progress since World War II toward ending discrimination.

*6. Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. *Program service; programmatic and reference materials relating to desegregation.* Graphics, books, films, filmstrips, and recordings are identified for three school levels, for teacher education, and for study groups and seminars.

*7. Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. *Resource units on intergroup relations; desegregation in public schools.* Here are specific suggestions for developing such units—content, materials, pupil and teacher activities, etc., with names of appropriate pamphlets, films, and recordings.

8. Mays, Benjamin E. *Seeking to be Christian in race relations.* Friendship, 1952. $0.25. Professional and lay church workers will find ways to use this discussion by a famous Negro clergyman and educator.

9. National Community Relations Advisory Council, 9 East 38th St., New York 16. *A guide to changing neighborhoods,* 1956. 72 p. $0.25. This practical manual discusses the problems created or imagined when minorities enter a neighborhood, and advises on action toward integration of the new elements. It contains also a bibliography of other literature and audio-visual materials on the subject.

10. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 16. *Books-for-Brotherhood.* These leaflets, free, issued annually, report significant new books with the brotherhood theme. Ask for back copies also. Expect to pay costs when ordering in quantity.

*11. Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association. *Integration: promise, process, problems.* The Hemphill Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1952. 79 p. The author examines the meanings of such words as "integrate," "equalize," and points out the pitfalls in the way of true racial equality. She stresses the need to face the situation as it is and move on from there, and outlines a ten-point plan for positive action.

12. Southern Regional Council, Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta 3. *Next steps in the South; answers to current questions.* 1956. Here are brief, clear answers to questions related to the South's acceptance of the school decision, plus suggestions for individual and group action toward compliance.

13. UAW-CIO Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14. *Souls don't have color.* In May 1953, Bishop Waters ordered two neighboring rural churches in North Carolina, one white and one Negro, to consolidate. This is the story of that union and of efforts by other churches to end segregation.

14. Unesco, Paris. (Order through International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27.) *The roots of prejudice; the race question in modern science.* 1951. $0.25. Here is a discussion of the psychology of prejudice, along with eight directions in which to work toward overcoming discrimination.

*15. Walker, Harry J. *The Negro in American life.* Oxford, 1954. 92 p. $0.70. The author sketches the historical perspective and summarizes the recent situation in housing, economic status, religion, health, crime, etc. There are study questions directed to high school and college students. Good for church youth groups.

STUDY KIT

The National Education Association, the American Teachers Association, and the Office of Education have jointly sponsored the preparation of two collections called Materials on Intergroup Education—one a "Kit for teacher-educators," the other a "Packet of materials and leaders' guide" for adult lay-community groups. This is a revision of an older kit which contained both books and pamphlets. The kits may be borrowed for three to six weeks; order from Mr. R. B. Marston, Director of Membership, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW, Washington, D. C.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

Published by the Southern Regional Council at PO Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn., this monthly magazine ($2.00 a year) provides a "factual and objective" summary of state-by-state action in relation to the Supreme Court decision, plus some general summaries of the school and race relations situation in the South. Written by reporters employed by newspapers in the areas covered, it does not editorialize.

NEGRO MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 Ninth Street NW, Washington, D. C., publishes a scholarly quarterly, Journal of Negro History; and a monthly (except July and August) Negro History Bulletin, which contains current materials for use of teachers and students. The Johnson Publishing Company, 1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 16, puts out four Negro magazines, of which the best known is Ebony, rather similar to Life, in many places available on the newsstands. The National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, publishes Opportunity, a magazine devoted especially to employment and economic matters as they concern Negroes. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 W. 40th Street, New York 18, issues a pocket-sized magazine Crisis, which deals with Negro progress toward full citizenship.

And there is a Negro newspaper not far from your area; why not make its acquaintance?

RECORDS, FILMS, ETC.

These are available in great variety; start with pamphlets 6 and 7, above. Films should be previewed before use with groups. The Music Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., sells at cost some record collections you may enjoy; send for the catalog, or inquire about their spirituals, blues, and animal tales.

SOME ORGANIZATIONS
WHICH WORK IN THE FIELD OF RACE RELATIONS

1. Your own church. Ask your pastor for the name, address, and executive secretary of the division in your church's national body which makes social welfare and/or interracial cooperation its field. If there is a local branch or committee, your help will be appreciated. If there is none yet, perhaps you can start one.

2. The American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. Assists in legislative defense against violations of civil rights.

3. Anti-Defamation League, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10. Has a broad intercultural program, and also works for civil rights.

4. Big Brothers of America, Inc., 1347 Suburban Station Bldg., Philadelphia 3. Assists predelinquent and delinquent boys. Interracial.

5. Bureau for Intercultural Education, Inc., 157 West 13th Street, New York 11. Has as purpose: "To improve democratic human relations through the schools."

6. Congress of Racial Equality, 513 West 166th Street, New York 32. Works to eliminate racial discrimination by direct, non-violent action.

7. Council against Intolerance in America, Inc., 17 East 42nd Street, New York 17. Seeks to combat bigotry through teacher-education.

8. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18. Uses education and legal action in working for citizenship rights for Negroes.

9. National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16. Provides speakers and materials, and otherwise works to overcome intergroup prejudices.

10. National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10. Purpose: To promote interracial cooperation in improving Negro economic welfare.

11. Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress Street NE, Atlanta 5. A consolidation of Peabody, Jeanes, and Slater funds. Works to improve Negro rural education.

12. Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue NE, Atlanta 5. Seeks to improve economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South. Sponsors organization of state and local interracial Councils on Human Relations.

INDEX OF AUTHORS

The Arabic number before each title is the reference number of the book.

Abrams, Charles. 143. *Forbidden neighbors; a study of prejudice in housing.*
Ansley, Delight. 60. *Sword and the spirit; a life of John Brown.*
Allport, Gordon. 144. *The nature of prejudice.*
Anderson, Marian. 145. *My Lord, what a morning.*
Aptheker, Herbert, ed. 146. *A documentary history of the Negro people in the United States.*
Armstrong, Louis. 87. *Satchmo: my life in New Orleans.*
Ashley Montagu, M.F. 147. *Man's most dangerous myth.*
Ashmore, Harry S. 148. *The Negro and the schools.*
Baldwin, James. 126. *Go tell it on the mountain.*
Barton, Rebecca C. 149. *Witnesses for freedom.*
Becker, John L. 40. *The Negro in American life.*
Beim, Jerrold and Lorraine. 1. *Two is a team.*
Benedict, Ruth and Gene Weltfish. 150. *In Henry's backyard.*
Bontemps, Arna. 88. *Chariot in the sky.*
Bontemps, Arna. 41. *The story of George Washington Carver.*
Bontemps, Arna. 89. *The story of the Negro.*
Bontemps, Arna. 90. *We have tomorrow.*
Bontemps, Arna, ed. 61. *Golden slippers.*
Bontemps, Arna, and Jack Conroy. 151. *They seek a city.*
Botkin, Benjamin A., ed. 152. *Lay my burden down; a folk history of slavery.*
Boyd, William C. and Isaac Asimov. 91. *Races and people*
Brooks, Gwendolyn. 127. *Maud Martha.*
Brooks, Gwendolyn. 153. *A street in Bronzeville.*
Brown, Ina Corinne. 154. *Race relations in a democracy.*
Brown, Ina Corinne. 155. *The story of the American Negro.*
Brown, Jeanette P. 2. *Ronnie's wish.*
Brown, Sterling A. and others, eds. 156. *Negro caravan.*
Buckler, Helen. 157. *Dr. Dan, pioneer in American surgery.*
Burgwyn, Mebane. 24. *River treasure.*
Butcher, Margaret Just. 158. *The Negro in American culture.*
Clark, Kenneth B. 159. *Prejudice and your child.*
Connelly, Marc. 160. *The green pastures.*
Cook, Lloyd, ed. 161. *College programs in intergroup relations.*
Cook, Lloyd, ed. 162. *Toward better human relations.*
Cook, Lloyd and Elaine. 163. *Intergroup education.*
Cook, Lloyd and Elaine. 164. *A sociological approach to education.*
Cooper, Page. 25. *Thunder.*
Creekmore, Hubert. 128. *Chain in the heart.*
Cunningham, Virginia. 92. *Paul Laurence Dunbar and his song.*
Cuthbert, Marion. 42. *We sing America.*
Day, Beth. 165. *The little professor of Piney Woods.*
Day, Helen C. 166. *Color, ebony.*
Dean, John P. and Alex Rosen. 167. *A manual of intergroup relations.*
De Angeli, Marguerite. 26. *Bright April.*
De Leeuw, Adele. 52. *The barred road.*
Demby, William. 129. *Beetlecreek.*
Derricotte, Elise, Geneva Turner, and Jessie Roy. 43. *Word pictures of the great.*
Deutsch, Morton and Mary Evans Collins. 168. *Interracial housing;..a social (experiment.*
Dodson, Owen. 130. *Boy at the window.*
Douglas, Marjory S. 78. *Freedom river.*
Dreer, Herman. 93. *American literature by Negro authors.*
DuBois, W. E. Burghardt. 169. *Black Reconstruction.*
DuBois, William P. 3. *Bear party.*
Dunbar, Paul Laurence. 27. *Best stories of Paul Laurence Dunbar.*
Dunbar, Paul Laurence. 44. *Little brown baby.*
Eakin, Mildred M. and Frank. 170. *Sunday school fights prejudice.*
Eaton, Jeanette. 62. *Trumpeter's tale.*
Ellison, Ralph. 131. *Invisible man.*
Evans, Eva K. 16. *All about us.*
Evans, Eva K. 4. *Araminta.*
Evans, Eva K. 5. *Araminta's goat.*
Evans, Eva K. 6. *Jerome Anthony.*
Evans, Eva K. 28. *Key Corner.*

Evans, Eva K. 17. *People are important.*
Evans, Eva K. 7. *A surprise for Araminta.*
Faulkner, Georgene. 29. *Melindy's happy summer.*
Faulkner, Georgene, and John Becker. 30. *Melindy's medal.*
Faulkner, Nancy. 53. *The west is on your left hand.*
Feather, Leonard. 94. *The encyclopedia of jazz.*
Felton, Ralph A. 171. *Go down, Moses.*
Felton, Ralph A. 172. *These my brethren.*
Fisher, Dorothy Canfield. 45. *A fair world for all.*
Fisher, Lois. 46. *Bill and his neighbors.*
Fisher, Miles M. 173. *Negro slave songs in the United States.*
Foley, Albert S. 174. *Bishop Healy: the beloved outcaste.*
Foley, Albert S. 175. *God's men of color.*
Forten, Charlotte L. 176. *The journal of Charlotte L. Forten.*
Franklin, John Hope. 177. *From slavery to freedom; a history of American (Negroes.*
Frazier, E. Franklin. 178. *The Negro in the United States.*
Frazier, E. Franklin. 179. *Negro youth at the crossways.*
Fuller, Edmund. 95. *A star pointed north.*
Furnas, J.C. 180. *Goodbye to Uncle Tom.*
Gallagher, Buell G. 181. *Color and conscience.*
Gardner, Lillian S. 31. *Sal Fisher, Brownie Scout.*
Gates, Doris. 54. *Little Vic.*
Gerber, Will. 32. *Gooseberry Jones.*
Ginzberg, Eli, and others. 182. *The Negro potential.*
Goodman, Mary Ellen. 183. *Race awareness in young children.*
Goodwin, Ruby B. 184. *It's good to be black.*
Graham, Shirley. 63. *Booker T. Washington: educator of hand, head, and heart.*
Graham, Shirley. 64. *Jean Baptiste Pointe de Sable; founder of Chicago.*
Graham, Shirley. 96. *The story of Phillis Wheatley.*
Graham, Shirley. 97. *There was once a slave; the heroic story of Frederick Douglass.*
Graham, Shirley. 98. *Your most humble servant; the story of Benjamin Banneker.*
Graham, Shirley, and George D. Lipscomb. 65. *Dr. George W. Carver: scientist.*
Guzman, Jessie Parkhurst, ed. 185. *1952 Yearbook; a review.*
Halsey, Margaret. 186. *Color blind.*
Hammerstein, Oscar II. 132. *Carmen Jones.*
Handy, William C. 99. *Father of the blues.*
Handy, William C. 187. *A treasury of the blues.*
Hayes, Florence. 33. *Skid.*
Helm, MacKinley. 188. *Angel Mo' and her son Roland Hayes.*
Henderson, Edwin B. 100. *The Negro in sports.*
Heuman, William. 34. *Little League champs.*
Hill, Herbert and Jack Greenberg. 189. *Citizen's guide to desegregation.*
Hiller, Margaret, ed. 190. *Toward better race relations.*
Hirsh, Selma G. 101. *The fears men live by.*
Hope, J. 191. *Negro employment in 3 Southern plants of International Harvester.*
Horne, Lena. 102. *In person Lena Horne.*
Howard, Elizabeth. 79. *North winds blow free.*
Hughes, Langston. 66. *Famous American Negroes.*
Hughes, Langston. 103. *Famous Negro music makers.*
Hughes, Langston. 67. *The first book of jazz.*
Hughes, Langston. 18. *The first book of Negroes.*
Hughes, Langston. 19. *The first book of rhythms.*
Hughes, Langston. 192. *Montage for a dream deferred.*
Hughes, Langston. 193. *Simple speaks his mind.*
Hughes, Langston. 80. *Sweet flypaper of life.*
Hughes, Langston, and Arna Bontemps. 104. *The poetry of the Negro; an (anthology.*
Hunt, Mabel Leigh. 35. *Ladycake farm.*
Isaacs, Edith. 194. *The Negro in the American theater.*
Jackson, Jesse. 55. *Anchor man.*
Jackson, Jesse. 36. *Call me Charley.*
Johnson, Charles S., and others. 195. *Into the main stream.*
Johnson, James W. 105. *God's trombones.*
Johnson, James W., and Rosamond Johnson. 196. *The books of American Negro (spirituals.*
Johnston, Ruby F. 197. *The development of Negro religion.*
Jones, Jessie Orton. 20. *Small rain; selections from the Bible.*
Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey. 198. *The mark of oppression; a psychological study.*
Kinzer, R.H., and Edward Sagarin. 199. *The Negro in American business.*

LaFarge, John. 200. *The race question and the Negro.*
Lang, Don. 37. *Strawberry roan.*
Lattimore, Eleanor. 38. *Bayou boy.*
Lattimore, Eleanor. 8. *Indigo hill.*
Lee, Alfred McClung. 106. *Fraternities without brotherhood; a campus survey:*
Lee, Reba. 107. *I passed for white.*
Loescher, Frank S. 201. *The Protestant church and the Negro.*
Logan, Rayford W. 202. *The Negro in American life and thought: the nadir, (1877-1901.*
Lomax, John A. and Alan. 108. *Our singing country.*
Louis, Joe. 109. *The Joe Louis story.*
Lumpkin, Katherine. 203. *The making of a Southerner.*
MacIver, Robert M. 204. *The more perfect union.*
McKay, Claude. 205. *Selected poems of Claude McKay.*
McKinney, Richard I. 206. *Religion in higher education among Negroes.*
Martin, Fletcher. 68. *Our great Americans; the Negro contribution.*
Mayer, Edith. 47. *Our Negro brother*
Mays, Benjamin, and Joseph Nicholson. 207. *The Negro's church.*
Mays, Willie, and Charles Einstein. 69. *Born to play ball.*
Meadowcroft, Enid. 39. *By secret railway.*
Means, Florence C. 70. *Carver's George.*
Means, Florence C. 81. *Great day in the morning.*
Means, Florence C. 56. *Shuttered windows.*
Miller, Margery. 71. *Joe Louis: American.*
Moon, Bucklin. 208. *Primer for white folks.*
Moon, Bucklin. 133. *Without magnolias.*
Murray, Pauli, comp. 209. *States' laws on race and color.*
Myrdal, Gunnar. 210. *An American dilemma; the Negro problem and modern (democracy.*
Nathan, Leonard. 134. *Wind like a bugle.*
Nelson, Dennis D. 211. *Integration of the Negro into the U.S. Navy.*
Nelson, William Stuart, ed. 212. *The Christian way in race relations.*
Newell, Hope. 82. *A cap for Mary Ellis.*
Nichols, Lee. 213. *Breakthrough on the color front.*
Nolen, Eleanor W. 9. *A job for Jeremiah.*
Northrup, Herbert R. 214. *Organized labor and the Negro.*
Norway, Nevil Shute. 135. *The chequer board.*
Nye, Russel B. 215. *William Lloyd Garrison and humanitarian reformers.*
Ottley, Roi. 216. *Black odyssey.*
Ottley, Roi. 217. *Lonely warrior.*
Ottley, Roi. 218. *New world a-comin'.*
Ovington, Mary White. 219. *The walls came tumbling down.*
Owens, William A. 136. *Walking on borrowed land.*
Park, Robert Ezra. 220. *Race and culture.*
Parrish, Anne. 83. *A clouded star.*
Peare, Catherine O. 110. *Mary McLeod Bethune.*
Perlo, Victor. 221. *The Negro in Southern agriculture.*
Petry, Ann. 111. *Harriet Tubman; conductor on the Underground Railroad.*
Petry, Ann. 137. *The narrows.*
Petry, Ann. 138. *The street.*
Pierce, Joseph A. 222. *Negro business and business education.*
Pipes, William H. 223. *Say Amen, brother!*
Porter, James A. 224. *Modern Negro art.*
President's Committee on Civil Rights. 112. *To secure these rights.*
Quarles, Benjamin. 225. *Frederick Douglass.*
Quarles, Benjamin. 226. *The Negro in the Civil War.*
Record, Wilson. 227. *The Negro and the Communist party.*
Redding, J. Saunders. 228. *An American in India.*
Redding, J. Saunders. 229. *On being Negro in America.*
Redding, J. Saunders. 139. *Stranger and alone.*
Redding, J. Saunders. 113. *They came in chains.*
Richardson, Harry V. 230. *Dark glory.*
Robinson, Bradley. 231. *Dark companion.*
Robinson, James H. 232. *Road without turning.*
Robinson, James H. 233. *Tomorrow is today.*
Robinson, James H, ed. 114. *Love of this land.*
Roeder, Bill. 72. *Jackie Robinson.*
Rose, Arnold M. 234. *The Negro in America.*
Rose, Arnold M. 236. *Race prejudice and discrimination; readings in intergroup (relations.*

Rose, Arnold M. 235. *Sociology, the study of human relations.*
Rowan, Carl. 237. *South of freedom.*
Roy, Jessie H. and Geneva C. Turner. 48. *Pioneers of long ago.*
Ruchames, Louis. 238. *Race, jobs, and politics; the story of the FEPC.*
Ryan, Elizabeth. 10. *Higgledy-piggledy room.*
Saenger, Gerhart. 239. *The social psychology of prejudice.*
Seid, Ruth. *See* Sinclair, Jo.
Shackelford, Jane. 49. *A child's story of the Negro.*
Shackelford, Jane. 50. *My happy days.*
Shapiro, Irwin. 11. *John Henry and the double jointed steam-drill.*
Sharpe, Stella Gentry. 12. *Tobe.*
Shippen, Katherine. 73. *Passage to America; the story of the great migrations.*
Shute, Nevil. *See* Norway, Nevil Shute.
Simpson, George E. and A. Milton Yinger. 240. *Racial and cultural minorities.*
Sinclair, Jo. 140. *The changelings.*
Smith, Ken. 74. *The Willie Mays story.*
Smith, Lillian. 115. *Killers of the dream.*
Smith, Lillian. 241. *Now is the time.*
Southall, Sara. 242. *Industry's unfinished business.*
Spencer, Samuel R. 243. *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's place in American (life.*
Sprigle, Ray. 116. *In the land of Jim Crow.*
Stendler, Celia B., and William E. Martin. 244. *Intergroup education in kindergarten and primary grades.*
Sterling, Dorothy. 75. *Freedom train; the story of Harriet Tubman.*
Sterne, Emma G. 57. *The long black schooner.*
Stevenson, Augusta. 21. *George Carver: boy scientist.*
Sumner, Cid Ricketts. 84. *Quality.*
Swift, Hildegarde H. 76. *North star shining.*
Taba, Hilda, and others. 245. *Intergroup education in public schools.*
Tarry, Ellen. 13. *The runaway elephant.*
Tarry, Ellen. 246. *Third door.*
Tarry, Ellen, and Marie H. Ets. 14. *My dog Rinty.*
Taylor, Julius. 247. *The Negro in science.*
Thomas, Will. 117. *The seeking.*
Thurman, Howard. 248. *Deep river.*
Thurman, Howard. 249. *The Negro spiritual speaks of life and death.*
Tipton, James H. 250. *Community in crisis.*
Trager, Helen G. and Marian R. Yarrow. 251. *They learn what they live.*
Trent-Jones, Altona. 22. *Play songs of the deep South.*
Tunis, John. 58. *All-American.*
Ulanov, Barry. 118. *Duke Ellington.*
Walker, Margaret. 119. *For my people.*
Walker, Mildred. 141. *The quarry.*
Warren, Robert Penn. 142. *Band of angels.*
Warren, Robert Penn. 252. *Segregation; the inner conflict in the South.*
Washington, Booker T. 120. *Up from slavery.*
Weaver, Robert C. 253. *The Negro ghetto.*
Weaver, Robert C. 254. *Negro labor; a national problem.*
Wentzel, Fred. 255. *Epistle to white Christians.*
White, Anne Terry. 51. *George Washington Carver; the story of a great American.*
White, Walter Francis. 256. *How far the promised land.*
White, Walter Francis. 257. *A man called White.*
White, William L. 121. *Lost boundaries.*
Whiting, Helen A. 23. *Negro art, music, and rhyme.*
Whiting, Helen A. 15. *Negro folk tales.*
Whitney, Phyllis. 85. *Willow hill.*
Williams, Robin M., and Margaret W. Ryan. 258. *Schools in transition.*
Wilson, Neill C. 59. *Freedom song.*
Woodson, Carter. 259. *The history of the Negro church.*
Woodson, Carter. 122. *The story of the Negro retold.*
Woodward, Comer Vann. 260. *The strange career of Jim Crow.*
Yates, Elizabeth. 77. *Amos Fortune, free man.*
Yates, Elizabeth. 123. *Prudence Crandall; woman of courage.*
Young, A. S. "Doc". 124. *Great Negro baseball stars.*
Young, Dick. 125. *Roy Campanella.*
Young, Jefferson. 86. *A good man.*

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SUMMARY

OF

SUPREME COURT OPINIONS IN SUNDAY CLOSING LAW CASES

BY

Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DIGEST

The United States Supreme Court holds Sunday closing laws civil (not religious) statutes intended to insure a day of rest and relaxation for the community and not violative of the First or Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. The failure of state statutes to exempt seventh-day observers does not render the laws unconstitutional.

No. 339 July 9, 1961

On May 29, 1961, the United States Supreme Court handed down a series of opinions upholding the constitutionality of Sunday closing laws. Four cases were decided on that day.

1. In McGowan v. Maryland, a group of employees of a large highway department store challenged the Sunday closing laws of Maryland.

2. In Gallagher v. Crown Kosher Super Market, a corporate super market whose stockholders, officers and directors are members of the Orthodox Jewish faith, was joined by three of its Orthodox Jewish customers and by the Orthodox Rabbi of Springfield, whose duties included the inspection of kosher food markets to insure compliance with Jewish dietary laws, in a challenge of the Massachusetts Sunday closing laws.

3. Two Guys from Harrison--Allentown, Inc. v. McGinley was essentially the same as McGowan v. Maryland, except that it involved the Pennsylvania Sunday closing laws rather than the Maryland statutes.

4. Braunfeld v. Brown also involved the Pennsylvania Sunday closing laws but they were challenged (as in the Crown Kosher case) by a group of merchants of the Orthodox Jewish faith who abstained from all manner of work during their Sabbath from sundown on Friday until nightfall on Saturday.

Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the opinions for the majority in each of the four cases. The principal opinion was written in the McGowan case and then referred to by the Chief Justice in the other cases. Mr. Justice Frankfurter filed a concurring opinion, in which Mr. Justice Harlan joined, for all four cases. Mr. Justice Douglas dissented with one opinion in all four cases. Mr. Justice Brennan and Mr. Justice Stewart filed dissenting opinions which were limited to the issue of the free exercise of religion as presented in the Crown Kosher and Braunfeld cases.

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1. The Majority Opinions, written by Chief Justice Warren

A. The McGowan Case: The Chief Justice summarized the "questions presented" as:

* Do the classifications of which commodities may and which may not be sold under the Sunday closing laws of Maryland, amount to a denial of equal protection of the laws? (Fourteenth Amendment)

* Are the Sunday closing statutes so vague as to fail to give reasonable notice of the forbidden conduct and hence violative of due process? (Fourteenth Amendment)

* Do the Sunday closing laws prohibit the free exercise of religion? (First Amendment)

* Do the Sunday closing laws constitute an establishment of religion? (First Amendment)

(over)

1. Equal Protection

The Chief Justice held that the Fourteenth Amendment permitted a state "a wide scope of discretion in enacting laws which affect some groups of citizens differently than others." The constitutional safeguard would be violated "only if the classification" of which commodities may and which may not be sold on Sunday "rests on grounds wholly irrelevant to the achievement of the State's objective" -- which was stated to be "the health of the populace or...the enhancement of the recreational atmosphere of the day." The record before the Court was characterized as "barren of any indication...that the statutory distinctions are invidious [or] that local tradition and custom might not rationally call for this legislative treatment." Likewise, "no invidious discrimination" was found by reason of the provisions of the Sunday closing laws which permitted the sale of certain things and forbade the sale of other things or which permitted certain retailers to sell merchandise incidental to the operation of amusement parks while simultaneously forbidding merchants in other geographic areas from selling the same merchandise. Territorial uniformity was not a constitutional prerequisite. Nor was the equal protection clause violated by the statutory plan which authorized merchants at amusement parks to sell certain merchandise on Sundays, while prohibiting large department stores from making similar sales.

2. Due Process

The statute exempted from the ban on Sunday sales merchandise essential to, customarily sold at, or incidental to the operation of bathing beaches and amusement parks. The Chief Justice rejected the argument that the language of the exception was so vague that a conviction under the Sunday closing law violated the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Business people of "ordinary intelligence," he said, "would be able to know what exceptions are encompassed by the statute either as a matter of ordinary commercial knowledge or by simply making a reasonable investigation."

3. Free Exercise of Religion

Since the appellants in the McGowan case did not claim to be Sabbatarians and alleged only economic injury in their complaint, the Chief Justice held that they had "no standing" to raise the constitutional issue of the free exercise of religion. In this connection, he pointed out that the record was "silent as to what appellants' religious beliefs are."

4. Establishment of Religion

Here, the Chief Justice drew a distinction on the question of "standing." The establishment clause, Chief Justice Warren said, was intended to protect against "political tyranny and subversion of civil authority" as well as to insure religious freedom. That being so, the appellants had "standing" to complain that the Sunday closing laws effected "an establishment of religion" to their detriment.

The opinion conceded that the original Sunday closing laws "were motivated by religious forces." "But what we must decide is whether

present Sunday legislation, having undergone extensive changes from the earliest forms, still retains its religious character." The Chief Justice then briefly traced the history of Sunday legislation from 1237, when Henry III of England forbade the frequenting of markets on Sunday, to the present. The statutes, the opinion said, "began to lose some of their totally religious flavor" before the 18th Century. "More recently, further secular justifications have been advanced for making Sunday a day of rest, a day when people may recover from the labors of the week just passed and may physically and mentally prepare for the week's work to come."

The Chief Justice's opinion turned to the historical relationship between Sunday closing laws and the First Amendment and found that in Virginia, while the struggle was going on in the 1780's over the "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom" (which the United States Supreme Court had cited in the past as part of the legislative history of the First Amendment), the Virginia Legislature enacted a "Bill for Punishing Sabbath Breakers." The history of the establishment clause of the First Amendment was traced and the Supreme Court's interpretation of that clause in Everson v. Board of Education ("Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will..." etc.) was expressly reaffirmed.

The Chief Justice then said:

> In light of the evolution of our Sunday closing laws through the centuries, and of their more or less recent emphasis upon secular considerations, it is not difficult to discern that as presently written and administered, most of them, at least, are of a secular rather than of a religious character, and that presently they bear no relation to establishment of religion as those words are used in the Constitution of the United States.

Sunday closing laws were considered as implementation of the legitimate concern of the state governments "toward improvement of the health, safety, recreation and general well-being of our citizens." Such laws, the Chief Justice said, "have become part and parcel of this great governmental concern wholly apart from their original purposes or connotations."

Great weight was placed upon the decisions of the Maryland Court of Appeals to the effect that the purpose of that State's Sunday closing laws was the protection of the public health, morals and safety and not encouragement of religious worship.

Finally, the opinion turned to the argument that Sunday closing laws were invalid because the state had available to it other means of enforcing a day of rest without "unduly or unnecessarily" infringing

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upon the religious provisions of the First Amendment. The Chief Justice pointed out that the state's purpose:

> Is not merely to provide a one-day-in seven work stoppage but to set aside a day of rest, repose, recreation and tranquility -- a day which all members of the family and community have the opportunity to spend and enjoy together, a day in which there exists relative quiet and disassociation from the every-day intensity of commercial activity, a day in which people may visit friends and relatives who are not available during working days.

Clearly, this would not be accomplished by a statute requiring rest on one day out of every seven, since such a measure would not provide for "a general cessation of activity, a special atmosphere of tranquility, a day which all members of the family or friends and relatives might spend together."

The opinion found that the first day of the week had come to have a special significance as a day of rest in the United States. "People of all religions and people with no religion regard Sunday as a time for family activity, for visiting friends and relatives, for late sleeping, for passive and active entertainment, for dining out and the like."

The McGowan case was affirmed by an eight to one division. The only dissenting vote was that of Mr. Justice Douglas who filed one opinion for all four cases. That opinion is summarized infra.

B. The Crown Kosher Case

1. Equal Protection

The Chief Justice dismissed the equal protection argument in this case on the ground that it was much the same as that made in the McGowan case and that "the irrationality of...the many apparently reasonable distinctions has not been shown." This was the reasoning used to answer the equal protection contention in McGowan.

2. Establishment of Religion

After tracing the history and development of the Massachusetts Lord's Day Act, which prohibited commercial activities on Sunday, and conceding that the statute originally had a religious purpose, the Chief Justice said that an examination of the present laws convinced the Court "that, for the most part, they have been divorced from the religious orientation of their predecessors." "The objectionable language" found in many parts of the Massachusetts statute was said to be "merely a relic." The long list of exemptions from the statute was considered evidence "that the present scheme is one to provide an atmosphere of recreation rather than religion."

3. Free Exercise of Religion

The Chief Justice referred to his opinion in the Braunfeld case, infra, for the answer to the contentions that Sunday closing laws discriminated against Orthodox Jews who close their business establishments from sundown on Friday to sundown on Saturday; that such laws deprived Crown Kosher's Orthodox customers of the opportunity to purchase the kosher food required by their faith; and greatly complicated the rabbi's task of supervising the condition and preparation of kosher meat sold by Crown Kosher.

In addition to Mr. Justice Douglas' dissent, Mr. Justice Brennan and Mr. Justice Stewart dissented in the Crown Kosher case on the ground that the Massachusetts Sunday Closing Law, as applied to Orthodox Jews, interferes with the free exercise of their religion. Their dissenting opinion is discussed infra. Hence, the Crown Kosher case was decided by a six to three division of the Court.

C. Two Guys from Harrison--Allentown Case

The Chief Justice characterized this case as "essentially the same as McGowan v. The State of Maryland." He said that the religious orientation and background of the Maryland and Pennsylvania statutes were "strikingly similar although the Pennsylvania colony never had an established church while one did exist for a time in Maryland." The major difference between the Pennsylvania and Maryland Sunday closing laws was in the specific provisions for exemptions of certain Sunday sales and activities.

The equal protection argument was rejected on the same grounds set forth in the McGowan opinion:

> It was within the power of the Legislature to have concluded that these businesses were particularly disrupting the intended atmosphere of the day because of the great volume of motor traffic attracted, the danger of competitors also opening on Sunday and their large number of employees. "Evils in the same field may be of different dimensions and proportions, requiring different remedies...or the reform may take one step at a time, addressing itself to the phase of the problem which seems most acute to the legislative mind...."

Turning to the First Amendment argument, the Court reaffirmed the position expressed in McGowan that the highway merchant who sought to remain open all seven days of the week, had standing to challenge the Sunday closing laws under the establishment of the religion clause but not under the free exercise clause of the First Amendment. After examining in some detail the language of the legislation, the relevant judicial decisions and particularly the legislative history of the most recent amendment of Pennsylvania's Sunday closing laws, the

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Court held that neither the statutes' purpose nor effect was religious. The opinion also rejected the contention that the state had "other means at its disposal to accomplish its secular purpose."

Since only Mr. Justice Douglas dissented, the decision in the Two Guys from Harrison--Allentown case was reached by an eight to one division of the Court.

D. The Braunfeld Case

The Chief Justice limited his opinion in this case to the free exercise contention, since he considered his opinions in the three prior cases as having answered all other contentions of the appellants in the Braunfeld case.

The appellants contended that the enforcement against them of the Pennsylvania Sunday closing laws interfered with the free exercise of their religion by compelling them to close on Sunday and hence suffer a substantial economic loss "to the benefit of their non-Sabbatarian competitors." The opinion conceded that all persons who wish to work on Sunday are "burdened economically by the State's day of rest mandate." But the Chief Justice reasoned that if the law simply regulates a "secular activity," any incidental or indirect economic hardship which was thereby imposed upon Sabbatarians merely made "the practice of their religious beliefs more expensive"; it was not a constitutional interference with such religion.

> If the purpose or effect of a law is to impede the observance of one or all religions or is to discriminate invidiously between religions, that law is constitutionally invalid even though the burden may be characterized as being only indirect. But if the State regulates conduct by enacting a general law within its power, the purpose and effect of which is to advance the State's secular goals, the statute is valid despite its indirect burden on religious observance unless the State may accomplish its purpose by means which do not impose such a burden.

Finally, the Chief Justice turned to the contention that the state should be required to exempt from its Sunday labor proscription those people who, because of religious convictions, observed a day of rest other than Sunday. Pointing out that a number of states provided such exemptions, the Chief Justice held that the absence of such exception did not make the Sunday closing laws unconstitutional. In this connection, he pointed to the additional enforcement problems which the exception would create and to the economic advantages that it might grant to Sabbatarians over their competitors. He concluded, therefore, that the legislature was not required by the constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of religion to provide such an exception.

Mr. Justice Brennan and Mr. Justice Stewart dissented with respect to the free exercise clause and Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in his concurring opinion, said that he would remand the Braunfeld case to the lower

court (which dismissed the complaint for failure to state a cause of action) to enable the complainants to prove, if they could, their allegation that the Pennsylvania Sunday closing laws were irrational and arbitrary with respect to their coverage and exceptions. Adding these three to Mr. Justice Douglas, the Braunfeld case was decided by a five to four division of the Court.

II. The Frankfurter Concurring Opinion

Mr. Justice Frankfurter wrote a concurring opinion for all four cases, in which Mr. Justice Harlan joined. Mr. Justice Frankfurter said that the numerous issues raised by the Sunday closing cases were so significant that it was not surprising to find many of the Justices anxious to write their own opinions.

The history of Sunday closing legislation was deemed so important to the resolution of the issues, that Mr. Justice Frankfurter treated it in considerable detail. He distinguished between the establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment and discussed the "standing" of the various appellants in the four cases to raise the different constitutional issues.

The public benefits sought to be achieved by a regulatory measure were required, according to Mr. Justice Frankfurter, to be balanced against the amount of impairment of individual freedom in seeking to determine whether the measures violated the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. Before further discussion of the constitutional issues, Mr. Justice Frankfurter defined the purpose of the establishment clause as follows:

> The Establishment Clause withdrew from the sphere of the legitimate legislative concern and competence a specific, but comprehensive, area of human conduct... man's belief or disbelief in the verity of some transcendental idea and man's expression in action of that belief or disbelief.

The opinion then reviewed in detail the long history of Sunday closing laws, beginning with "The Fourth Commandment," and concluded that although these laws indisputably were originally religious in intent, they became during the course of history statutes intended to provide a day of rest, "recurrent time in the cycle of human activity when the rhythms of existence changed, a day of particular associations which came to have their own autonomous value for life."

The opinion pointed out that 49 of the 50 states now have some kind of Sunday closing laws and that every appellate court which had considered such laws during the past 150 years found them "supportable as civil regulation and not repugnant to religious freedom."

Mr. Justice Frankfurter then turned to the question of the constitutionality of Sunday closing legislation as applied to Orthodox Jews

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and other Seventh-Day observers. In balancing the needs of society for a day of rest to be observed generally against the hardships and disadvantages imposed upon Sabbatarians, Mr. Justice Frankfurter concluded that Sunday closing laws did not violate the Constitution even when they failed to exempt from their strictures Seventh-Day observers.

The opinion next considered the contention that Sunday closing laws were arbitrary and irrational and hence violated due process and equal protection of the laws. The range of legislative discretion was declared to be large -- neither due process nor equal protection required "logical tidiness" so long as the "principle of reason" had not been disregarded in drafting the measure. Obviously, Sunday closing laws dealt with complex problems -- not all activities could be expected to halt on Sundays; many activities had double aspects, providing entertainment for some while requiring work from others; there were great variations in the amount of disturbance caused to the community by different activities. In measuring the laws in each of the four cases against the standards of arbitrariness and irrationality, Mr. Justice Frankfurter concluded that there were no "invidious distinctions" or "obviously arbitrary classifications" created by the Sunday closing legislation. However, since the complainants in the Braunfeld case were not given an opportunity by the court below to prove their allegation of the irrationality and arbitrariness of the Pennsylvania Sunday closing laws, Mr. Justice Frankfurter (but not Mr. Justice Harlan) would remand the Braunfeld case to the trial court to give the complainants an opportunity to prove their allegation.

Attached to the Frankfurter concurring opinion are two lengthy appendices: Appendix I sets forth the principal colonial Sunday statutes, and Appendix II contains a chart of the existing state laws prohibiting or regulating private activities on Sunday.

III. The Brennan Dissenting Opinion

Mr. Justice Brennan filed an opinion in the Braunfeld case, which he noted applied equally to the Crown Kosher case. In that opinion, he agreed with Chief Justice Warren that there was no merit in the contention that Sunday closing laws violated the establishment clause or the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution. He disagreed, however, with respect to the free exercise clause.

In Mr. Justice Brennan's opinion, the issue in these two cases was "whether a State may put an individual to a choice between his business and his religion." In his opinion, a statute imposing such a choice was a law "prohibiting the free exercise" of religion.

According to Mr. Justice Brennan, the Supreme Court had consistently applied a more exacting standard in testing state legislation against the First Amendment than against the Fourteenth Amendment. "For religious freedom -- the freedom to believe and to practice strange and, it may be, foreign creeds -- has classically been one of the highest values of our society." By this test, he found that Sunday closing laws imposed upon Sabbatarians a substantial competitive disadvantage

when they sought simultaneously to practice their religion and their trade. The opinion found "the mere convenience of having everyone rest on the same day" insufficient to overbalance in the constitutional scale "this substantial, though indirect, limitation of the appellants' freedom."

Mr. Justice Brennan, in his opinion, conceded that an exception for Sabbatarians might "make Sundays a little noisier, and the task of police and prosecutor a little more difficult." He pointed out, however, that in the 21 states which did provide such exemptions, there was no evidence that Sundays were significantly noisier, or their police significantly more burdened than in Pennsylvania.

The opinion concluded with the following statement:

> In fine, the Court, in my view, has exalted administrative convenience to a constitutional level high enough to justify making one religion economically disadvantageous. The Court would justify this result on the ground that the effect on religion, though substantial, is indirect. The Court forgets, I think, a warning uttered during the congressional discussion of the First Amendment itself: "...the rights of conscience are, in their nature, of peculiar delicacy, and will little bear the gentlest touch of governmental hand..."

Mr. Justice Stewart said, "I agree with substantially all that Mr. Justice Brennan has written."

IV. <u>The Douglas Dissenting Opinion</u>

Mr. Justice Douglas dissented from the majority in all four cases. For him, the test of legislation "which collides with the Fourteenth Amendment because it also collides with the principles of the First, is much more definite than the test when only the Fourteenth is involved. Much of the vagueness of the Due Process Clause disappears when the specific prohibitions of the First become its standard."

Starting from that point, Mr. Justice Douglas was unable to see how a state could force citizens to "refrain from doing innocent acts on Sunday because the doing of those acts offends sentiments of their Christian neighbors." The opinion pointed to the Puritan influence which helped shape our constitutional and common law and "put individual conscience and individual judgment in the first place." This, Mr. Justice Douglas said, was what had been meant when he used the words in <u>Zorach</u> v. <u>Clauson</u>, "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

Those who fashioned the Constitution, Mr. Justice Douglas said, "decided that if and when God is to be served, His service will not be motivated by coercive measures of government...This means, as I understand it, that if a religious leaven is to be worked into the

(over)

affairs of our people, it is to be done by individuals and groups, not by the government."

According to Mr. Justice Douglas, the state was without power to "compel one so to conduct himself as not to offend the religious scruples of another." The First Amendment imposed the requirement that government "must be neutral" in religious matters, whether the result of such neutrality was "to produce Catholics, Jews, or Protestants, or to turn the people toward the path of Buddha, or to end in a predominantly Moslem nation, or to produce in the long run atheists or agnostics." This "freedom" was interpreted by Mr. Justice Douglas to include "freedom from religion with the right to believe, speak, write, publish and advocate anti-religious programs." (Italics in original).

To emphasize his point, Mr. Justice Douglas posed the hypothetical situation of a state legislature controlled by Sabbatarians, which passed a law to make it a crime to perform work or labor on Saturdays. He asked, "would a Baptist, Catholic, Methodist or Presbyterian be compelled to obey that law or go to jail or pay a fine?"

Mr. Justice Douglas rejected the thesis that there could be a balancing of interests in determining the constitutionality of state legislation under the First Amendment. For him, there was no room for balancing in this realm.

> There is an "establishment" of religion in the constitutional sense if any practice of any religious group has the sanction of law behind it. There is an interference with the "free exercise" of religion if what in conscience one can do or omit doing is required because of the religious scruples of the community. Hence, I would declare each of these laws unconstitutional as applied to the complaining parties, whether or not they are members of a sect which observes as their Sabbath a day other than Sunday.

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ARTICLES OF INTEREST IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

Vol. 12, No. 7 July 1961

American Jewish Community

ANOTHER DECADE: THE AMERICAN JEW IN THE SIXTIES, by Lothar Kahn. Judaism, Spring 1961, pp. 99-111.
Dr. Kahn describes his subject as a man possessed by a series of contradictions.

THE INTEGRATION OF THE JEW IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA, by Will Herberg. Conservative Judaism, Spring 1961, pp. 1-9.
The main features of the new form of Jewish integration and some of their implications for contemporary Jewish life.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, by Raymond A. Mulligan. Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Summer 1961, pp. 411-418.
A paper presented at the Twenty-fourth Regional Assembly, Western States Region, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds at Tucson, Arizona, January 12, 1961.

Arabs

NASSER'S OTHER VOICE, by William S. Ellis. Harper's Magazine, June 1961, pp. 54-58.
Ahmed Said, as the man chiefly responsible for "The Voice of the Arabs," may be the world's most influential broadcaster.

Attitude (Psychology)

CHANGING JEWISH ATTITUDES - AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS WORKERS, by Manheim S. Shapiro. Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Summer 1961, pp. 405-410.
A paper presented at the meeting of the Eastern Region of the Association of Jewish Community Relations Workers in New York City on May 6, 1960, by the Director of the Jewish Communal Affairs Department of the AJC.

Attitude (Psychology) (cont.)

REFLECTIONS ON JEWISH IDENTITY, by Daniel Bell. Commentary, June 1961, pp. 471-478.
An article based on a lecture delivered to the Jewish Graduate Society of Columbia University.

Birth Control

WE CAN END THE BATTLE OVER BIRTH CONTROL, by John Rock. Good Housekeeping, July 1961, pp. 44-45 ff.
"An eminent Catholic doctor insists that we find the solution to a divisive religious controversy."

Brandeis University

CASE HISTORY OF AN ACADEMIC PRODIGY, by Fred M. Hechinger. The New York Times Magazine, June 4, 1961, pp. 12, 68-70.
Although it usually takes a long time for a great university to develop, Brandeis shows what can be done in just over a decade.

Catholic Church

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE COUNCIL, by Yves M.-J. Congar. America, June 3, 1961, pp. 394-398.
A French theologian gives his views of the coming ecumenical council.

Catholic-Jewish Relations

"I AM JOSEPH, YOUR BROTHER," by John M. Oesterreicher. Unitas (Society of the Atonement), Spring 1961, pp. 26-33.
Pope John's teaching on the relationship between Christians and Jews.

Church and Education

QUEBEC'S REVOLT AGAINST THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, by Miriam Chapin. Harper's Magazine, July 1961, pp. 53-57.
Quebec anticlericals who are themselves Catholics in good standing are trying to put laymen in control of their schools.

Civil Rights

CIVIL RIGHTS: CONFLICT OF LAW AND LOCAL CUSTOMS, by Robert F. Kennedy. Vital Speeches of the Day, June 1, 1961, pp. 482-485.
A speech delivered at the University of Georgia Law School, May 6, 1961, by the Attorney General of the United States.

Communism

CONNECTICUT'S ONE-MAN POSSE, by Herbert Krosney. The Nation, June 3, 1961, pp. 476-477.
Edward J. McCallum, Jr. organized and now heads the Citizens Anti-Communist Committee of Connecticut.

Crime and Criminals

CRIMINALITY AND RELIGION, by W. H. Nagel. Social Compass, v. 1, no. 8, 1961, pp. 3-34.
A professor of criminology claims that criminality has a religious character.

Discrimination - Education

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FEDERAL AID TO SEGREGATED UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES: SUGGESTIONS FOR A REMEDIAL PROGRAM, by John Silard. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Spring 1961, pp. 115-123.
A Washington lawyer proposes methods of fighting segregation in higher education.

Discrimination - Housing

Lits ✓ APPROACHES TO RESIDENTIAL DESEGREGATION. Interracial News Service, May-June 1961, pp. 1-4.
A digest of trends in human relations in the housing field.

✓ THE THREAT AND POTENTIAL OF URBAN RENEWAL: A "WORKABLE PROGRAM" FOR BETTER RACE RELATIONS, by L. K. Northwood. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Spring 1961, pp. 101-114.
Lits
"A proper interpretation and enforcement of federal urban renewal legislation can help in the amelioration of racial residential segregation in localities receiving federal funds."

Discrimination - Labor

RACISM WITHIN ORGANIZED LABOR: A REPORT OF FIVE YEARS OF THE AFL-CIO, 1955-1960, by Herbert Hill. The Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1961, pp. 109-118.
A report by the Labor Secretary of the NAACP.

Discrimination, Social

INTEGRATED FRATERNITIES ARE GOOD FOR THE JEWS! By Irwin E. Schlussel. The Jewish Digest, June 1961, pp. 51-53.
A fraternity alumnus attempts to answer the question of whether integrated Jewish college fraternities are good for the Jews.

Education and State

CONGRESS AND FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION, by Seymour E. Harris. School and Society, Summer 1961, pp. 261-262.
The author is completing a four-year study on the Economics of Higher Education and here examines the Kennedy bill.

THE DRIVE FOR PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AID, by Paul Blanshard. The Humanist, March-April 1961, pp. 97-100.
The Humanist position against federal aid is expressed in this editorial.

EDUCATION WITHOUT FEDERAL AID: THE ECONOMIC PRESSURE UPON PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, by M. Norvel Young. Vital Speeches of the Day, June 1, 1961, pp. 492-493.
A plea for improving the educational process without Federal aid.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION AND THE RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY, by Hurley H. Doddy. The Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1961, pp. 83-86.
Editorial comment reviewing the background of the issue.

FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR HEBREW DAY SCHOOLS, by William W. Brickman. The Jewish Parent, June 1961, pp. 8-11 ff.
A New York University professor of education calls for federal aid to religious schools and analyzes the factors involved in the current debate.

GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION ABROAD: WHAT IS GOVERNMENT'S ROLE? Current History, June 1961, pp. 321-367.
Partial contents: Government and schools abroad: a comparison, by Robert Ulrich.-Central control of French education, by Eugen Weber.-Government and schools in the U. S. S. R., by Hans Rogger.-Government aid and control of education in Canada, by F. K. Stewart.-The President's message on education.

Education and State (cont.)

HOW TO TALK ABOUT FEDERAL AID, by John F. Malloy. America, June 10, 1961, pp. 421-423.
"...a legal way to help nonpublic schools will be found as soon as we face up to the fact that the issues involved are not primarily constitutional but political."

THE SCHOOL QUESTION, by George H. Dunne. The Commonweal, June 2, 1961, pp. 247-250.
Reaction in Europe to the school aid question.

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT GIVE AID TO RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS? By Robert Lekachman. The New Leader, June 26, 1961, pp. 18-20.
"There are strong practical reasons for believing that public assistance to religious schools will severely damage the public schools."

TWO VIEWS ON AID TO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, by Oscar Handlin and William Lee Miller. The Catholic World, July 1961, pp. 216-224.
Comments on the passage on aid to Catholic schools in "We Hold These Truths" by Father John Courtney Murray.

Eichmann Case

BACKGROUND TO THE EICHMANN TRIAL, by Moshe Bar-Natan. Jewish Frontier, May 1961, pp. 4-7.
An Israeli political commentator views the conditions under which the trial is being held.

CAMPUS REACTIONS TO EICHMANN, by Gerald Engel. Congress Bi-Weekly, May 29, 1961, pp. 7-8 ff.
Students' reactions to the showing of the television production of "Engineer of Death" at Purdue University.

EICHMANN AND AMERICAN JEWRY, by Marie Syrkin. Jewish Frontier, May 1961, pp. 7-12.
A reply to Oscar Handlin's article on the ethics of the Eichmann case.

EICHMANN AND JEWISH IDENTITY, by Paul Jacobs. The New Leader, July 3, 1961, pp. 12-15.
An American writer who covered the trial relates his personal reactions.

EICHMANN AND THE ARABS, by Leo Heiman. The Jewish Digest, June 1961, pp. 1-6.
"The untold story of the Nazis and the Grand Mufti."

THE EICHMANN TRIAL, ed. by Kurt R. Grossman. Digest on Germany and Austria, June 15, 1961, pp. 1-25.
A summary of the trial proceedings and of reactions in various parts of the world.

Eichmann Case (cont.)

THE EICHMANN TRIAL: IN AND AROUND THE COURTROOM, by Leo Heiman. Jewish Frontier, June 1961, pp. 6-9.
A report on the trial proceedings.

THE EICHMANN TRIAL RE-VIEWED, by Reuben E. Gross. Jewish Life, June 1961, pp. 12-14.
A review of the legal aspects of the case.

I SAW THE MUFTI'S LETTERS, by M. Bar-Ai. The Jewish Frontier, April 1961, pp. 13-15.
Despite the ex-Mufti's denials of complicity with the Nazis in the "final solution," letters written by him during the war years incriminate him.

THE MEANING OF THE EICHMANN TRIAL, by T. S. Matthews. Saturday Evening Post, June 10, 1961, pp. 32-33, 74-77.
A noted journalist gauges the impact of the trial on Israel and the world at large.

MUSMANNO ON EICHMANN, by Trude B. Feldman. The National Jewish Monthly, June 1961, pp. 5-6.
The testimony given by Pennsylvania Supreme Court judge, Michael A. Musmanno, at the Eichmann trial.

THOUGHTS ON THE EICHMANN TRIAL, by Eliezer Whartman. The Reconstructionist, June 16, 1961, pp. 5-8.
"The trial has had the effect of emphasizing the unity of the Jewish People."

TRIAL OF A MASS-KILLER, by I. Halevy-Levy. Jewish Life, June 1961, pp. 6-11.
"In the Eichmann trial Israel is the spokesman of all Jewry."

WHAT WILL THE EICHMANN TRIAL MEAN? By Lucy Davidowicz. Council Woman (National Council of Jewish Women), June 1961, pp. 6-7.
An AJC research analyst discusses the lessons to be learned from the trial.

Elections

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN 1960: A REINSTATING ELECTION, by Philip E. Converse, Angus Campbell, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. The American Political Science Review, June 1961, pp. 269-280.
An analysis of the presidential election.

Europe - German Occupation - Jews

RELIGIOUS ORIGINS OF THE DEATH CAMPS, by Richard L. Rubenstein. The Reconstructionist, May 19, 1961, pp. 20-27.
The concluding part of a psychoanalytic interpretation of the concentration camps.

Genocide

THE LIES THAT LEAD TO MURDER, by Meyer Levin. Congress Bi-Weekly, May 29, 1961, pp. 5-7.
The American novelist calls for a way to control the open propagation of lies intended to incite genocide.

Intergroup Relations

CENTRAL ROLE OF INTERGROUP AGENCIES IN THE LABOR MARKET: CHANGING RESEARCH AND PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS, by John Hope. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Spring 1961, pp. 132-144.
The author is Chief Consultant to the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta.

MOTIVATION AS A FACTOR IN CHANGING INTERGROUP RELATIONS, by Charlotte Epstein. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Spring 1961, pp. 149-155.
The author is Assistant Professor of Human Relations, Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations, University of Pennsylvania.

Interreligious Relations

COMMUNITY CONFLICTS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCE, by H. Harry Giles. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Spring 1961, pp. 145-148.
A report from the Education Commission of NAIRO to the Annual Meeting in 1960.

Ireland

JEWS OF THE EMERALD ISLE, by Bernard Shillman. World Jewry, May 1961, pp. 10-11.
A community profile of the Jews of Ireland.

Israel

EICHMANN'S LAST VICTIM, by Meyer Levin. Coronet, July 1961, pp. 98-107.
Dr. Rudolf Kastner, a Hungarian Jewish underground leader who negotiated with the Nazis to save Jewish lives, was shot by Israeli terrorists who thought he had betrayed his people to Eichmann.

Israel (cont.)

ISRAEL RELIVES THE HOLOCAUST, by Moshe Bar-Natan. Jewish Frontier, June 1961, pp. 4-6.
"Since the middle of April, when the Eichmann trial opened in Jerusalem, the people of Israel have been going through a profound and shattering experience."

ISRAEL SEEN FROM WITHIN. Jewish Frontier, June 1961, Section II, pp. 2-32.
Partial contents: Facing the future, by David Ben-Gurion.-Elections: no alternative, by Lea Ben-Dor.-The path to peace, by Shimon Peres.-Newcomers and veterans in Upper Galilee, by Shmuel Rubinstein.

ISRAEL'S AID PROGRAM IN AFRICA AND ASIA, by Oded Remba. Midstream, Spring 1961, pp. 3-21.
"The links with the newly emerged peoples may well have introduced a new dimension in Arab-Israel affairs."

THE LAVON AFFAIR, by Dov Joshua. The Chicago Jewish Forum, Summer 1961, pp. 305-314.
A review and analysis of the recent controversy states that it has had the effect of "puncturing the Ben-Gurion image."

THE LAVON AFFAIR: ITS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS, by Erwin Frenkel. Midstream, Spring 1961, pp. 60-69.
The events of the past months constitute more than just an internal Mapai conflict.

PRESS CENSORSHIP IN ISRAEL, by Aryeh Rubinstein. Midstream, Spring 1961, pp. 70-82.
The heavy censorship imposed on news of the Lavon affair recently brought the censorship question before the public eye.

Jews and Judaism

THE ULTIMATE CHOICE, by Arnold Toynbee. Race, May 1961, pp. 3-6.
"We may look forward to seeing the Jewish diaspora transform itself from a closed racial community into an open religious community."

YIDDISH IN MODERN JUDAISM, by Emmanuel S. Goldsmith. The Reconstructionist, June 2, 1961, pp. 13-15.
"There can be no renaissance of Judaism in our time without reverence for Yiddish."

John Birch Society

DEMOCRACY AND THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, by Benjamin R. Epstein. The ADL Bulletin (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith), June 1961, pp. 1-2 ff.
"Robert Welch, founder and 'Americanist,' preaches a philosophy and plan that run counter to American tradition, ideals - and common sense."

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY: IGNORE OR INVESTIGATE? By Albert Vorspan. Jewish Frontier, June 1961, pp. 10-11.
"Although the Birch Society has not given evidence of anti-Semitism, its totalitarian and ultra-rightist character trouble the Jewish organizations which have followed the Society's rise."

JOHN BIRCHERS ON THE MARCH - THE POLITICS OF FEAR, by Robert B. Cooney. The American Federationist, June 1961, pp. 12-17.
"To understand Welch and his appeal, it might be helpful to review what has been abundantly published in the press and in the Congressional Record on his writings, his organization and its impact."

Latin America

SOUTH AMERICA'S JEWISH HERITAGE, by Jacob Beller. Jewish Life, June 1961, pp. 34-40.
A brief history of South America's Jewish communities.

Law

THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION TO LAW, by Edmond Cahn. Jewish Frontier, May 1961, pp. 12-17.
"For more than three thousand years Jews have been producing law."

Marriages, Mixed

TO MARRY OR NOT TO MARRY, by Kenneth Rivkin. The Reconstructionist, May 19, 1961, pp. 15-19.
A rabbi states that the same social changes which have increased the likelihood of intermarriage have decreased the probability that intermarriage will result in assimilation.

Middle East

WHY THEY FLOUT THE UN IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by W. J. Granberg. National Review, June 3, 1961, pp. 345-347.
"Since Israel and Egypt have been in contempt of the UN for years, the only UN resolutions they will take seriously are those leveled at third parties."

Missions

LEGITIMATION AND ANTISEMITISM AS FACTORS IN THE FUNCTIONING OF A HEBREW-CHRISTIAN MISSION, by B. Z. Sobel. Jewish Social Studies, July 1961, pp. 170-186.
A study of Christian missionary activity among the Jews.

Names

GERMAN-JEWISH NAMES IN AMERICA, by Rudolf Glanz. Jewish Social Studies, July 1961, pp. 143-169.
"The appearance of a group of distinct German-Jewish names in clearly recognizable economic occupations or whole branches of the economic system indicates the penetration of German-Jewish immigrants into the economy of the New World."

Negroes

THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S NEW COMEDY ACT, by Louis E. Lomax. Harper's Magazine, June 1961, pp. 41-46.
Laughter is becoming a sharp weapon in the Negro's fight for equality.

Should have

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES: THE PRIMARY CAUSES, by Waldo R. Banks. The Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1961, pp. 87-93.
Changing attitudes toward the Negro may be attributed to social, economic, and religious pressures.

little

NEGRO LEADERSHIP IN A CRISIS SITUATION, by Tilman C. Cothran and William Phillips, Jr. Phylon, Summer 1961, pp. 107-118.
A study conducted in Little Rock following the closing of the public schools shows the changing character of Negro leadership.

should have

THE UNPREDICTABLE NEGRO, by Louis E. Lomax. The New Leader, June 5, 1961, pp. 3-4.
The Negro is now unpredictable because he has all but lost faith in the basic integrity of the white power structure.

little

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL COURTS IN THE CHANGING STATUS OF NEGROES SINCE WORLD WAR II, by Daniel C. Thompson. The Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1961, pp. 94-101.
Laws restricting Negroes to second class citizenship are being eliminated.

Negroes - Segregation

Should have

THE FREEDOM RIDERS AND THE FUTURE, by Eugene V. Rostow. The Reporter, June 22, 1961, pp. 18-21.
The dean of the Yale University Law School discusses the latest protests against discrimination in the larger context of the law.

Should have

GOMILLION VERSUS LIGHTFOOT, by Bernard Taper. The New Yorker, June 10, 1961, pp. 37-93; June 17, 1961, pp. 39-77.
Articles on the Tuskegee gerrymander case.

Should have

THE KIDS TAKE OVER, by David Halberstam. The Reporter, June 22, 1961, pp. 22-23.
Initiative for demonstrations against racial segregation is now coming more from young Negro students than from older prominent Negroes.

Should have

PROGRESS - BY MODERATION AND AGITATION, by Eric F. Goldman. The New York Times Magazine, June 18, 1961, pp. 5, 10-12.
"Though gradualism has achieved great gains in the U. S., the Freedom Riders can argue from history that direct action has worked too - when the time was right."

Should have

WHEN MODERATION DEMANDS TAKING SIDES, by John David Maguire. Christianity and Crisis, June 26, 1961, pp. 114-117.
A professor reflects on his recent Freedom Ride.

North Africa

ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE JEWS, by S. L. Blumenfeld, Ray Alan, and Joseph Barry. Commentary, June 1961, pp. 524-527.
A discussion of "Algeria and the Fifth Republic" which appeared in the January issue.

Personalities

DAVE KARR IN THE PRESIDENT'S CHAIR, by Spencer Klaw. Fortune, June 1961, pp. 154-157 ff.
Since Karr has become president of Fairbanks Whitney, the company's stock price has almost doubled.

ILYA EHRENBURG: "I AM A JEW," by Reuben Ainsztein. World Jewry, May 1961, pp. 8-9.
The Russian writer retains his Jewish identity.

THE MONSTER SPIEGEL KEEPS KEEPS SPIEGEL, by Carl Rieser. Fortune, June 1961, pp. 150-153 ff.
An account of the credit mail-order business controlled by Modie Spiegel.

Portugal

LIVING LINKS WITH THE SPANISH INQUISITION, by Daniel M. Friedenberg. The Jewish Digest, June 1961, pp. 15-22.
A visit with the Marranos of Portugal.

Race Relations

THE ECONOMICS OF RACISM, by Michael Harrington. The Commonweal, July 7, 1961, pp. 367-370.
"To be equal, the Negro requires something much more profound than a way into American society."

Should have

IS SOUTH HEADED FOR RACE WAR? U. S. News and World Report, June 5, 1961, pp. 42-48.
Tension between Negroes and whites is rising in the Deep South.

do have

THE MYTH OF THE MODERATES, by Thomas F. Pettigrew. The Christian Century, May 24, 1961, pp. 649-651.
"The so-called moderate does not stand between racist and integrationist, offering a workable compromise; rather he stands to the side, unable to apply his outmoded ideas."

THE SHADOW IN JUNGIAN PSYCHOLOGY AND RACE PREJUDICE, by Frieda Fordham. Race, May 1961, pp. 62-69.
Jung's concept of the shadow and its relevance to the problem of racial prejudice.

Religion and Psychiatry

PSYCHIATRY AND RELIGION, by O. Hobart Mowrer. The Atlantic Monthly, July 1961, pp. 88-91.
"As man, through science, acquires more and more control over the external world, he has come to feel less and less capable of controlling himself..."

Religion and the Public Schools

BIBLE READING UPHELD IN MIAMI PUBLIC SCHOOLS, by Lee O. Garber. The Nation's Schools, June 1961, pp. 56-57 ff.
Florida courts approve some religious practices in public schools, forbid others.

RELIGION AND THE SCHOOLS, by Robert Coughlan. Life, June 16, 1961, pp. 110-122.
A historical analysis of the current national debate.

Shouldn't we order for Celes?

Religion and the Public Schools (cont.)

SOME REFLECTIONS ON RELIGION AND THE SCHOOLS, by Seymour Siegel. Conservative Judaism, Spring 1961, pp. 27-31.
An address delivered before the Joint Commission on Social Justice of the United Synagogue before the current controversy arose.

Social Research

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTEGRATION ATTITUDE SCALE, by Herbert M. Greenberg. The Journal of Social Psychology, June 1961, pp. 103-109.
The purpose of this article is to offer a tool which might be used to scientifically determine where integration might be pursued smoothly or where problems might be anticipated.

ETHNIC ATTITUDES, NEUROTICISM, AND CULTURE, by Norman M. Prentice. The Journal of Social Psychology, June 1961, pp. 75-82.
"In general, the bulk of the available empirical evidence did not support a significant relationship between ethnic attitudes and neuroticism or culture."

ETHNIC ORIGINS, EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AND RESPONSES TO A HEALTH QUESTIONNAIRE, by Sydney H. Croog. Human Organization, Summer 1961, pp. 65-69.
Of a sample of soldiers who completed the Cornell Medical Index, those of Italian and Jewish ethnic origins recorded the highest median number of symptom responses.

Should have?

IS SOCIAL SCIENCE SCIENTIFIC? By Russell Kirk. The New York Times Magazine, June 25, 1961, pp. 11 ff.
"A critic finds sociology has a fair way to go before fulfilling its claims."

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RATIONAL AND IRRATIONAL AUTHORITARIANISM, by Stanley A. Rudin. The Journal of Psychology, July 1961, pp. 179-183.
A study of the tendency to accept rational authority as exemplified by the teacher-student relationship and measured by a scale devised by the author.

Should have

TOLERANT AND PREJUDICED PERSONALITY SYNDROMES, by James G. Martin. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Spring 1961, pp. 171-176.
A report on personal differences between two categories of subjects found in a sample of adults in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Southern States

THE EMBARASSMENT OF LOUISIANA, by Harold H. Martin. Saturday Evening Post, May 27, 1961, pp. 15-17, 86-90.
"This Southern state was glowing with prosperity until the integration conflicts broke out in all their ugliness."

THE SOUTH'S UNEASY MODERATES, by Edward P. Morgan. The New Leader, June 26, 1961, p. 17.
There are decent, responsible citizens in Birmingham and Montgomery who deplore the brutal riots against the Freedom Riders.

WE, THE PEOPLE OF ALABAMA..., by Helen Fuller. The New Republic, June 5, 1961, pp. 21-23.
An account of what happened to the Freedom Riders in Alabama.

WHO TURNED THE BULL LOOSE? By Gerald W. Johnson. The New Republic, June 5, 1961, p. 20.
A comment on the collapse of law and order in Arkansas and Alabama.

Sunday Laws

BLUE-LAW BLUES, by Ralph Nader. The Nation, June 10, 1961, pp. 499-500 ff.
The effect of the Supreme Court's decision to uphold Sunday blue laws will be to plunge an already confused situation into hopeless chaos.

THE SUNDAY LAWS, by Thomas J. O'Toole. The Commonweal, June 30, 1961, pp. 343-345.
"In a pluralistic society like ours complete and absolute accomodation of the religious conscience is not feasible."

Trade-Unions

TRADE UNIONISM AMONG THE JEWISH GARMENT WORKERS OF BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, by Roy B. Helfgott. Labor History, Spring 1961, pp. 202-214.
A history of the movement from its beginning in the 19th century.

U. S. - Supreme Court

THE COURT AS SOCIAL WORKER, by Philip D. Levin. The Chicago Jewish Forum, Summer 1961, pp. 330-333.
The role of the Supreme Court in achieving desegregation.

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to Add to Notebooks

& References by

Subject.

RESOURCE LIST

THE METHODIST CHURCH AND RACE.
Leaflet.
Policy Statement of General Conference of 1964. (Paragraph 1824 of the 1964 *Discipline*) 5¢ each, $4.00 per hundred. Order number H-21

A CHARTER OF RACIAL POLICIES. Leaflet.
Resolution of the General Conference of 1964. 5¢ each, $4.00 per hundred. Order number H-20 (Order both of the above from the SERVICE DEPARTMENT or THE SERVICE CENTER — see below).

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964. Leaflet.
Descriptive, indicating procedures under the Act for obtaining its projections.
10¢ each, $9.00 per hundred, $85.00 per thousand. Order from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 132 Third Street, S.E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

ACTION GUIDE FOR VOTER REGISTRATION. 12 page leaflet.
and
ACTION GUIDE FOR EMPLOYMENT.
12 page leaflet.
Both published by Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ. 25¢ each, 10-99 copies 20¢ each, 100 or more 15¢ each. Order from Council for Christian Social Action, 289 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010.

FAIR HOUSING HANDBOOK.
42 page manual.
Practical guidance for those working to create and to maintain inclusive communities.
American Friends Service Committee, and National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. 50¢ each.
Order from National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

RESOURCE AGENCIES

A large number of local and national agencies are engaged full time in providing resources and guidance materials for one or more of the action areas in human relations listed in this leaflet. In addition to Methodist agencies, the following are a few of the more important groups to contact:

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Ave., New York, New York 10016

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 W. 40th Street, New York, New York 10018

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
21 W. Superior Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Ave., New York, New York 10016

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
Division of Christian Life and Mission
or
Commission on Religion and Race
475 Riverside Dr., New York, New York 10027

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 E. 48th Street, New York, New York 10017

✓ SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsythe St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS AGENCIES

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C. 20230
This service, established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and directly responsible to the White House, seeks the voluntary settlement of civil rights problems of communities. Acting in confidence, without publicity, it can cooperate with both public and private agencies, either upon request or on its own initiative, where needed.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210
This Commission is authorized under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. After July 2, 1964, will handle complaints under the employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Commission will also work with public and private agencies and individuals, furnish technical assistance, conciliate with employees who block compliance, make studies to further employment opportunities, and publish periodic reports.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530
This Division is responsible for the enforcement of federal civil rights laws through both civil and criminal prosecutions. The Division also supports the integrity of federal court orders in civil rights cases instituted by private citizens. The Division also investigates and prosecutes law enforcement officers who deliberately deprive citizens of their constitutional rights.

U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20425
This quasi-independent agency gathers information and studies all matters pertaining to civil rights in the nation, with particular reference to voting rights, and equal protection of the laws. It makes reports and recommendations to the President and the Congress for corrective action. It has established advisory committees in each of the fifty states.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210
Established by Executive Order 10925 of March 6, 1961, this committee seeks equal employment opportunity both within federal service and on government contract employment. The Committee acts on specific complaints, but in addition acts positively through educational programs, the securing of voluntary pledges from employers, and the publication of reports.

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20501
Established by Executive Order 11063 of November 20, 1962, this committee oversees the handling of complaints, coordinates the activities, and issues recommendations to the federal agencies which enforce federal regulations against discrimination in federally-assisted and federally-owned housing.
The committee also encourages education and community action efforts by local governments and private groups to encourage non-discrimination in housing.

This leaflet produced by:
Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs
Board of Christian Social Concerns
and
Woman's Division of the Board of Missions
The Methodist Church

Order from:
Service Department
100 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20002
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Service Center of the Board of Missions
7820 Reading Road., Cincinnati, Ohio 45237

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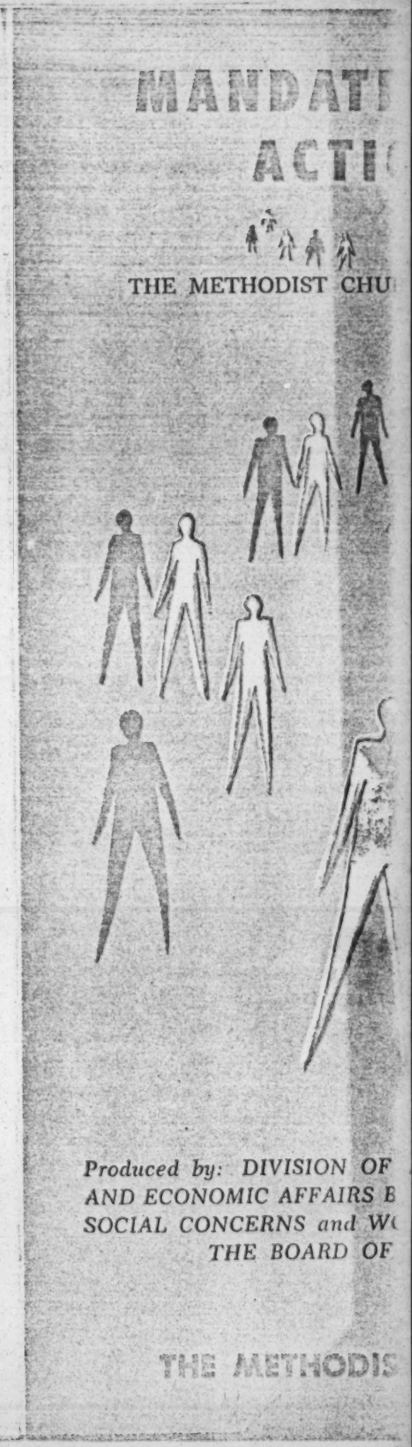


By being present at the White Citizens Council meetings and Ku Klux Klan gatherings he has garnered reactions from ministers, sheriffs, educators and labor leaders. Out of his overall picture we gain a fresh impression of what has happened in the years since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. Wakefield provides enlightening insight into the spirit and motivations of the young people of the South and their sit-ins. His reportage will stand as a valuable contribution to adequate understanding of what has been happening in our time to bring about change in the social structure of the South.

Matthew Cole

THE CHURCH AND THE CHANGE. By Rev. Robert G. Howes. Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 50 St. Park Ave., Jamaica Plain, 1961. 180 pp.

The author is well qualified to present this initial analysis of the role of the Catholic Church in the changing American community. As Cardinal Cushing states in the Foreword of the book, Fr. Howes is one of the few priests in the United States who has made his formal studies in city planning at one of our great technological institutes (M.I.T.), and is able to make a unique contribution in the field by combining a knowledge of theology with those other sciences so necessary for sound and effective planning.

This timely and provocative "manual for action" deals in changes of urban renewal, suburbia, and planning, while probing into the role of the church in civic crisis. Since neither the church's own attitude nor the community itself has yet jelled on these issues, it should serve principally as a catalyst for discussion and further action. Fr. Howes employs what he terms "Action Theory" as a technique and suggests principles and possibilities for carrying out his theory, while making a short survey of areas of relationship between the church and the changing community. These he follows with suggestions designed to action. His "Action Theory" as he defines it, "is theory on the threshold of and hungry for action."

Other considerations the author voices are concern lest the church second secularism by abandoning the moral areas of civic readjustment and/or by speaking only innocuous platitudes; that the church lose the sense of crisis in the changing American community by concentrating too heavily on details of difficulty and on problems of physical self-interest; that the church with all the good will but with lack of technical competence will enter the area of civic readjustment with a naivétè which can result in rash judgment or support for narrowly partisan positions contrary to the common good of the community.

"The Church and the Change" is recommended reading in a vital area of social concern; the format, unfortunately, is unattractive and crowded, and may detract from reader interest.

Ivis J. Calvet

Guide to Periodical Literature

America (6/3/61)—"Violence in Alabama" (editorial). "African Cardinal's Visit" by His Eminence, Laurian Cardinal Rugambwa. (6/17/61)—"God Bless America" by George H. Dunne, S.J.

American Benedictine Review (June '61)—"Emergence of the Colored People" by Gilbert F. Wolters, O.S.B.

American Journal of Sociology (July '61)—"Prejudice—Interaction Hypothesis from the Point of View of the Negro Minority Group" by Ernest Works. "Economic Deprivation and Extremism: A Study of Unemployed Negroes" by David Street and John C. Leggett.

The American Review (Spring '61)—Issue on Segregation and Desegregation. Authors: D. J. Meador, Alton Ketchum, Howard H. Quint, Cedric Dover, John Hope Franklin and others.

Ave Maria (5/17/61)—"Nailing Down a Plank" (ed.). (5/21/61)—"The Amazing Egbosimbas" by Richard L. Pierce. (6/10/61)—"Laws Can Whip Discrimination" (ed.).

Commentary (May '61)—"Electioneering among Minorities" by Roma Lipsky.

Commonweal (6/3/61)—"Violence in Alabama" (ed.).

Congressional Digest (June-July '61)—"The New Frontier's Housing Program."

Fordham Law Review (April '61)—"Land Use Planning," articles on legal aspects of urban renewal.

Foreign Affairs (July '61)—"Communism and Nationalism in Tropical Africa" by Walter Z. Laqueur. "Next-to-Last-Act in Africa" by Elspeth Huxley.

Information (June '61)—"The NAACP: Colored Man's Champion."

Josephite Harvest (June '61)—"Scandal in the South" (ed.).

Journal of Southern History (May '61)—"Slavery and the Slave Trade in Atlantic Diplomacy, 1850-1861" by Harold E. Landry.

Life (6/10/61)—"The Ride for Rights"—picture story.

The Nation (5/6/61)—"America's Black Supremacists" by Herbert Kronsney.

New Leader (6/5/61)—"The Unpredictable Negro" by Louis E. Lomax.

N.Y. Times Magazine (6/19/61)—"Progress by Moderation *and* Agitation" by Eric F. Goldman.

New Yorker (5/13/61)—"Back to Africa" by Harold A. Isaacs. (6/10, 17/61)—"Gomillion Versus Lightfoot" report on Tuskegee, Ala., by Bernard Taper.

Phylon (Summer '61)—"Negro Leadership in a Crisis Situation" by Tilman C. Cothran and William Phillips, Jr.

Reign of the Sacred Heart (June '61)—"Merit Employment and the Negro" by John J. O'Connor.

Reporter (6/22/61)—"The Freedom Riders and the Future" by Eugene V. Rostow. "Strangers in Africa" by Russell Warren Howe.

Saturday Evening Post (5/12/61)—"Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?" by Robert Paul Sessions.

Sign (June '61)—"Two More Joneses Have Gone to Suburbia" by Bob Senser.

U.S. News and World Report (5/22/61)—"Private Clubs, Private Homes—Next to Be Integrated?" (staff).

Voice of St. Jude (June '61)—"The Awakening" by Bob Senser.

Wilson Library Bulletin (May '61)—"Segregation in Libraries" Negro Librarians Give Their Views.

Pamphlets: "De Facto Public School Segregation" by Will Maslow. Reprinted from Villanova Law Review (Spring '61), Villanova, Pa.

FROM HERE AND THERE

DURING THE MONTH

U.S. ISSUES RULE ON NEGRO HIRING

Washington, July—Rules have been issued by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity to guide Federal contractors in complying with the Administration's ban on discrimination against Negroes in hiring and promotion. The rules are designed to implement President Kennedy's Executive Order of March 6 and authorizes cancellation of contracts in case of violation as well as reporting of provisions.

INVESTMENT COMPANY ESTABLISHED BY NEGROES

New York, July—A New York group has set up the first Negro-owned small business investment company to be licensed under the Federal law of 1958 creating this source of venture capital for small enterprises. The new company is known as Hudgins & Associates Small Business Investment Corporation.

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS SPUR INTEGRATION

Nashville, July—School boards in eight Southern cities and counties have assigned almost 1,050 additional Negro children to biracial schools for the fall term, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service.

COMPANIES SIGN NEGRO JOB PLEDGE

Washington, July—Eight leading defense contractors have signed White House agreements aimed at improving Negro access to jobs and promotion.

The presidents of the companies signed long-range "plans for progress" with Vice President Johnson, chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

WILMINGTON PASSES ANTI-BIAS RESTAURANT BILL

Wilmington, Del., July—An anti-discrimination ordinance applicable to all restaurants in the city has been passed by the Wilmington City Council.

The measure provides that before a restaurant can renew its yearly license or a new establishment can obtain one, an affidavit must be filed pledging non-discrimination.

PITTSBURGH COUNCIL APPLAUDS UNIVERSITY STAND

Pittsburgh, June—The Pittsburgh Catholic Interracial Council has adopted a resolution congratulating Francis S. Cheever, dean of the University of Pittsburgh medical school, for the medical faculty's decision to avoid holding meetings in city and country clubs which practice segregation.

FASHION DESIGNER HIRES NEGRO MODEL

New York, June—Miss Beverly Valdes, a 23-year-old Negro mannequin, believed to be the first Negro to be hired as a house model for a high fashion Seventh Avenue designer, has gone to work for Pauline Trigere. Miss Valdes was selected out of forty models who applied for the job.

BIRACIAL CLASSES IN SOUTH SLOWLY GAINING

Atlanta, June—According to the new edition of the Southern Education Reporting Service "Statistical Summary" almost seven percent of the Negroes in the South's public elementary and high schools attend schools with whites. The 17-State area, plus the District of Columbia, reported 213,532 Negroes in the biracial schools, or 6.9 percent of the 3,088,261 Negro enrollment. When the last Summary was reported in November 1960, the region had 6.3 percent of the Negro enrollment in biracial classes.

ATLANTA GROUP FORMS TO COMBAT VIOLENCE

Atlanta, June—An organization formed to solidify Atlanta against violence and disorder when the public schools desegregate this fall has been named OASIS (Organization Assisting Schools in September). The group of 46 city-wide organizations is campaigning to create a "climate of calm, dignified acceptance of desegregation in the fall."

OASIS has divided into four groups: civic and service, religious, youth-serving organizations, and a speaker's bureau.

Church officials have been approached and a "Law and Order Sunday" is planned to be held in Atlanta just prior to the opening of the schools in September.

LONGEST SIT-IN ENDS VICTORIOUSLY

Oklahoma City, June—When John A. Brown's Department Store ended segregation this summer, the nation's longest single sit-in campaign was brought to a victorious close.

In May of 1957 a NAACP youth group started its drive to integrate the store through a series of conferences. When talks failed, the NAACP youth began active sit-ins in August of 1958 and continued without let-up. In 1960 the NAACP Youth Council launched a "withholding of patronage campaign" against the store. When the store owners finally capitulated on June 23 of this year, an estimated 78 percent of the Negro population was participating in the endeavor.

SEGREGATION ENDED IN POST OFFICE EMPLOYE GROUPS

Oklahoma City, June—Oklahoma City Post Offices have driven a wedge into racial discrimination practices by prohibiting employee functions in recreational and eating facilities which restrict Negroes.

Two significant actions resulted from the directive. Organized bowling leagues identified with the Post Office Department were disbanded, and the meeting-place of the Oklahoma City Post Office supervisors was moved from a segregated cafeteria to the YMCA, which admits Negro patrons.

NEGRO GRANDMOTHER HEADS NEW OHIO COUNCIL

Canton, Ohio, July—A Negro grandmother and school teacher, Mrs. Percay A. Marcere, has been named first president of the Catholic Interracial Council of Stark County, Ohio.

DESEGREGATION PLAN UPHELD IN DELAWARE

Wilmington, Del., June—A Federal District Court has upheld the State Board of Education's "short range" plan providing school desegregation this fall for all Negroes who want it—if the school districts can handle the transfers.

NEGRO STUDENTS RECEIVE MEDICAL SCHOLARSHIPS

Chicago, June—Nine Negro college students have received four-year medical scholarships with annual awards of from $400 to $1,250 under a program to help relieve the shortage of Negro physicians and surgeons. The awards were announced by National Medical Fellowships, Inc., of Chicago, a non-profit organization that helps Negroes in education and medical training.

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

1963 A D L Publications

Human Rights & the International Community, Egon Schwelb

Out of Many: A Study Guide to Cultural Pluralism, Oscar Handlin

Epitaph for Jim Crow, Thos. J. Pettigrew

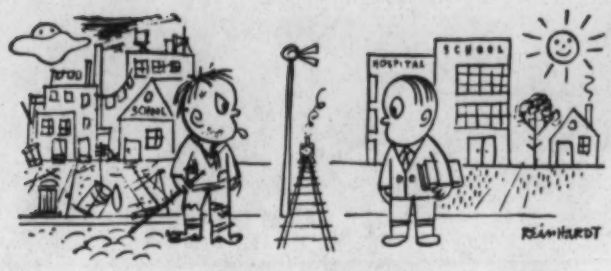
Social Change & the Negro Problem Arnold Rose

Patterns of Minority Relations, Raymond W. Mack & Troy S. Duster

Not Like Other Children, Bernard Asbell

Dixie Teachers Report Their Pupils Learn Well in Mixed-Race Schools James C Zanner

Give Slum Children a Chance –
A Radical Proposal, Chas. Silberman



WITH BETTER HOME, SCHOOL, MEDICAL CARE, JOHNNY COULD HAVE BEEN JIMMY.

BROTHERHOOD WEEK

February 17-24, 1963

believe it...live it...support it...
and EDUCATE FOR IT...

7 concise pamphlets and a filmstrip for Brotherhood Week and year-round programs on intergroup relations in schools, churches and synagogues, offices, plants, unions, civic and social organizations.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION, NORTHERN STYLE, by Will Maslow and Richard Cohen. No. 316. The causes and extent of racial segregation in Northern public schools and how schools can provide true equality of education for Negro and Puerto Rican children.

THE RACES OF MANKIND, by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish. No. 85. This world-famous classic is a popular exposition, cleverly illustrated, of the scientific facts underlying the concept that all men are brothers. Revised 1961.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, by Maxwell S. Stewart. No. 95. A 1962 revision of an important pamphlet based on Gunnar Myrdal's comprehensive study, An American Dilemma. The new edition takes into account recent developments, including significant Supreme Court decisions, and the facts provided by the 1960 Census.

GROWING UP WITH UNICEF, by Ritchie Calder. No. 330. The story of the remarkable fight the United Nations Children's Fund has carried on against disease and hunger throughout the world and its present plans for assistance in education, in welfare services, and in vocational training.

WHO'S MY NEIGHBOR?, by Algernon D. Black. No. 273. Deals with the problems created by discrimination in housing, and suggests a course of action for maintaining a democratic, integrated neighborhood.

A GUIDE TO SCHOOL INTEGRATION, by Jean D. Grambs. No. 255. A summary of the principles -- technical, educational, social, psychological -- which communities can follow in integrating their schools.

WHO'S ON FIRST?, by Jack Mabley. No. 233. How the world of sports demonstrated in simple terms that a man's merit is not judged by the color of his skin, by his ancestors, or by his religion, and that prejudice and discrimination are costly.

Pamphlets are 25 cents each; for quantity rates, see order form below.

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Negro Higher Educ.
Bibliography

March 12, 1964

Dr. Charles D. Hounshell
College of Arts & Science
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Dr. Hounshell:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you the enclosed list of books, articles, pamphlets and reports on Negro higher education.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs)
Research Associate

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632
New York, 10011
Telephones: (212) AL. 5-7575-6
Dr. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director

DATE: April 30, 1964

TO: Subscribers to the NEWSLETTER of the
National Conference on Religion and Race

Because it has been decided by the three Conveners that this office shall be discontinued as of May 15 and also due to the extra work entailed in planning and carrying out the very successful National Consultation, St. Louis, Missouri on April 13-15, it has proved to be impossible to prepare and publish further issues. The last one was No. 7 (January-February) which you were sent in January.

In order to keep you informed of developing state and local religion and race organizations, I am sending herewith a copy of a Directory of State and Local Organizations. Also included is another of Christian and Jewish Organizations involved in race relations.

With reference to the National Conference on Religion and Race, please correspond in future with Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. He will be acting in behalf of all three of the Conveners.

Very truly yours,

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director

GRW/cjt
Enclosures: 2 Directories

DIRECTORY

OF

CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

INVOLVED IN RACE RELATIONS

(April 10, 1964 edition - Incomplete. Additional information invited for supplementary pages to be mimeographed and circulated.)

Prepared by:

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632
New York, New York 10011

After May 1, 1964, address communications to:
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

Additional copies 50¢.

JEWISH

Synagogue Council of America
(The National Coordinating Agency for the Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform rabbinic and congregational organizations.)
235 Fifth Avenue
New York 16, New York
Tel: (212) MU. 6-8670
Commission on Social Action -
Rabbi Irwin M. Blank, Chairman
Rabbi Philip Hiat, Executive Vice President
Dr. Nathan Lander, Director

Conservative

Rabbinical Assembly
3080 Broadway
New York, New York
RI. 9-8000

United Synagogue of America
3080 Broadway
New York, New York
RI. 9-8000

Commission on Social Action of the United Synagogue of America, Rabbinical Assembly, Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs, National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America
Rabbi Harry Halpern, Chairman
Mr. Morris Laub, Director

Orthodox

Rabbinical Council of America
84 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
AL. 5-1900
Social Action Committee -
Rabbi Leonard Gewitz, Chairman
Rabbi Israel Klavan, Executive Vice President

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
84 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
AL. 5-4100
Communal Relations Commission
Mr. Samuel N. Breunglass, Chairman
Rabbi Samson R. Weiss, Executive Vice President

Reform

Central Conference of American Rabbis
790 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
AG. 9-2811
Committee on Justice and Peace
Rabbi Sidney L. Regner, Executive Vice President

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
RE. 7-8200
Commission on Social Action and
Commission on Interfaith Activities
Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Associate Director

Religious Action Center
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington 6, D. C.
Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Director

PROTESTANT AND ORTHODOX

African Methodist Episcopal Church
Commission on Social Action - Since 1960
215 West Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina
Reverend F. C. James, Consultant
Tel: (803) 773-7729

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Board of Race Relations
International Justice and Goodwill
No staff - Board is advisory
Bishop S. Dorme Lartey, Chairman
P. O. Box 169
Monrovia, Liberia

American Baptist Convention
Division of Christian Social Concern
Valley Forge, Philadelphia 19481
Rev. Elizabeth J. Miller, ExecutiveDirector
Tel: (215) 768-2278-9
Miss Jean Luckey
Department of Community Witness
Valley Forge, Philadelphia
Reverend E. B. Hicks, Associate Director
Community Witness Program
1228 Buchanan Street
Topeka, Kansas 66604
Tel: (913) 234-6328
Reverend J. C. Herron
Special Southern Representative
Box 188
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Church of the Brethren
1451 Dundee Avenue
Elgin, Illinois
General Brotherhood Board - established Emergency
Committee on Race Relations - July 1963
Reverend Lee G. Whipple, Director of Race Relations
Tel: (312) 742-5100

Evangelical United Brethren Church
601 W. Riverview Avenue
Dayton, Ohio 45406
Department of Christian Social Action
Reverend Cawley H. Stine, Director
Tel: (513) 222-2531

International Convention of Christian Churches
(Disciples of Christ)
Coordinating Committee on Moral and Civil Rights
- Established June 1963
221 Ohmer Avenue
P. O. Box 19136
Indianapolis, Indiana 46219

Reverend Barton Hunter, Administrative Secretary
National Director of Human Relations
United Christian Missionary Society
Reverend Ian McCrae
Tel: (317) 359-9568

Lutheran Church in America
231 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016
Board of Social Ministry
Dr. Harold Hass, Executive Secretary
Reverend L. William Youngdahl, Secretary for
Community and Cultural Affairs
Tel: (212) 532-3414

The Methodist Church
100 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002
General Board of Christian Social Concerns
Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs
Dr. Grover C. Bagby, Associate General Secretary
Tel: (202) 546-6096 or 546-1000
Miss Thelma Stevens - Room 1479
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027
Tel: (212) 749-0700

National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027
Commission on Religion and Race - Since 1963
Dr. Robert W. Spike, Executive Director
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Associate Director
Tel: (212) 870-2436
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, Staff Consultant in Charge
Tel: (212) 870-2070

United Church Women
"Assignment Race"
Miss Carrie E. Meares, Director
Tel: (212) 870-2234

Presbyterian Church, U. S.
Board of Christian Education
Box 1176
Richmond, Virginia 23209
Division of Christian Action
Dr. Malcolm P. Calhoun, Secretary
Tel: (703) 643-6691

Protestant Episcopal Church
National Council
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017
Division of Christian Citizenship
Reverend Arthur E. Walmsley, Executive Secretary
Reverend Cornelius Tarplee
Mr. Carroll Greene, Jr.

Reformed Church in America
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027
Christian Action Commission
Robert F. Williams, Secretary
45 John Street
New York, New York 10027

Religious Society of Friends
Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
Race Relations Committee
160 N. 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania - Organized 1919
Gladys D. Rawlings, Executive Secretary
Tel: (212) 563-7705

Southern Baptist Convention
Christian Life Commission
Reverend Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary
Reverend Ross Coggins, Associate Secretary
460 James Robertson Parkway
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Unitarian Universalist Association
Commission on Religion and Race - since 1963
Reverend Robert E. Jones, Executive Director
245 Second Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002
Tel: (202) 547-0254

United Church of Christ
Committee for Racial Justice Now - since 1963
Dr. S. Garry Oniki, Executive Coordinator
289 Park Avenue South - Room 93
New York, New York 10010
Tel: (212) 475-2121
Council for Christian Social Action
Associate Secretary for Racial and
Cultural Relations
Rev. John R. Washington
2969 W. 25th Street
Cleveland 13, Ohio

United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Commission on Religion and Race
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027
Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Executive Director
Rev. Metz Rollins, Associate Director
Rev. Robert Stone, Associate Director
Tel: (212) 870-2200

ROMAN CATHOLIC

Christian Family Movement
1655 W. Jackson
Chicago, Illinois 60612 - Since 1949
Mr. & Mrs. Patrick Crowley, Secretaries

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice - - Since 1960
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director
John P. Sisson, Assistant to the Director
Tel: (312) 664-8222

Director of Southern Field Service
Mr. Henry Cabirac
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
Tel: (504) 523-2901

National Catholic Welfare Concerence - Since 1919
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
Social Action Department
The Rt. Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins, Director
Rev. John F. Cronin, S. S., Assistant Director
Tel: (202) 737-3553

National Council of Catholic Men
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
Mr. Martin H. Work, Executive Director
Mr. Donald Farrell, Program Director (giving special attention to race relations)
Tel: (202) 737-3553

National Council of Catholic Women
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
Miss Margaret Mealey, Executive Director
Has Social Action Committee
Tel: (202) 737-3553

National Federation of Catholic College Students
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005
Social Action Secretariat at Manhattanville College - Purchase, New York
Miss Barbara Lyons, Chairman
Mother Mary T. Clark, RSCJ, Moderator

National Newman Club Federation
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North American Federation of the Third Order of Saint Francis
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Tel: (212) 281-4284

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Affairs Department
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of Interreligious
Affairs Department
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New York 28, New York
Commission on Law and Social Action - Since 1918
Mr. Will Maslow, Executive Director
Tel: (212) 879-4500

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith
Rabbi Solomon S. Barnards, Director -
Department of Interreligious Cooperation
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016
Tel: (212) 689-7400

Committee of Southern Churchmen
Reverend Will D. Campbell, Director and
Preacher-at-Large
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee
Tel: (615) 269-9481

Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity -
Since 1960
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. - Room 200
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Reverend John B. Morris, Executive Director
Tel: (404) 525-7975

National Board of the Young Men's Christian Assn.
291 Broadway
New York, New York 10007
Commission on Interracial Policy and Program
Leo B. Marsh, Secretary for Interracial Services

National Board of the Young Women's Christian
Association of the U. S. A.
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, 10022
Miss Edith Leringo, General Secretary
Tel: (212) 753-4700

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019
Tel: (212) 688-7530

*National Conference on Religion and Race -
Organized January, 1963 - Until May 15, 1964.
Secretariat - 150 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011
Rev. Galen R. Weaver, Executive Director
Tel: (212) 255-7575-6

National Student Christian Federation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027
Rev. Leonard Clough, General Secretary

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Tel: (404) 524-1378

*NOTE: After May 15, 1964, address all communications to National Council of Churches, attention of Dr. J. Oscar Lee,
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027
Tel: (212) 870-2070

DIRECTORY

OF

RELIGION AND RACE

ORGANIZATIONS

IN

States...

Counties...

...Cities

Prepared by the National Conference on Religion and Race from information available as of April 6, 1964.

For additional copies write:

National Conference on Religion and Race
150 Fifth Avenue - Room 632
New York, New York 10011

After May 1, address communications to:
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
Department of Racial & Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive, New York 10027

ARKANSAS

Little Rock:

Greater Little Rock Council on Religion and and Human Relations

Organized - 1963

Chairman: Rev. Donald K. Campbell
9301 Rodney Parham Road
Little Rock, Arkansas 72207
Tel: (501) 115-3274 or
(501) 115-2181

CALIFORNIA

Marin County:

Marin County Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - November 5, 1963

Chairman of the Steering Committee:
Mr. Julian W. Mack, II.
945 Las Ovejas Avenue
San Rafael, California
Tel: (415) 479-2968 or
(415) 421-4935

Oakland:

East Bay Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - September 23, 1963

Chairman: Reverend Robert D. Hill
1194 Twelfth Street
Oakland, California
Tel: (415) 444-672 or
(415) 832-5276

San Francisco:

San Francisco Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - January 22, 1964

Coordinator: Mrs. Max Semel
#506, 503 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California
Tel: (415) 392-3189

Santa Barbara:

F.A.I.R. (Fellowship to Advance Inter-group Relations

Organized - Spring, 1963
Mrs. Myra P. Gallert
P. O. Box 914
Santa Barbara, California 93102

Santa Clara and So. San Mateo Counties Conference on Religion and Race

First Organized - May, 1963
Secretary-Coordinator:
Mrs. Mary Ann Stone
1229 Naglee Street
San Jose, California
Tel: (408) 297-2660

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut Committee on Race

Organized - October, 1963
Chairman: Professor John David Maguire
Winchester House
Wesleyan University
Middletown, Connecticut
Tel: (203) DY 7-4421

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Interreligious Committee on Race Relations

Organized - 1963
Secretary: Dr. Isaac Franck
1420 New York Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5, D.C.

FLORIDA

Dade County:

Dade County Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - 1963
Secretary: Mr. Seymour Samet
1210 Congress Building
Miami, Florida
Tel: (305) 665-542

ILLINOIS

Chicago:

Chicago Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - January 31, 1963
Executive Director:
Mr. Eugene J. Callahan
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
Tel: (312) 664-7501

Peoria:

Peoria Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - June, 1963
Executive Secretary:
Rev. John B. Story
2508 North Sheridan
Peoria, Illinois
Tel: (309) 688-8501

Quad Cities: (Rock Island, Davenport, Moline, East Moline)

Interreligious Committee on Race
Organized - September, 1963
Chairman: Reverend Donald Bautz
c/o Council of Churches
639 - 38th
Rock Island, Illinois
Tel: (309) 786-3922

Waukegan Area Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - December 1, 1963
Secretary: Mrs. Shirley Tometz
2025 Waverly Place
Waukegan, Illinois
Tel: (312) 662-8385

Will County-Joliet Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - October, 1963
Chairman of the Steering Committee:
Rabbi Morris M. Hershman
226 E. Clinton Street
Joliet, Illinois
Tel: (815) 727-7078

Wilmette Human Relations Committee
Organized - January 29, 1963
Co-Chairmen:
Mr. & Mrs. Patrick Crowley
2304 Elmwood
Wilmette, Illinois
Tel: (312) 251-2304

INDIANA

Gary:
Gary Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - November 13, 1963
Rabbi Carl I. Miller
601 N. Montgomery
Gary, Indiana
Tel: (219) 938-5232

Marion:

Grant County Workshop on Religion and Race

Organized - May, 1963

Chairman: Rev. Herbert Pettengill
First Friends Church
1501 S. Adams
Marion, Indiana
Tel:

Indianapolis:

Indianapolis Conference on Religion and Race

Organized -

Chairman: Mr. Charles Stimming
4629 Washington Boulevard
Indianapolis, Indiana
Tel: (317) 273-1113 or
(317) 635-6591

IOWA

Waterloo:

Black Hawk County Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - May 28, 1963

Chairman Steering Committee:
Mrs. Warren Nash
211 Newell Street
Waterloo, Iowa 50703
Tel: (319) 233-3181

Cedar Rapids:

Inter-Faith Committee

Organized - June, 1963

Reverend D. R. Jafvert
327 - 35th Street, N. E.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Tel: (319) 366-0802 or
(319) 363-0281

Des Moines:

Iowa Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - June 15, 1963

Chairman Steering Committee:

Reverend John E. Donovan
223 Securities Building
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

KENTUCKY

Lexington:

Lexington Committee on Religion and Human Rights

Organized - February, 1963

General Secretary:

Mrs. W. K. Massie, Jr.
108 Irvine Road
Lexington, Kentucky

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston:

Boston Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - June, 1963

Chairman: The Rt. Rev. John M. Burgess

Secretary: Mr. Robert E. Segal
Room 401 - 72 Franklin Street
Boston 10, Massachusetts
Tel: (617) 542-7525

Springfield:

Steering Committee on Religion and Race of Greater Springfield, Massachusetts

Organized - September 17, 1963

Chairman: Dr. Walter H. English
Room 228 - City Hall
Springfield, Massachusetts
Tel: (413) 736-2711, ext. 340 or 343

MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor-Washtenaw County:

Ann Arbor-Washtenaw Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - June, 1963

Chairman: Reverend George B. Laurent
227 South Ann Arbor Street
Saline, Michigan
Tel: (313) 429-7670

Detroit:

Metropolitan Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - October, 1963

Chairman: Reverend James Sheehan
c/o Archbishops Committee on Human Relations
305 Michigan Avenue
Detroit 26, Michigan

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis:

Minnesota Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - June, 1963

Coordinator: Mr. Calvin L. Walton
905 St. Anthony Avenue
St. Paul 4, Minnesota
Tel: (612) 226-9233 or (612) 221-2158

MISSOURI

Kansas City:

Clay-Platte Council on Religion and Race

Organized - August, 1963

Chairman: The Reverend Charles Duxbury
4805 Antioch Road
Kansas City 19, Missouri
Tel: (816) 452-7833

Columbia:

Columbia Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - February, 1963

Chairman: Reverend William S. Ryan
2601 W. Broadway
Columbia, Missouri
Tel: (314) 443-3950

St. Louis:

St. Louis Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - May, 1963

Executive Secretary:
Dr. Paul Hanlon
409 N. Euclid Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63108
Tel: (314) 367-4855 or (314) 863-1674

NEBRASKA

Omaha:

Nebraska Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - September 4, 1963

Executive Board Member:
Father James Stewart
1817 Dodge Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68102
Tel: (402) 341-4004

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey:

New Jersey Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - September, 1963

Chairman Executive Committee:
The Reverend Alexander H. Shaw
116 North Oraton Parkway
East Orange, New Jersey 07107
Tel: (201) 675-8600

NEW YORK

New York:

Metropolitan N. Y. Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - February, 1963 by the Committee of Religious Leaders, N. Y. C. Youth Board
Consultant: Miss Carol J. Densberger
79 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10016
Tel: (212) 685-8600

Rochester:

Rochester Conference on Religion and Race
Organized - April, 1963
Chairman: The Reverend Eugene H. Tennis
4 Meigs Street
Rochester, New York 14607
Tel: (716) 244-0886

Syracuse:

Syracuse Committee on Religion and Race
Organized -
Chairman: The Rev. Charles Brady
410 Forman Avenue
Syracuse, New York 13210
Tel: (415) 478-1343

Utica:

Interreligious Commission on Religion and Race
Organized - September 12, 1963
Chairman: Reverend H. Robert Gemmer
11 Devereux Street
Utica, New York
Tel: (315) 733-4661

NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh:

North Carolina Council on Religion and Race

Organized - April 5, 1963

Chairman: Dr. W. R. Grigg
301 Hillsboro Street
P. O. Box 9523
Raleigh, North Carolina
Tel: (919) 833-1605 or (919) 787-0478

OHIO

Cleveland:

Greater Cleveland Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - June, 1963

Coordinator: The Reverend F. Edward Camille
1027 Superior Avenue
Cleveland 14, Ohio
Tel: (216) 781-7411

Lorain County:

Lorain County Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - November 6, 1963

Secretary: Thomas H. Peters
P. O. Box 255
Lorain, Ohio
Tel: (216) 244-1889 - Business
(216) 288-8083 - Residence

Toledo:

Toledo Area Interfaith Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - July 24, 1963

Secretariat: Reverend Garnett E. Phibbs
405 Board of Trade Building
Toledo 4, Ohio
Tel: (419) 243-9263

Warren:

Warren Inter-Faith Housing Conference

Organized - April 16, 1963

Chairman Executive Committee:

Reverend William O'Neil
530 Tod Avenue, S. W.
Warren, Ohio
Tel: (216) 395-3747

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City:

Oklahoma Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - July, 1963

Secretary: Mr. Stan Twardy
P. O. Box 981
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Tel: (405) 235-4559

Chairman Executive Committee:

The Rt. Rev. Frederick Putnam
P. O. Box 1098
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Tel: (405) 524-9800

OREGON

Portland:

Metropolitan Interfaith Commission on Race

Organized - July, 1963

Co-Chairman: Dr. Robert H. Bonthius
1624 N. E. Hancock
Portland, Oregon 97212
Tel: (503) 287-1289

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh:

Pittsburgh Area Religion and Race Council

Organized - Shortly after Chicago Conference

Convener: Reverend Robert L. Kincheloe
220 Grant Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219
Tel: (412) 471-7300

RHODE ISLAND

Providence:

Rhode Island Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - March 15, 1963

Coordinator: Mrs. Rozella White Switzer
92 Benevolent Street
Providence 6, Rhode Island
Tel: (401) 831-5961 or
(401) 421-7306

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee:

Greater Milwaukee Conference on Religion and Race

Organized - April 20, 1963

Chairman: Rt. Reverend Donald H. V. Hallock
804 East Juneau Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
Tel: (608) 272-3038

Information Incomplete Concerning:

Atlanta, Georgia - Contact person Mr. Don McEvoy, 1144 Bank of Georgia Bldg., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Delaware - Contact person Mr. W. Spencer Thompson, Atlas Chemical Industries, Inc., Wilmington 99, Delaware.

Houston, Texas - Contact person Mrs. Robert Cossum,
5147 Beachnut, Houston, Texas
Tel: (713) 665-0434

Louisville Conference on Religion and Race (in process of formation - contact person Rev. Carl R. Key, Room 210, Y. M. C. A. Bldg., Louisville, Kentucky.

Nashville - A conference is in process of formation. Contact person Dean William C. Finch, Divinity School, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Seattle: Contact person Dr. Lemuel Petersen, 2005 Fifth Ave., Seattle 1, Washington.

South Bend: Contact person Mr. Donald Thorman, 404 Commerce Building, South Bend, Indiana.

****

Information on the above by way of corrections or supplementation or about new conferences not listed is solicited so that supplementary pages or a third edition can be published. See front cover for proper addresses.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL:

Mrs. Ceil Gross, Executive Secretary
(MU 4-7266)
International Publishers Associates
381 Park Avenue South
New York 10016

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATES

SEEKS FUNDS FOR BOOK GIFTS

New York City (June 4, 1964). International Publishers Associates, on behalf of International Publishers, has started a campaign to send books on Negro history and freedom to Freedom Schools, Freedom Libraries, Community Centers, Church Libraries, Negro College Libraries and Public Libraries. In a brochure prepared for this campaign, International Publishers Associates asks assistance not only to provide such books to help the Negro learn his heritage but to help every library across the country establish a NEGRO HISTORY section.

This mailing was inspired by the many requests from civil rights groups, college libraries and from field workers in the Negro Freedom movement in the South for books about the Negro people. A public appeal was made by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and cooperating groups for books for their Mississippi Summer Project - including their full-time freedom schools and community centers.

International Publishers' Negro History and Freedom book list contains 26 titles including the four volume Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass; John Brown by W.E.B.DuBois and American Negro Slave Revolts by Herbert Aptheker.

International Publishers Associates is at 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016, Room 1301.

-30-

BOOKS

FOR

Freedom Schools

Freedom Libraries

Community Centers

Church Libraries

Negro College Libraries

Public Libraries

"'Books are Weapons,' we said in World War II. Books still are weapons. It's just a different kind of war."

John G. Lorenz
U. S. Office of Education

Urging racial integration in the editorial content of textbooks, Whitney M. Young, Jr., of the National Urban League, told publishers, "You know how to include me in your history books. All I have to do is convince you that it is the right thing to do. My children don't know their Negro heritage because they read your books."

Will you contribute toward getting on library shelves a collection of books on Negro History and Freedom unique among publishers' lists? INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATES, on behalf of International Publishers, comes to you with a golden chance not only to help the Negro learn his heritage but to help every library establish a NEGRO HISTORY section.

Go into the public library in your home town, you will be shocked at the paucity of books on this vital segment of American life. Let's start TODAY to establish a NEGRO HISTORY section in every public library across the country. Let every American become well versed in the story.

The Civil Rights movement in the South plans Freedom Schools, resident schools, community centers, church libraries, and research projects -- all of which need books on Negro history. Your contribution here will make it possible for Southern Negro and white communities alike to enrich their educational and cultural programs.

Recently International Publishers was able to send Negro college libraries in the South our NEGRO HISTORY shelf. The letters sent in appreciation for these gifts pointed up the need for more books on this subject.

International is unique among publishers in that it has a full list of books on the theme of Negro Freedom -- 24 titles -- which deal with Negro history as an integral and vital part of American history and which reflect the aspiration of the Negro people themselves.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS is constantly getting letters from civil rights groups, from Negro College libraries, from field workers in the Negro Freedom movement in the South, asking us for books or telling us how the books we have been able to send them thus far have been of help. SNCC has made a public appeal for books for their Mississippi Summer Project - including their full-time freedom schools and community centers which they plan.

From Americus, Georgia:
"We have plans to set up a library and possibly a bookmobile since the county officials have refused to allow the bookmobile to serve the Negro community."

From Greenwood, Mississippi:
"After the first of the year, we plan to distribute some of these grand books to our twenty voter registration offices throughout the State of Mississippi and to establish small branch libraries in each of these projects."

A Southern Negro college writes:
"We are in the midst of a 5 year program to bring our library holdings up to the minimum standard of our accrediting agency and foresee increased effort to meet the American Library Associations standard of 125,000 volumes by 1971. Our Alumni in the local community have, for the past three years, used the purchase of library books as their annual project and they have done surprisingly well, but the problem is a big one and progress slow."

YOU can turn the tide. Your dollars can set up Negro History shelves in every Freedom School, every Freedom Library, every Community Center, every Negro college library and every public library. The long neglected history of the Negro people will become as much a part of our reading curriculum and knowledge as Mark Twain.

SIMPLY TEAR OFF THE LAST PANEL OF THIS BROCHURE, CHECK THE BOOKS YOUR DOLLARS WILL PROVIDE, and if you wish indicate where you want the books sent. Your order will be turned over immediately to International Publishers, and you will receive from them a receipted invoice to be used for tax reduction purposes, where applicable.

Helping raise funds to distribute books on Negro History and Freedom is just one of the many undertakings of INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATES. Without obligation to you, we will send you a brochure which fully illustrates the work being done by this organization. Simply check the appropriate box on the bottom of the form which you return with your contribution.

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	Cloth	Paper-back
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___JOHN BROWN, W. E. B. DuBois. The classic biography first published in 1909. The author added a new introduction and other material to this 1963 edition.	5.50	2.25
___RECONSTRUCTION: THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY, James S. Allen. Analysis of the post-Civil War period.	4.00	1.65
___A STAR TO STEER BY, Hugh Mulzac. First Negro to win his Master's license, the author was Captain of the famous Liberty Ship, Booker T. Washington.	5.00	1.85
___LABOR FACT BOOK 16, Labor Research Assn. Big section on Civil Rights.	3.25	1.65
___ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO, Herbert Aptheker. Struggles for emancipation in the main historic epochs. New edition.	3.50	1.65
___DECISION IN AFRICA: SOURCES OF CURRENT CONFLICT, W. Alphaeus Hunton. New edition, revised.	4.00	1.85
___AFRICA: THE WAY AHEAD, Jack Woddis. Deals with economic independence, political democracy, tribalism, social planning.	4.00	1.65
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___LIFE & WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Philip S. Foner. Four volumes. The only definitive collection.	15.00	
___TO BE FREE: STUDIES IN AMERICAN NEGRO HISTORY, Herbert Aptheker. Includes completely new source material.	3.00	
PAMPHLETS		
___HARRIET TUBMAN, Earl Conrad		.50
___WENDELL PHILLIPS, James J. Greene		.50
___THE NEGRO IN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE, Victor Perlo		1.00
___GEORGE W. CABLE: SELECTIONS, I. Cable Manes, ed.		.25
___ABRAHAM LINCOLN: SELECTIONS, Philip S. Foner		.50
___FREDERICK DOUGLASS: SELECTIONS, Philip S. Foner		.75
SIX PAMPHLETS BY HERBERT APTHEKER:		
___NEGRO IN THE CIVIL WAR		.50
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___LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH DURING SLAVERY		.25
___NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION		.25
___NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS IN THE U.S.		.50

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$10 will send 20 copies of a 50¢ pamphlet or 40 copies of a 25¢ pamphlet

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International Publishers Associates
381 Park Avenue South
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- ☐ Community Centers
- ☐ Church libraries *
- ☐ Freedom Libraries
- ☐ Negro College Libraries *
- ☐ Allocate as you see fit
- ☐ The public library * of your choice or as listed below:

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Name _____

Street _____

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* Tax Exempt. A receipted invoice will be sent you by the Publishers for your tax records, giving the contributant to which the books were sent.

June 10, 1965

Mrs. Paul Brest
14 Concord Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Dear Mrs. Brest:

In order to give you a really comprehensive bibliography on race relations and/or civil rights, we would have to list ALL our books, pamphlets, reports, etc. and this would be much too detailed and too time-comsuming. I am sending you, therefore, several copies of things we have already pulled together on topics of the most interest. Included is our list of books (selected) for centers beginning new libraries and with a limited amount of money--so we listed those we thought most important in this field. I believe this sort of thing would be more useful to you.

I would like to suggest that you try to locate a complete file of CURRENT, a monthly magazine that has been in existence about five years and which publishes summaries and excerpts from speeches, reports, books, pamphlets, etc. "significant new material from all sources on the frontier problems of today." Their reading is rather wide, and covers all the subjects that I believe would be of special interest for the annotated bibliography you and your husband have in preparation. I should think the library would have bound files for the past five years. The latest issue, for instance, has readings on 1) U.S. Policy in Latin America, 2) U. S. Policy in Vietnam, 3) Communism in Asia, 4) Cities to Live in (Urban Renewal), 5) Making Democracy Work, 6) Making the Economy Work, 7) Soviet Russia's Evolution, 8) The Evolving United Nations, 9) Readers Service (lists of books, pamphlets, etc. that can be ordered.

Other bibliographies in the field of civil rights (besides ours, that I am sending) are: Labor's Library, AFL; Resource Handbook in Human Relations, Council on Human Relations, 281 The Arc Cleveland 14, Ohio; Intergroup Education Bibliography, Nat'l Conference of Christians & Jews, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago 1, Illinois. The American Jewish Committee I gave you on the phone.

I do believe, however, that CURRENT will be a great time-saver for you, and give you the best of the past five years in the fields you would most like to cover.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Attached:
List of books
Assorted lists of books, magazine articles, etc. on some subjects in the field of civil rights

Memo Long distance call (6/10 or 11)

from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

14 Concord Ave.
Cambridge Mass.
02138
Lecturer at
law school

(Mrs. Paul)

Iris Brest – (Paul)

biblio

non-legal – articles, books, pamphlets

last 10 years – race –

for annotated bibliography –

Current –

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND/OR RACE RELATIONS*

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_____, An Epitaph for Dixie, W. W. Norton & Co., 1957.

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*Cash, W. J., The Mind of the South, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941.

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_____, The Negro Protest, Beacon Press, 1963.

*Dabbs, James McBride, The Southern Heritage, Alfred A. Knopf, 1958.

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*Key, V. O. Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, 1950.

* indicates book considered a classic

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_____, Strength to Love, Harper & Row, 1963.

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Muse, Benjamin, Ten Years of Prelude: 1954 - 1964, The Viking Press, 1964.

*Myrdal, Gunar, An American Dilemma, Harper & Bros., 1962.

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The following books are arranged under major topics that have been used for discussion at past student seminars. See the pages at the end of the bibliography for books that have been added during the past year.

I. THE CHANGING SOUTH

A. The Mind of the South. W. J. Cash. New York: Knopf, 1941. Over the years this book has been considered the most perceptive presentation of the development of the Southern mind and attitudes. (Available in paper-back.)

B. The Southern Temper. William Peters. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959. A report on the progress of desegregation in the Deep South, revealing that in spite of explosive setbacks, bombings and killings, there are churchwomen, businessmen, labor leaders and responsible politicians (the "silent South") working to bring about a harmonious end to segregation. Views of segregationists are also stated, and they too show that there is the conviction that they cannot win ultimately.

C. An Epitaph for Dixie. Harry S. Ashmore. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. "tells the story of the white man's losing battle against civil rights and other 20th century phenomena."

D. The Southern Heritage. James McBride Dabbs. New York: Knopf, 1958. "...a discursive but richly anecdotal volume written as a commentary on a single subject--segregation."

E. Segregation, the Inner Conflict in the South. Robert Penn Warren. New York: Random House, 195 pages.

F. Neither Black Nor White. Wilma Dykeman and James Stokeley. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957. "Two veteran writers, both native Southerners, measure the pulse of thirteen states below the Mason-Dixon line. Seen in its larger aspects, the challenge of this book is not from any single region, but for the nation as a whole.

G. Killers of the Dream. Lillian Smith. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949. The South's tragic loss of creative social values killed by the schizophrenic etiquette of white supremacy, seen in the lives and through the eyes of the white population and particularly its women.

H. The Case for the South. W. D. Workman, Jr. New York: Devin-Adair, 1959. A justification for the segregationist's position, written by a Southern journalist who, in addition to his own local paper in South Carolina, also reports for the Southern School News.

I. The Tragic Era, Claude G. Bowers. Cambridge, Houghton Miflin Co., 1957. A vivid account of the South under carpet bag rule and of life in Washington during the dark era of intrigue and corruption that stretched from Lincoln's assassination to the close of the Grant administration.

J. The Seeds of Time, Henry Savage, Jr. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1959. This inquiry was made with the hope of its playing a part in helping the South solve its problems by picturing "a more rational picture of the South and its peculiarities and the historical bases of those peculiarities.

K. The Southerner as American, Charles Grier Sellers (ed.), Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Nine Southerners contribute in an attempt to show some of the misinterpretations of Southern history and of differences between the South and the rest of the nation.

L. Revolt in the South, Dan Wakefield. Evergreen Books, New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960. A report of the struggle shaking the foundations of the Old South--from the Supreme Court decision of 1954 to the sit-ins of 1960.

M. This is the South, Robert W. Howard (ed.) Chicago, Rand McNally & Co., 1959. A portrait in depth by thirty-one distinguished authors. It takes no sides, argues no issues--it is concerned with the whole South, the land and the people who form the background behind all the events, crises and misconceptions of the past 200 years.

N. The Burden of Southern History, C. Vann Woodward. Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. $3.50. The author destroys some of the myths, traumatic inaccuracies, and romantic legends upon which have been based the portrayals of an earlier school of historians.

O. Go South to Sorrow, Carl T. Rowan. New York: Random House, 1957. Relates current factual incidents in America's bitter and passionate struggle in the "ageless task of bolstering man's claim to liberty, dignity and the good life."

P. The South Strikes Back, Hodding Carter, III. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959. Reveals the beginning of the Citizens' Councils, their increasing power in keeping alive the specter of miscengenation and through economic boycotts.

Q. The Strange Career of Jim Crow, C. Vann Woodward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.

II. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA -- THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH

A. Stride Toward Freedom, Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Harper & Bros. This book while biographical also tells of the victory of passive resistance in the Montgomery bus boycott and is an excellent documentary and an important book on the current situation in the South.

B. The NAACP, Warren St. James. Exposition Press, 1958. A full history of the NAACP from its organization in 1909 to the present time. Describes the growth of the organization, its achievements and its plans for the future.

C. The Lonesome Road, Saunders Redding. New York: Doubleday, 1958. "A fascinating story of the Negro's part in the development of America. Covers the contributions of distinguished Negroes such as Frederick Douglass, Walter White and Joe Louis in a three-dimensional way,"

D. The Negro Potential, Eli Ginzberg. Columbia University Press. Traces the economic gains made by Negroes between 1940 and 1956 and the challenges yet to be faced before the country can fully utilize the latent potential of the Negro race. An analysis of the utilization of the Negro in the Armed Services serves as an example. The study further considers the deficiencies of the present Negro educational system.

E. Black Bourgeoisie, E. Franklin Frazier. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1957. "The black bourgeoisie suffers (says Dr. Frazier) from 'nothingness' because when Negroes attain middle-class status, their lives generally lose both content and significance."

F. The Negro in America, Arnold Rose. An excellent condensation of An American Dilemma by Gunner Myrdal. (See III, B.)

G. The Black Muslims in America, Eric C. Lincoln, with Forward by Gordon W. Allport. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961. A study of the Black Muslims--reportedly more than 100,000 strong--who preach black autonomy, black supremacy, black union against the white world. To the author this is a gauge of racial tension in the United States today--a new form of nationalism, reflecting the American Negro's discontent with things as they are and a determination to change them.

H. The Negro Vanguard, Richard Bardolph. New York: Rinehart, 1959. A record of achievement of outstanding Negroes from 1770 to the present.

I. From Slavery to Freedom, John Hope Franklin. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1947. A dramatic history of the Negro from his medieval kingdoms in Africa to his life today in the West Indies, Latin America, Canada, and the United States. This is an attempt not only to write a history of the American Negro but to show his relation to the emergence of American civilization.

J. The Story of the Negro Retold, Carter G. Woodson and Charles H. Wesley. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth St. NW. An enlarged and revised edition of the volume originally published in 1935 by Carter G. Woodson. Dr. Wesley has updated the materials to include colored people in the 2nd World War and the Korean conflict as well as the growth of anti-colonialism and nationism in Africa.

K. American Negroes' Dilemma, R. E. David, New York, Philosophy Library, 1954. To help foster better relations within the framework of the Negro group and to increase harmony in the area of white-Negro relations, the author has endeavored in seven brief chapters to mirror an objective picture of the Negro as he fits into the political, social, economic, fraternal and religious American society.

L. The Story of the American Negro, Ina Corrine Brown. New York: Friendship Press, 1950, rev. edition. This edition is designed to present the highlights, rather than the details of the Negro's life in the United States.

III. RACE AND PREJUDICE

A. The Nature of Prejudice, Gordon W. Allport. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954. A dynamic, constructive study of America's dilemma--the gap between her people's daily practices and their professed beliefs.

B. An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Gunner Myrdal. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944. A comprehensive study of the Negro question in America. Analyzes anthropological, cultural, social, economic, legal, political, educational and spiritual aspects of the Negro minority, set against the background of the "American Creed." The dilemma between American ideals and social concepts and the actual behavior of whites toward Negro and Negro toward white represent a "moral lag in the development of the nation."

C. Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, Ashley Montagu. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. An expose of the false ideas of race being propagated in the modern world, presenting the biological, psychological and cultural aspects of the race question.

D. The Fears Men Live By, Selma Hirsh. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. "...valuable educational tool in exposing the origins of prejudice and outlining the opportunities for remedy."

E. The Negro Personality, Berram P. Karon. New York: Stringer Publishing Co., 44 E. 23rd Street. The study poses the question: What is it like in terms of mind and emotion to live as a member of a deprived racial group in an otherwise democratic society? The sanctions and functions of the American caste system and how they are imposed and made to work are examined.

F. Children of Bondage, Allison Davis and John Dollard. Washington, American Council on Education, 1940. A study of the personality development of Negro youth in the urban South.

IV. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

A. Federal Protection of Civil Rights: Quest for a Sword, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1947. A survey of the past and present legislation on Civil Rights with a review of outstanding cases, concluding that better protection for the citizens is needed and that federal agencies require broader responsibilities for more effective action.

B. American Rights: The Constitution in Action, Walter Gelhorn. New York, Macmillan, 1960. Among the more involved civil liberties problems facing the United States explained in this volume in desegregating the schools.

C. The Quest for Equality, Robert Harris. New Orleans, Louisiana State University Press, 1960. The first complete synthesis of American political theory, constitutional history and constitutional law, with regard to equal protection. It presents in highly readable form the stormy, eventful, sometimes ludicrous history of the struggle for equality in this country.

V. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION

A. Race Relations and American Law, Jack Greenberg. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Since the institution of the law is the only social force invested with the power to act, socially conscious individuals must know what the law is.

B. Desegregation and the Supreme Court, Benjamin Munn Ziegler. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1958. Legal readings on desegregation.

C. Desegregation and the Law: The Meaning and Effect of the School Segregation Cases, Albert P. Blaustein and C. C. Ferguson, Jr. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957. "...of exceptional value to persons not familiar with law, nor clear as to the meaning and significance of the desegregation controversy."

D. Civil Rights and States Rights, June Purcell Guild. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia State Conference, NAACP, 404½ N. Second Street, 1960. A book on civil rights law written for the layman by an expert on constitutional law.

E. States Rights Vs. the Supreme Court, Thomas Wilcox. Forum Publishing Co., 1960. The author feels that the states are replublican and so discusses from that viewpoint the constitutional limitations on federal power.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A. The Negro and the Schools, Harry Ashmore. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954. This clear and authoritative text sets forth the history of educational segregation, the course of recent litigation in this area; the efforts of the South to equalize educational facilities and recent instances of desegregation both in universities of the South and in systems in other sections of the country.

B. Citizens Guide to Desegregation, Jack Greesberg and Hubert Hill. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955. An up-to-date manual pertaining to happenings resulting from recent court decisions and other matters of import in desegregation.

C. With All Deliberate Speed, Don Shoemarker. New York: Harper & Bros. The Southern Education Reporting Service summary of the first three years' developments following the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

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E. Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness, Melvin M. Tumin. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. A study which purposed to show with evidence what attitudes toward desegregation exist and what other factors bear upon these attitudes and in what ways. This book should be one of the more valuable publications of recent years in the field of intergroup relations in the South.

F. Now is the Time, Lillian Smith. New York: The Viking Press, 1955. A book of meaningful and clear perspective, giving direction and understanding to current developments relating to the school desegregation decision. It is a challenge to American courage and vision.

G. Virginia's Massive Resistance, Benjamin Muse. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana Univ. Press, 1961. The author discusses the role played by "the Byrd Machine"--by Governors Stanley and Almond and by leading private and business interests in the state's attempts to side-step Supreme Court rulings on school desegregation.

H. When a City Closes Its Schools, Ernest Q. Campbell. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, Institute for Research in Social Science, 1960. A survey of the far-reaching effects of the September 1958 closing of the Norfolk, Virginia, public schools. $1.00

I. Little Rock, U.S.A., Wilson and Jane Cassels. Chandler Publishing Co., 1960. Readings arranged in two sections: (1) Newspaper accounts, court records and other documents on Little Rock desegregation; (2) Interpretative material, critical comment and opinion.

VII. DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A. Approaching Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education, Francis J. Brown. Washington: The American Council on Education, 1955. Volume 19 of Series I of the American Council on Education Studies. This is a report of a conference on outstanding educators under the sponsorship of the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education, held November 15-16, 1954, in St. Louis, Mo.

B. Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Reports the inequalities of segregated education and discriminatory practices in schools receiving federal aid.

VIII. SOUTHERN POLITICS

A. Southern Politics, V. O. Key, Jr. New York: Knopf, 1949. Out of the South's race problem there has developed a political system which is a deadly serious business. This book, thoroughly documented, bases its observations on illuminating local details which give a comprehensive picture of the political South.

B. It Has Happened Here, Virgil T. Blossom. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. The author cites as basic factors behind what happened in Little Rock: 1) Political ambitions of Governor Faubus, 2) the lack of constructive action by the Department of Justice, and 3) a few opportunists interested in increasing their powers.

C. Balance of Power: the Negro Vote, Henry Lee Moon. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1949. An analysis of the strategic distribution of the Negro vote--how the Negro population's use and non-use of the ballot has affected the country--and the many factors working for its control.

(see also IV.--C. and V.--E.)

IX. THE ECONOMICS OF SEGREGATION--INDUSTRIALIZATION, EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR

A. Last Man In: Racial Access to Union Power. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959. A study of the power structure of unions which seeks to explain race relations within labor unions through an analysis of the functional necessities of the union as an organization and the derived demands made upon the union leaders. ...a book about men acting often for ideals but in an environment of severely limited freedom.

B. National Planning Association. Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Among the studies included here are "Selected Studies of Negro Employment in Three Southern

Plants of International Harvester Company" by John Hope II, Fisk University; "Four Studies of Negro Employment in the Upper South" by Donal Dewy of Duke University; "Negro Employment in the Birmingham Metropolitan Area" by Langston T. Hawley of the University of Alabama; "Two Plants--Little Rock" by E. W. Eckard of the University of Arkansas; "Three Companies--New Orleans Area" by Howard Wesson, Jr. of the University of Chattanooga.

C. Negro Labor: A National Problem, Robert C. Weaver. New York; Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946. A consideration of the Negro during reconversion with an appraisal of his change of status during the war.

D. Equality of Opportunity, John Hope, II. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1956. A union approach of fair employment.

E. "The Problem of Unemployment as It Relates to Negroes", John Hope, II. Section 8 (pp. 173-225) in Studies in Unemployment, prepared for the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, pursuant to S. Res. 196. 86th Congress, 1960. Washington, D. C.; U. S. Government Printing Office. $1.50.

F. Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, William H. Nicholls. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. $5. The author goads the South toward the better life as an integral part of the nation, seeing the problems of race and agrarian life as the core of the region's problem. "...the Southern economy is basically in good health, but it has certain gangrenous appendages which must be amputated if the central body is to thrive and prosper."

(see also II.--D.)

X. THE MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF RACE RELATIONS

A. Catholic Organizations Promoting Negro-White Relations in the United States, Thomas Hart. Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1947. Five types of race relations agencies are related to five classes of Catholics: middle-class Negroes and whites, a "spiritual elite", young clerics and educated Southerners. Each class is analyzed as to ideology, structure, problems and techniques.

B. The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, Kyle Haselden. New York: Harper & Bros., 1959. An answer to three questions: What has the American Church done about the racial problem? What is the Christian understanding of racial prejudice? What is the religious basis for creative action in today's racial crisis?

C. Christians in the Racial Crisis, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Ernest Q. Campbell. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. This study of the Little Rock ministry is a scientific analysis of factors bearing on the role of ministers and churches in questions of segregation, desegregation and integration.

D. Segregation and the Bible, Everett Tilson. Nashville: Abbington Press, 1958. A searching analysis of the scriptural evidence.

E. The Kingdom Beyond Caste, Liston Pope. New York: Friendship Press, 1957. Dr. Pope sets the problem of race relations in the United States in perspective, examines the causes of racial stress and looks at the scientific facts about racist superstitions. He is concerned particularly with the involvement of the church, being a Christian writer who sees the problem within the framework of his faith.

F. Segregation and Desegregation: A Christian Approach, T. B. Matson. New York: Friendship Press. Discussion of basic teachings of Christianity with implications for good will and friendship across racial lines.

G. Methodism's Challenge in Race Relations: A Study of Strata. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960. Paper $2. An investigation of one of the Church's most critical problems in the light of the insights of the social sciences and the norms of Christian social ethics.

H. Dark Glory, Harry V. Richardson. New York: Friendship Press, 1947. A study dealing with the history and setting of the Negro church in the South.

XI. ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOUTH

A. Barriers: Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews, N. E. Belth (ed.) in association with Harold Braverman and Morton Pruner. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. A survey of five major areas of discrimination against Jews, through selected articles first prepared and written by Anti-Defamation League members. There is an analysis of "Why People Scapegoat," by Gordon Allport.

B. A Measure of Freedom, Arnold Forster. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1950. A report by the Anti-Defamation League on several areas of anti-semitism and its patrons.

XII. HUMAN RELATIONS ON CAMPUS

A. College Programs in Intergroup Relations, Lloyd A. Cook. Washington: American Council on Education, 1950. The first of two volumes reporting on a cooperative project conducted

by twenty-four colleges in training teachers in the techniques for improving intergroup relations amont their pupils. Each college committee gives an account of its actual studies, programs and activities during the four-year project.

B. Fraternities without Brotherhood, Alfred McClung. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. "This is a report to college students, parents and educators concerning the chief defect in a cherished campus institution, the social fraternity..."

C, The College Student and the Changing South, Reginald H. Green. A consideration of the problems of race relations confronting the Southern campus and its student body.--Report of the Southwide Student Human Relations Conference of November, 1958. (Available through, USNSA, 3457 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

D. Roads to Agreement, Stuart Chase. Successful Methods in the Science of Human Relations. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951. Instance of effective efforts to achieve satisfactory human relations in a wide variety of fields are given, with many simple and clear generalizations deduced from them.

XIII. HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

A. Community Organization: Action and Inaction, Floyd Hunter, Ruth Connor Schaffer and Cecil G. Sheps. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. A significant and important contribution to the study of community organization and action.

B. Blackways of Kent, Hylan Lewis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. "One of the important source books from the perspective of race relations, since it tells so well the substance and meaning of a subculture in a Southern town." --American Sociological Review.

C. An American City in Transition, Herman H. Long, John Hope, II and Galen R. Weaver. Baltimore Commission on Human Relations, 1955. Baltimore Community Self-survey of Intergroup Relations. Maryland Commission of Interracial Problems and Relations.

D. Toward Better Race Relations, Dorothy Sabiston and Margaret Hiller. New York: Woman's Press, 1948. The story of 17 local YWCA's in their community effort to improve race relations.

E. Neighbors in Action, Rachel Davis DuBois. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. A manual for school and community leaders to develop projects for "cultivating an understanding and appreciation among people of varying cultural backgrounds."

XIV. BOOKS ON AFRICA

A. "Africa Seen by American Negroes," a special issue of Presence Africaine, containing articles by leading American Negro scholars representing all points of view.

B. Cry The Beloved Country, Alan Paton. New York: Scribner's 1951. A novel of life in South Africa depicting the tragic plight of black-skinned people in a white man's world.

C. Tales from a Troubled Land, Alan Paton, New York: Scribner's, 1961. Ten stories which provide glimpses into the dark world of South Afirca.

D. Black Power, Richard Wright. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. A first-hand report--vivid, brutal and frank, but written with a lively humor and understanding--of revolution that is shaking Africa, specifically in the Gold Coast area.

E. Africa, Continent of the Future, George E. Haynes. New York: Associated Press, 1951. An up-to-date guide to economic, political, cultural, educational, social and religious conditions throughout Negro Africa.

F. The Color Curtain, A report of the Bandung Conference, Richard Wright. Cleveland: World Publishing Company.

G. The Reluctant African, Louis Lomax. New York: Harpers, 1960.

XV. MISCELLANEOUS

A. The Magnolia Jungle, P. D. East. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960. The author is the famous editor, publisher, and owner of the Petal Paper, a tiny weekly newspaper, printed in Pascagoula, Miss. On one level this is the story of the Petal Paper, its inevitable transition from an editorial policy of "love mother and hate sin," to a liberal voice for "equality under the law for all men". The transition was inevitable because of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the author's lifelong search for truth and meaning in life. While there is much external action, the deeper battle is going on within the author. It is the terror and beauty of this inner battle that gives the book a truly universal appeal. The writing is easy to read and abounds with Mr. East's own brand of satire and gentle humor.

B. Breakthrough on the Color Front, Lee Nichols. New York: Random House, 1954. The complete behind-the-scenes story of the integration of the Negro into the Armed Forces. This account reveals the impact of such a program upon military efficiency, foreign relations and social change at home.

C. The Wall Between, Ann Braden. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1958. An insightful personal account of racial housing conflict and victimization in a Louisville white suburb, occasioned by the moving of a Negro family, with thoughtful observation on Southern race relations in general.

D. State Laws on Race and Color, Pauli Murray. Cincinnati: Woman's Division of Christian Service, Methodist Church, 1951. A detailed summary of all laws by states, affecting minorities, including aliens.

E. The American Mind, Henry Steele Commager. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. This is a new major work by the noted historian, and may be described as in interpretation of American thought and character since the 1880's.

F. The Other Side of Jordan, Harry S. Ashmore. New York: Norton, 1960. $3.50. Looks at the situation of Negroes who have settled in urban areas outside the South and the problems they face in housing, employment, and the extra-legal practices which maintain segregation.

G. Race and Reason: A Yankee View, Carl Putnam. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1961. A defense of segregation; it has been said that this book may well become the "bible of the segregationists".

* * * * * * * *

ADDITIONS TO BIBLIOGRAPHY - 1961-62

I. THE CHANGING SOUTH

Seeds of Southern Change -- The Life of Will Alexander. Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. A biography of the "greatest white champion of the Negro cause in the South from 1915 to 1954". It is the story of one man's talent for human relations, and it exposes in an intimate and personal way the qualities of an important social architect of our time.

A History of South Carolina. Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. The manifold developments in South Carolina during the past hundred years are gathered into specific problem areas such as education and race relations.

The Emerging South. Thomas D. Clark. Oxford University Press, 1961. This book examines the South in its great moment of change--in every area of economic and social life.

II. THE NEGRO IN AMERICA -- THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH

Freedom Road. Howard Fast. Second paperback reprint, New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1962. A novel about the Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War and about the attempts to build a new community of brotherhood.

Nobody Knows My Name. James Baldwin. New York: Dial Press, 1962. "The question of color" appears frequently in this collection of essays and profiles written over the last six years. The writer records his return from self-exile in Europe and his first trip South where he observed the problems of school desegregation.

The Negro Revolt. Louis Lomax. New York: Harper & Bros., 1962. A report by a Negro on his people's mood of militancy and a searching examination of the reasons for it. In showing that it is a revolt against both the white world and against entrenched leadership of the old-guard Negro organizations, he uses facts, personalities and personal experience to examine Negro leadership in organizations.

Negro Leadership in a Southern City. M. Elaine Burgess. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. Through personal interviews, the author establishes the premise that despite a united front, the Negro community is not a homogenous unit. Like its white counterpart it has built-in differences based on religious preferences, length of residence, ideological convictions, racial militancy and many others. Much of the book concerns itself with desegregation and asserts that the Negro leaders are determined by their attitudes and actions on the race issue.

100 Years of Negro Freedom. Arna Bontemps. New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1961. A perceptive history of the struggle of the Negro through the first 100 years to realize the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation, in terms of the men who led their cause; educators, editors, scientists, politicians, and artists alike.

Black Like Me. John Howard Griffin. Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1961. John Howard Griffin undertook in the fall of 1959 a personal assignment to find out the hard way, possibly the only way a white man can, what it is like to be a Negro in the South. He decided to darken his skin and travel through several Southern states. This book is the record, offered in all its crudity and rawness, of this dangerous and often terrifying mission.

Behind the Ebony Mask. Geraldine Moore. Southern University Press, 1961. A detailed discussion of Negro attitudes about all aspects of life in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Angry Black South. Glenford E. Mitchell and William H. Peace, III. New York: Corinth Books, 1962. A collection of essays by six Negro writers who attempt to explain the new mood and tactics of Southern Negroes.

The New Negro. Edited by Matthew H. Ahmann. Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers. Three major papers presented at the 1961 National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice by Dr. Stephen J. Wright, Professor Kenneth C. Clark and Miss Diane Nash are included along with two additional papers by Dr. Thomas P. Melady and William J. Kenealy, S.J.

Negro Education in America. Edited by Clift, Anderson, Hullfish. 1962. Fourteen Negro and white educators analyze the significance of the kind of education the Negro is receiving and what the outlook seems to be for the future.

IV. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Congress and the Court. Walter F. Murphy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. A first-rate assessment of the delicate balance of power between Congress and the Supreme Court as it affects the American political process.

A Century of Civil Rights. Milton R. Konvitz. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. This book presents a historical and philosophical analysis of civil rights developments during the past century. It details federal and state legislative action to insure equality of treatment in public accommodations, employment, education and housing.

V. SUPREME COURT DECISIONS AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF DESEGREGATION

Where the States Stand on Civil Rights. Richard Barnett and Joseph Garai. New York: Bold Face Books. The civil rights picture on voting, education, employment, housing, public accommodations and interracial marriage is present compactly for each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia.

VI. PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Fifty-eight Lonely Men. J. W. Peltason. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. This account of the public school segregation - desegregation story studies the role of the federal judges in the circuit and district courts of the South.

VII. DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Story of Spelman College. United Negro College Fund, 22 East 54th Street, New York, New York, 1961. The history of the first college for Negro women. Many of the factors described are typical of all private colleges for Negroes, and the author has provided the reader with a broad outline of the progress of Negro education in the United States.

X. THE MORAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS OF RACE RELATIONS

A Catholic Case Against Segregation. Edited by Joseph E. O'Neill, S. J. New York: The Macmillan Co. Original essays by Catholic writers cover various aspects of the segregation issue.

Christian Ethics and the Sit-in. Paul Ramsey. New York: Association Press. The Author explains his understanding of Christian social ethics as they apply to sit-ins and related issues.

XI. ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOUTH

Some of my Best Friends... Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. New York: Farrar, Straus, Cudahy, 1962. A detailed study of discrimination against Jews in the United States. A variety of fascinating case studies are set against a broad sociological context explaining the roots of discrimination -- "prejudice in action" -- in this country and offering insights on how it might be excised from the American scene.

XV. MISCELLANANEOUS

The Ku Klux Klan in American Politics. Arnold S. Rice. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1962. A detailed history of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States.

XVI. DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENTS

Freedom Ride. James Peck. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962. This story tells for the first time in book form, of the non-violent action to end segregation that is penetrating the South today. Before its on-the-scene report of the 1961 Freedom Rides, it tells of the author's experience with Jim Crow Bibles used in Southern courts, of segregated benches, shoe-shine stands, buses, churches, prisons, restaurants, rest rooms and waiting rooms.

Diary of a Sit-in. Merrill Proudfoot. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. As a white faculty member at Knoxville (Tenn.) College, Dr. Proudfoot participated with the Negro students demonstrating to obtain equal service in downtown stores in 1960. His journal records the events that resulted in desegregation of the lunch counters.

Race and Social Revolution. Byram Campbell. New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1958. A lively though profound study of the biological, sociological and moral issues of the most controversial issue of our age.

* * *

Bibliography

1. Teaching the Bill of Rights -- Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.
In this pamphlet, Supreme Court Justice Brennan eloquently and cogently assigns an essential place to civil liberties in the educational process. He touches upon such topics as the need for civil rights education, the dangers of apathy and the responsibilities of citizenship -- 25¢.

2. Toward A Democratic Campus -- Robert H. Terte
Published by ADL in cooperation with the U. S. National Student Association, this is a new edition of the handbook for student leaders concerning human relations activities on and off campus. Mr. Terte is with the Education Department of the New York Times -- 50¢.

3. Your Neighbor Celebrates
This is a revised and up-dated edition of a long-standing ADL standard work. This pamphlet gives a cogent, yet simplified, description of Jewish holidays, customs and ceremonials -- 35¢.

4. Token Desegregation and Beyond -- Dr. J. Kenneth Morland
This is one of a series of joint ADL-Southern Regional Council publications. It is the first thorough analysis of the methods and effects of schemes used in some southern states to evade the U. S. Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Dr. Morland is Chairman of the Sociology Department at Randolph-Macon College in Virginia -- 50¢.

5. The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study -- Robert Coles, M.D.
This is also a joint ADL-SRC publication. This study deals primarily with six and seven-year-old elementary school students in New Orleans and sixteen and seventeen-year-old high school students in Atlanta, as well as supplementary evaluations in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee and Little Rock, Arkansas -- 50¢.

6. Improving the Climate for Positive Human Relations on the College Campus -- Morton J. Sobel
This reprint from the Journal of Human Relations, Vol. XII, No. 4, discusses the need for consistency of practice with theory in the teaching of human values and emphasizes the uselessness of preaching civil rights when the idea is contradicted by the educational milieu. Stressed are the necessity for fair student recruiting practices, the importance of the counselor's recognizing the unique problems of minority group members and the potential value of counselling the biased majority group members -- 50¢.

7. The Right to Equal Educational Opportunities As A Personal and Present Right -- Paul Hartman
This reprint from the Wayne Law Review, Spring, 1963, Vol. IX, No. 3, by Dr. Hartman of ADL's Legal Department investigates in considerable detail the extent to which the U. S. Supreme Court has de-emphasized the traditional interpretation of freedom from discrimination as a "personal" and "present" right guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment -- 25¢.

8. Theory Into Practice -- Edited by Howard J. Ehrlich
This special edition of the journal published by Ohio State University is devoted entirely to intergroup relations education. A number of prominent authorities have articles included -- $1.00.

9. Teaching Democratic Values: A Study of the Effect of Prejudice Upon Learning -- Gerald Engle & Harriet E. O'Shea
In this reprint from the Journal of Social Psychology, the authors report on the study of the reactions of a Jewish and Baptist group respectively to the viewing of the ADL film, "An American Girl." They conclude that people see and hear selectively -- 25¢.

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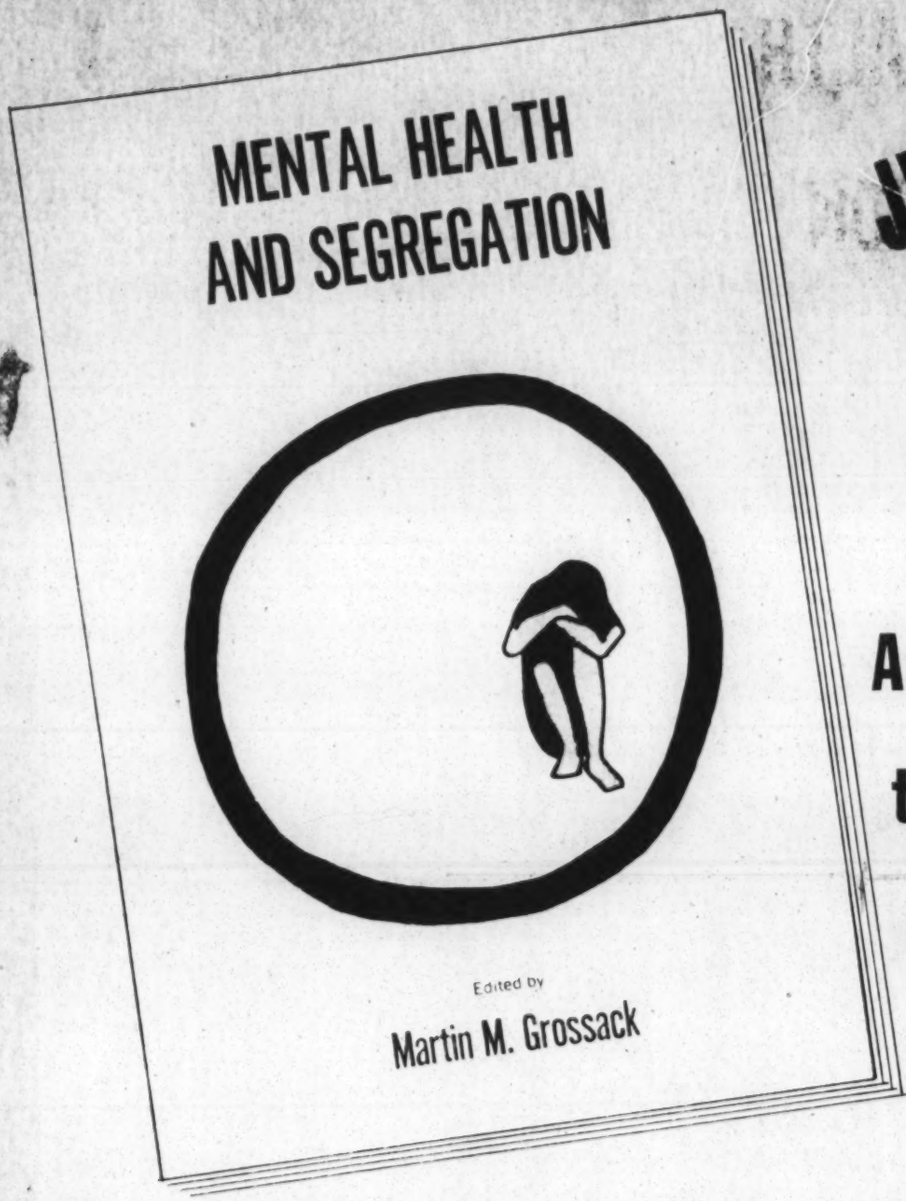

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3 Group Belongingness Among Negroes
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7 Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement
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8 The Contribution of Some Organic Factors to School Retardation in Negro Children
by Benjamin Pasamanick and Hilda Knobloch

III ADOLESCENCE AND ADULTHOOD

9 Urban Lower-Class Negro Girls
by Margaret Brenman

10 Personality and Negro-White Intelligence
by Sheldon R. Roen

11 The Upper Limit of Ability Among American Negroes
by Martin D. Jenkins

12 Difference Between the TAT Responses of Negro and White Boys
by Paul H. Mussen

13 Some Personality Characteristics of Southern Negro Students
by Martin M. Grossack

IV MENTAL HEALTH OF NEGROES

14 The Emotional Health of Negroes
by Helen V. McLean

15 Culture Change and Negro State Hospital Admissions
by David C. Wilson and Edna M. Lantz

16 A Survey of Mental Disease in an Urban Population
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17 Mental Disease Among Negroes
by Benjamin Malzberg

18 Cultural Determinants in the Neurotic Negro
by A. B. Sclare

19 Memorandum on a Psychiatric Reconnaissance
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V PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH NEGROES

20 Some Subcultural Considerations in the Psychotherapy of a Negro Patient
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publications bulletin

From the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

An excellent summary of basic information and generalizations concerning racial and ethnic relations in the U.S. The book is well organized, interestingly written, and thoroughly informed. --Robert W. Edgar, Queens College

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G 427 THEY AND WE, Dr. Peter I. Rose.

A concise, informative introduction to the sociology of intergroup relations. It incorporates the principal concepts and findings of social scientists who have studied racial and ethnic relations in the United States. As the groundwork for his analysis of the contemporary scene, the author briefly reviews the history of American minorities from the days of the first settlement to the present and describes the successes and failures of various programs for integrating disparate peoples. Taking into account a growing body of theory and data on the dynamics of prejudice and discrimination, Professor Rose examines the nature of prejudice, the causes and consequences of intergroup conflict, and the reactions of minorities to differential and discriminatory treatment. He concludes with a very pertinent discussion of the shifting focus of intergroup research and provides an annotated list of selected readings.

Peter I. Rose received his Ph.D. from Cornell University. He teaches sociology and anthropology at Smith College and at the University of Massachusetts and has also taught at Goucher College in Baltimore. Editor of the Research Bulletin on Intergroup Relations from 1959-1963, Professor Rose is now chairman of the Committee on Intergroup Relations, Society for the Study of Social Problems. He is also consultant to the Anti-Defamation League. His articles and reviews have appeared in a variety of journals and he has co-edited a special issue of Social Problems, "The Threat of War" (1963). He is currently engaged in research on minority identity and on the attitudes of children, college students and adults regarding desegregation and disarmament.

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CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE
1810 N. Larrabee St. Chicago 14, Illinois 312/ 664-8797

Dear Friend,

This is to announce the formation of the Civil Rights Information Service, an organization which intends to function as a central clearing house for news of the civil rights movement in the United States. It is the purpose of the service to exploit all possible communications techniques in an effort to remedy the generally acknowledged insufficiency of civil rights coverage in the conventional news media.

To begin with, we have set up an audio news service, a facility for providing radio stations with on-the-spot news of civil rights activity all over the country. The substance of these reports is tape recorded telephone interviews with persons involved in or affected by (or resisting) specific protest actions wherever they occur. Certain technical innovations and the extensive cooperation of the telephone company make it possible for us to make in-person reports available to broadcasters over the phone with little or no delay, thereby providing the radio audience with current and sustaining coverage of developments in the movement as they occur. This service is already being used by nine stations in eight cities.

Another immediately contemplated CRIS project is the inception of a weekly or biweekly newsletter, composed of written communications from persons involved in the movement, whoever and wherever they may be; a newspaper, so to speak, consisting entirely of letters to the editor and want-ads; devoted to reports, impressions, information, requests, announcements, etc. - whatever, subject to practical limitations, movement people may have to say to each other in print. This newsletter will be the subject of a further communication in the near future.

A third project already under way is the establishment of a teletype service which will provide a daily national roundup of civil rights activity to all public (TWX Public Teletype System) subscribers. This service will be begun as soon as available resources permit.

It will readily be seen that such a service cannot hope to function without the active participation and support of the people and organizations involved in the struggle for civil rights We are able only to provide a central connecting point for the collection and distribution of news and information. We must look to the people in the movement for our material, with the idea that we can build a network of contacts within local civil rights organizations, on whom we can rely as reporters. It is furthermore our belief that by thus dealing with the news directly from its actual sources, rather than through the agency of what are called disinterested observers, we can better serve the interests of both the movement and the public.

Such services as it can muster will be offered by CRIS free of charge, and we must regretfully announce that we are entirely dependent on the contributions of interested parties for our financial support. We have an application before the Internal Revenue Service for tax exempt status, and while it is pending we are known as the Civil Rights Information Service Administration Fund. Our needs are modest but will be continuing, and our success depends absolutely on the interest and support of all freedom fighters. Accordingly we hereby invite comments, suggestions and, above all, contributions, from all concerned.

Sincerely,

Robert C. McNamara
Director

NOTICES

Sam Lynde of 892 Oak St., Winnetka, Ill., who is Chairman of the Winnetka Human Relations Committee is attempting to organize forty of the spontaneously formed human relations groups in the Chicago area. He asks that anyone with practical experience in organizing coordinating councils of such pro-civil rights homeowners groups to write him detailed suggestions.

Arthur Evans, Chairman of Cleveland CORE, wants information in the form of studies and research on the psychological effects of de facto school segregation. Write him at 1740 Crawford, Cleveland, Ohio.

COFO wants a fairly accurate polling of the number of workers planning to go to Mississippi this summer. Church groups, news organizations, and student groups sending people there should write to Robert Wylde , 1017 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss., the COFO Headquarters. COFO is the "Umbrella Group" that was founded late last year by SNCC leader Robert Moses to coordinate all Mississippi educational and voter registration efforts.

Mary King at SNCC in Atlanta asks for ideas on where to place articles on the Mississippi Summer Project. She also asks the people to read the April 11 New Yorker piece on the Free Southern Theater Project and the coming Redbook article on SNCC Southwest Georgia Director, Dan Harris. Write her at 8½ Raymond St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

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— — — — — — — — — —

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THE ANTISLAVERY VANGUARD

Edited by Martin Duberman

Contents

INTRODUCTION by Martin Duberman, Princeton University vii

PART I: BACKGROUND

1. Slavery and Sin: The Cultural Background by David Brion Davis, Cornell University 3
2. Who Was an Abolitionist? by Larry Gara, Wilmington College 32
3. Who Defends the Abolitionist? by Fawn M. Brodie 52

PART II: INDIVIDUALS

4. Orange Scott: The Methodist Evangelist as Revolutionary by Donald G. Mathews, Princeton University 71
5. The Persistence of Wendell Phillips by Irving H. Bartlett, Carnegie Institute of Technology 102
6. Abolition's Different Drummer: Frederick Douglass by Benjamin Quarles, Morgan State College 123

PART III: THE ABOLITIONISTS AND THE NEGRO

7. The Emancipation of the Negro Abolitionist by Leon F. Litwack, The University of Wisconsin 137
8. A Brief for Equality: The Abolitionist Reply to the Racist Myth, 1860-1865 by James M. McPherson, Princeton University 156
9. "Iconoclasm Has Had Its Day": Abolitionists and Freedmen in South Carolina by Willie Lee Rose 178

PART IV: SIDE PERSPECTIVES

10. The Abolitionist Critique of the United States Constitution by Staughton Lynd, Yale University 209
11. Antislavery and Utopia by John L. Thomas, Brown University 240
12. The Psychology of Commitment: The Constructive Role of Violence and Suffering for the Individual and for His Society by Silvan S. Tomkins, City University of New York 270

PART V: COMPARISONS

A. Foreign

13. "A Sacred Animosity": Abolitionism in Canada by Robin W. Winks, Yale University 301
14. The British and American Abolitionists Compared by Howard R. Temperley, University of Manchester 343

B. Domestic

15. Ambiguities in the Antislavery Crusade of the Republican Party by Robert F. Durden, Duke University 362
16. The Northern Response to Slavery by Martin Duberman, Princeton University 395

PART VI: CONCLUDING

17. Abolitionists, Freedom-Riders, and the Tactics of Agitation by Howard Zinn, Boston University 417

INDEX 453

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on page iii of the added pages of this list

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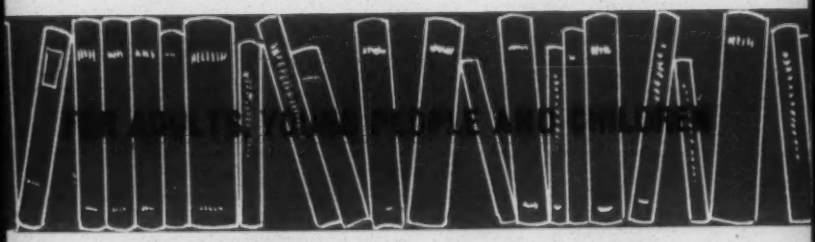

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This *Books for Brotherhood* list includes books of general interest in the field of intergroup relations. The books are chosen from among the many published from August, 1962 through July, 1963. They were selected not for the information about any particular religious group but because they do most to promote understanding among various groups. The list is the result of unanimous agreement by a representative committee with wide experience in evaluating books, on their recommendations of the best in the field, for children, young people, and adults.

MICHA F. OPPENHEIM, Librarian
Paula K. Lazrus Library of
Intergroup Relations

ADULT LIST

Selected by . . .

SOLOMON S. BERNARDS, Director, Department of Interreligious Cooperation, Anti-Defamation League.

JAMES FINN, Editor, "Worldview."

MARY C. HATCH, Head Librarian, Central Circulation, The New York Public Library.

BARBARA JONAS, Chairman, Adult Book Review Committee, Child Study Association of America.

J. OSCAR LEE, Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches.

DORIS VIACAVA, Assistant Librarian, Iona College, New Rochelle, New York.

ADULT LIST

American Race Relations Today, edited by Earl Raab. Anchor Books, 1962. $.95.

Factors other than discrimination complicate the process of full integration in our society. Each essay stresses one of these problems—the emergence of new attitudes on the part of Negroes, the relation between urbanization and minority ghettos, the application of quotas in education and housing, and the climate of a prejudiced society.

Children of the A-Bomb, compiled by Arata Osada. Putnam, 1963. $4.50.

The boys and girls of Hiroshima recall that terrifying holocaust a short half-decade after the event, in brief, poignant memoirs written in school and collected by Professor Osada at Hiroshima University. Unparalleled for their illumination of the meaning of catastrophe and the will to survive.

Civil Liberties and the Constitution, by Paul G. Kauper. University of Michigan Press, 1962. $6.00.

An objective, judicious appraisal of the major civil liberties cases to come recently before the Supreme Court, by an authority on constitutional law. Included are church and state relations, censorship, equal protection rights, and freedom of association guarantees.

The Desegregated Heart, by Sarah Patton Boyle. Morrow, 1962. $5.00.

A Virginian writes candidly and revealingly of her re-education from a "daughter of the Old South," with all its segregation implications, to a vocal and active defender of Negro rights in her native state and throughout the country.

Discrimination, by Wallace Mendelson. Spectrum Books, 1962. $1.95.

The five-volume report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights submitted to Congress in 1961 is condensed into 175 pages in this paperback; the five areas investigated were voting, education, employment, housing, and police misconduct.

Echo in My Soul, by Septima Poinsette Clark with LeGette Blythe. Dutton, 1962. $4.50.

Autobiography of a Negro teacher in the South, and her dedication to both her profession and the rights of her people, including recognition for her fellow teachers, pioneering in literacy education, and fighting for integration.

The Fire Next Time, by James Baldwin. Dial Press, 1963. $3.50.

A disturbingly honest and personal look at race relations in America by a distinguished Negro writer.

The Ghetto Game: Racial Conflicts in the City, by Dennis Clark. Sheed and Ward, 1962. $4.00.

The social, economic, and moral dimensions of residential segregation in our cities are throughly analyzed in this stimulating study of an all-pervasive national problem.

Herbert H. Lehman and his Era, by Allan Nevins. Scribner, 1963. $7.50.

A biography of a highly esteemed public servant—Governor of New York, U.S. Senator and head of UNRRA—who has won the affection of millions as a reformer, liberal and humanitarian.

In the Eyes of Others, edited by Robert W. Gleason, S. J. Macmillan, 1962. $3.95.

A collection of essays by eight noted Jesuits who aim to dispel some common misunderstandings about the Catholic Church.

Letters from Vatican City, by Xavier Rynne. Farrar, Straus, 1963. $3.95.

Destined to remain a standard reference work for the first session of the second Vatican Council, **Letters** offers fascinating insights into the personalities of the participants and the actual procedures of the Council. It contains, in addition, the important statements John XXIII addressed to the Council.

The Lonely African, by Colin M. Turnbull. Simon and Schuster, 1962. $4.50.

In a series of sketches, we gain an insight into tribal customs as they affect modern Africans. Through the compassionate writing about men and women of various races and social classes, we learn that all men have common problems and aspirations.

The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir, by Daisy Bates. McKay, 1962. $4.75.

The author, who led the school integration fight in Little Rock, describes the struggle in moving detail. Her courage and faith in democracy are evident on every page.

Look to the River, by William A. Owens. Atheneum, 1963. $3.95.

Touching story of a poor white boy dispossessed from a cotton patch, a Negro boy whom he helps escape from a chain gang, and a Jewish peddler who befriends them both. A fable of true brotherly love in action.

The New World of Negro Americans, by Harold R. Isaacs. Day, 1963. $7.50.

Describes the impact of world affairs on the race problem in the U.S. and particularly on the Negro, his view of himself, his country, and of Africa.

Man in the Struggle for Peace, by Charles Malik. Harper and Row, 1963. $5.00.

Lebanon's familiar representative at the U.N. and a former president of the General Assembly describes the way in which the U.N. operates. He also makes general recommendations for the West in its struggle against Communist forces, within and outside of the U.N.

Pacem in Terris. Pope John XXIII. Paulist Press, 1963. $.35.

Addressed to all men of good will, this encyclical, as Walter Lippmann has said, restates the basic philosophy of our free, democratic society and outlines the means to preserve it.

Prejudice and Your Child, by Kenneth B. Clark. 2d. ed. enlarged. Beacon Paperbacks, 1963. $1.75.

A study of what prejudice does to children and suggestions for combatting prejudice by community agencies. Important additional material has been added on the role of the social sciences in desegregation and the legal background of the school segregation cases.

Promises to Keep: The Life of Doctor Thomas A. Dooley, by Agnes W. Dooley. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1962. $4.95.

A biography of Doctor Tom Dooley written by his mother showing the magnificent legacy of idealism which her son has bequeathed to the world.

Race: Challenge to Religion, edited by Mathew Ahmann. Regnery, 1963. $4.95; paper $1.65.

The role of religion and religious institutions in furthering the cause of human understanding and racial justice is examined in a collection of essays delivered at the first National Conference on Religion and Race, convened under Catholic, Jewish and Protestant auspices in January, 1963.

The Root and the Branch: Judaism and the Free Society, by Robert Gordis. University of Chicago Press, 1962. $3.95.

The contribution of Judaism to the solution of the world's major social problems is examined by a noted Jewish scholar. Christian-Jewish cooperation, Church-state relations are discussed in the context of Bible ethics.

Soon, One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes, 1940-1962, edited by Herbert Hill. Knopf, 1962. $6.95.

A collection of essays, short stories and poems reveals the rich artistic tradition now emerging among American Negro writers, much of which has never been published before.

The South and Christian Ethics, by James Sellers. Association Press, 1962. $3.75.

A thoughtful and reasoned study on the meaning of today's racial conflict in the South. The author attempts to answer the question of how we can become better neighbors by applying Christian ethics.

The South and the Southerner, by Ralph McGill. Little, Brown, 1963. $5.00.

A perceptive commentary upon events and issues that have made recent Southern history, by the distinguished publisher of the **Atlanta Constitution.** Includes some autobiography.

Strength to Love, by Martin Luther King, Jr. Harper and Row, 1963. $3.50.

Sermons setting forth the deep convictions and faith which shaped the famous Negro leader's philosophy of life, revealing the Christian ethics behind today's non-violent revolution in the desegregation movement.

Thirteen for Christ, edited by Melville Harcourt. Sheed and Ward, 1963. $5.00.

Thirteen varied portraits of contemporary Christians who have taken their faith seriously and have thereby left a significant mark on our times.

The Unity of Christians, by Augustin Cardinal Bea. Herder and Herder, 1963. $4.95.

Cardinal Bea, who is President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, puts forth lucidly and cogently what he regards as the basis of true Christian unity. His views are both theologically confident and realistic.

World Without Want, by Paul G. Hoffman. Harper and Row, 1962. $3.50.

The man who carried the Marshall Plan to success outlines a stirring and practical program to combat the poverty and illiteracy that enslave two-thirds of mankind and threaten explosive revolt in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

CHILDREN'S AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S LIST

Selected by . . .

ELIZABETH ALLSTROM, writer of Christian Education materials for children.

AUGUSTA BAKER, Coordinator of Children's Services, The New York Public Library.

JOSETTE FRANK, Staff Associate for Children's Books, Child Study Association of America.

NORA KRAMER, Consultant on Books for Children and Young People, the Bookplan.

ETHNA SHEEHAN, Children's Consultant, Queens Borough Public Library.

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nationwide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

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CHILDREN'S AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S LIST

Baseball Flyhawk, by Matthew F. Christopher. Little, Brown, 1963. $2.95. 9-11.

A lively baseball story, in which Chico, lately of Puerto Rico, loses out in friendship and in baseball until he stops trying too hard, and then wins success in both.

Champion of World Peace: Dag Hammarskjold, by I. E. Levine. Messner, 1962. $2.99. 12-15.

The work of the United Nations illumined in a fine biography of this dedicated and distinguished diplomat.

Customs and Holidays Around the World, by Lavinia Dobler. Fleet, 1962. $4.50. 9-15.

Religious and national holidays as they are celebrated by many sects and in many countries in an inviting book.

Flash of Phantom Canyon, by Agnes V. Ranney. Criterion Books, 1963. $3.00. 9-14.

The wild colt Flash which half-white, half-Indian Gabriel tames and loves helps the 11-year-old orphan boy to rescue a white mother and children from marauding Indians and to realize that he does not have to judge between his mother's people and his father's people, only between actions that are right and wrong.

Forever Free: The Story of the Emancipation Proclamation, by Dorothy Sterling. Doubleday, 1963. $2.95. 10-16.

Describes the events, the people and the atmosphere which produced this important American document.

Getting to Know the U.S.A., by Charles Ferguson. Coward-McCann, 1963. $2.50. 9-15.

This giant country, its people and its achievements in vivid historical perspective, strikingly illustrated in a handsome book.

Inside the Synagogue, by Grace R. Freeman and Joan G. Sugarman. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1963. $2.50. 8-11.

A reverent presentation of the modern Synagogue—what it stands for, what happens within its walls, in fine text and beautiful photographs. Honoring eternal values, it takes a long look at the present and glances toward the future.

It's Like This, Cat, by Emily Neville. Harper and Row, 1963. $3.27. 11-13.

A wise and highly amusing story of a boy's adventures in coming to know his friends, his city, and his own father.

It's Time for Brotherhood, by Elizabeth H. Sechrist and Janette Woolsey. Macrae Smith, 1962. $3.95. 10-13.

The stories of people and organizations dedicated to universal brotherhood.

The Snowy Day, story and pictures by Ezra Jack Keats. Viking Press, 1962. $3.00.4-7.

One small boy's adventures in the snow are the adventures of all small boys who live where, in the night, a soft whiteness silently covers ground and trees and, in the morning, calls "Here I am! Come play with me!"

The Story of the United Nations, by Katharine Savage. Walck, 1962. $4.00. 11-16.

The background, early struggles, achievements and setbacks of this newest, most widespread and constructive organization for world peace are set forth with objectivity and clarity.

The Lords Baltimore, by Nan Hayden Agle and Frances E. A. Bacon. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. $3.27. 10-14.

The story of the six English lords who founded the colony of Maryland, which was known for its religious toleration.

Martin de Porres, Saint of the New World, by Ellen Tarry. Farrar, Straus, 1963. $2.25. 10-14.

This half-Spanish, half-Negro Peruvian lay-brother advocated and practiced social justice for all—Indian, white, Negro; but it was his love for all his fellow men, his affection for animals, and his respect for work and service that made him a saint to be remembered for three centuries.

Miriam, by Aimée Sommerfelt. Criterion Books, 1963. $3.00. 11-14.

Beneath the vivid picture of the courage of the Norwegians in helping their Jewish neighbors to escape the Nazis is an underlying theme: even among good people the careless cliché helps to keep prejudice alive. A stirring book.

New Boy in School, by May Justus. Hastings House, 1963. $2.95. 6-8.

Lennie's family moves to Nashville, Tennessee, when the school year is well under way and the little boy finds himself the only Negro child in a newly integrated class. His fear of his strange environment, his sensitivity, and his unwillingness to participate in class activities are gradually surmounted in a very natural manner through good will on all sides and the wisdom of Lennie's parents.

Operation Escape: The Adventure of Father O'Flaherty, by Daniel M. Madden. Hawthorn, 1962. $2.95. 9-15.

Exciting, true story of the heroism of a priest who risked his life to save allied soldiers in Italy in World War II.

Our Veronica Goes to Petunia's Farm, by Roger Duvoisin. Knopf, 1962. $2.95. 4-8.

How Veronica, the hippopotamus, changes the prejudiced attitudes of the farm animals and makes them her friends.

The Peaceable Revolution, by Betty Schechter. Houghton Mifflin, 1963. $3.75. 9-15.

The related stories of three men—Thoreau, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King—present a moving and continuous record of bloodless battle for justice.

The Peoples of Africa, by Colin M. Turnbull. World, 1962. $3.50. 10-14.

A sound interpretation of the many African cultures, presented with a clear view of their problems toward forming the new Africa.

Pierre Toussaint, Pioneer in Brotherhood, by Arthur T. and Elizabeth Odell Sheehan. Kenedy, 1963. $2.50. 9-14.

The touching and inspiring story of the Haitian-born slave who, in the days of early New York, became to rich and poor alike the symbol of interracial understanding and universal charity as he devoted himself to their good for more than half a century.

Ronnie and the Chief's Son, by Elizabeth Coatsworth. Macmillan, 1962. $3.00. 8-12.

An African tale in which a captive white boy, aided by the chief's son, is carried back to his home in a great herd of antelopes.

The Story of Peter Cronheim, by Kenneth Ambrose. Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1962. $2.95. 10-12.

The rising power of Hitler in 1932, seen through the poignant story of a Jewish boy whose family manages to get him away to school in England in time to escape the worst of the holocaust. Powerfully and sensitively written.

A Summer Adventure, by Richard W. Lewis. Harper and Row, 1962. $2.95. 8-10.

A young Negro boy's love of creatures leads him to gather his own zoo at the family farm.

With the help of his wise parents he comes to understand and accept the ways in which balance is kept in nature. A quietly absorbing book.

Tatsinda, by Elizabeth Enright. Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963. $3.50. 9-11.

The brown-eyed, golden-haired girl from beyond the mountains was a misfit in Tatrajan, where everyone had greenish-blue eyes and shining white hair. But it was Tatsinda who overcame the greedy giant and brought peace and happiness back to her beautiful adopted land.

Through the Wall: A Boy's Struggle for Freedom, by Alida Sims Malkus. Grosset and Dunlap, 1962. $2.95. 9-14.

The plight of Germans divided by the Berlin Wall is vividly depicted in this tense story of dangerous escapes and the human yearning for freedom.

Tiger Tail Village, by Nina Millen. Friendship Press, 1962. $2.95; paper $1.75. 9-11.

It was the Protestant Church World Service in Hong Kong that came to the rescue of Ling Cheng and the younger children when Cheng's father was torn from them during the escape from Communist-dominated China.

Understanding Kim, by Pelagie Doane. Lippincott, 1962. $2.95. 8-10.

Although 10-year-old Penny plans happily for the acceptance into her American family of 10-year-old Kim, her adopted Korean sister, she soon discovers that the arrangement is not as simple and easy as she had imagined, and that it requires the gift of herself to Kim.

The Winged Watchman, by Hilda Van Stockum. Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1962. $3.25. 10-13.

Ten-year-old Joris and his entire family risk Nazi punishment to help their country and rescue and protect various refugees and fugitives, during the last bad year of the war in occupied Holland.

Workshop, U.S.A.: The Challenge of Puerto Rico, by William J. Dorvillier. Coward-McCann, 1962. $2.95. 10-14.

This small Island Commonwealth, its problems and its striving for educational and economic achievement, in a sympathetic picture important to young Americans today.

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F109 GROUP DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL ACTION. *Benne, Bradford and Lippitt.* This pamphlet was motivated by the growing need to improve the quality of problem-solving within our group and organizational life. It contains many important techniques and suggestions for organizing and conducting group meetings and programs, and for understanding the dynamics of different personalities striving to reach mutual goals. The authors: Kenneth Benne of Boston University, Leland Bradford of the National Education Association and Ronald Lippitt of the University of Michigan. 61 pp. ..... **35¢**

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F116 PREJUDICE AND SOCIETY. *Earl Raab and Seymour Lipset.* Discusses how our individual behavior towards minority groups is influenced by prevailing social practices to which we unconsciously conform. The authors describe how these attitudes are shaped as well as how they can be changed. Earl Raab is associate director of the San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council. Seymour Lipset is professor of sociology at the University of California. 40 pp. ..... **35¢**

F117 DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING: A Handbook of Facts. *George and Eunice Grier.* An authoritative and documented study of several aspects of the problem of discrimination in housing: the people involved, the causes, the methods used, those who use them, and the costs of such discrimination both to the victims and to the community as a whole. George and Eunice Grier are research specialists in human relations and housing. 68 pp. .... **50¢**

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167

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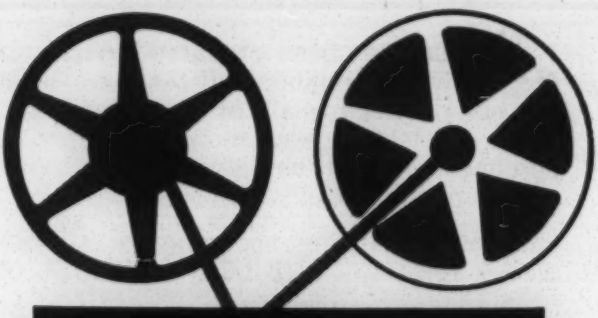

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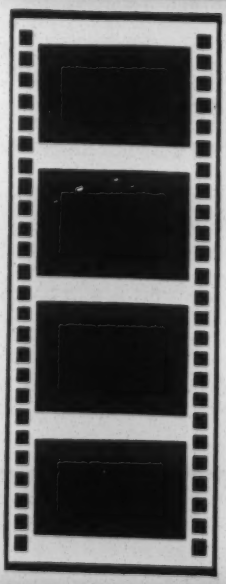
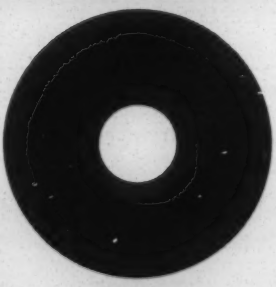
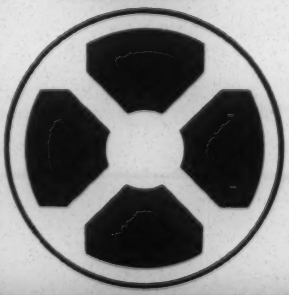






NATIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

This catalog has been prepared for national use. Individual regional offices have most, but not necessarily all, of the items listed. Films, filmstrips, and recordings may be purchased from either national or regional offices of the ADL.

For detailed listing according to subject, please refer to "SUBJECT LISTINGS" on page 33.

All films may be borrowed for a nominal service charge—consult your nearest regional office.

Reserve films three weeks prior to date of use, always listing alternate dates or substitute film title.

To derive a fuller educational value—use these materials as discussion starters—arrange for an introduction and follow-up discussion by a competent leader.

Flyers and discussion guides are available for most productions.

Sound films must be projected on a 16mm sound projector only—any other will cause film damage.

Filmstrips must be projected on a 35mm filmstrip projector.

Rewind films after use and return immediately. Please report damaged film at once.

Notify your nearest ADL office if films are to be shown on television.

All kinescopes listed in this catalog cannot be used on television and may be shown only when no admission fee is charged.

FILMS

(All are 16mm sound)

"A CHANCE AT THE BEGINNING"

29 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

This documentary demonstrates that pre-school training, particularly for children from educationally limited environments, provides a sound foundation for the fullest development of each child's potential throughout the school years. Actual scenes were filmed in a Harlem school where a unique experiment in pre-school training is under way. The project is being directed by the Institute for Developmental Studies of the New York University Department of Psychiatry, in conjunction with the N.Y.C. Board of Education. In the film, Dr. Martin Deutsch, head of the Institute, leads a probing discussion with a group of teachers being trained for work in this pre-school area of education.

Suitable for educators, teacher-training groups, community and school-parent organizations interested in improving the educational opportunities in their communities.

A CITY DECIDES

27½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Here is a true story about integration of the public schools of St. Louis, a border city in a border state. It revolves around a teacher who was directly faced with a "racial incident" in his class at Beaumont High School shortly after integration took place. (Adult and secondary school levels)

A DAY IN THE NIGHT OF JONATHAN MOLE

33 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

A dramatic fantasy built around a courtroom trial. Jonathan Mole is a bitter and prejudiced man who one night dreams he has the power and authority to judge the "lesser" minorities. (Adult and secondary school levels)

A MORNING FOR JIMMY

28 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

A true story of a young Negro boy who encounters racial discrimination while seeking part-time employment. His disillusionment is slowly overcome through the wise counsel of his teacher who takes Jimmy on visits where Negroes are successfully employed in their chosen fields. Jimmy begins to understand that with proper education and training he, too, can find his proper place. (Adult and secondary school levels)

ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

25 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Dr. Melvin Tumin, prof. of sociology and anthropology at Princeton University, presents a study in depth of the attitudes and motivations behind anti-Semitism. Dr. Tumin places special emphasis on the "gentle people of prejudice." (Adult and secondary school levels)

A QUESTION OF CHAIRS: THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN EDUCATION

45 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This production was originally shown on the CBS television network in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Featuring Everett Sloane, Maureen Stapleton, Walter Abel and other stars of television and theatre, the film deals in dramatic form with problems faced and overcome by the American education system in its three-century evolution and traces the growth and development of American education as a way of training our people for citizenship in a democracy. (Adult and secondary school levels)

A SALUTE TO THE AMERICAN THEATRE

45 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

An edited kinescope film, based on the original one-hour program produced by CBS television, in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. This star-studded program presents many outstanding dramatic and musical plays whose theme is freedom and anti-discrimination in the American theatre. Franchot Tone is narrator, and among those seen and heard are William Tabbert, Claudia McNeil, Tom Poston, William Warfield, Eli Wallach, William Shatner and many others. Particularly suitable for drama students and theatre workshop groups. (Adult and secondary school levels)

A STAMP IS BORN

14 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

This is a unique and beautiful film on the creation of postage stamps in Israel. By the utilization of postage stamps as mirrors of different aspects of life in Israel, the film covers Israel's archaeological sites, its landscapes and historic landmarks. (All age levels)

A TENT IS NOT ENOUGH

14 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

This film was produced in observance of World Refugee Year. It traces a road travelled by millions of people throughout the world who were uprooted by wars, national conflicts and religious persecution over the past two decades. Through the aid and concern of the international community most of these refugees have been resettled and now lead constructive lives within their host countries. Sharp focus is placed on the Arab countries and the State of Israel where an acute refugee problem remains unsolved. (Adult and secondary school levels)

ACT OF FAITH

28 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This is the dramatic story of the heroic Danish resistance movement against Hitler, originally presented on CBS-TV. Filmed in Denmark, it is a first-hand account of the role played by the Danish people in saving their Jewish countrymen from Nazi extermination. (Adult and secondary school levels)

ALL THE WAY HOME

29½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

A house in an all-white neighborhood is up for sale. When a Negro family stops to inquire about it, neighborhood fear and anxiety mount to a dangerous point, until responsible community leadership asserts itself. Film shows that integrated communities can work. (Adult and senior high school levels)

ALMANAC OF LIBERTY

57½ minutes/black and white on two reels/not cleared for TV

A kinescope of the famous CBS-TV STUDIO ONE production, inspired by the book of the same name by

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. A provocative drama by Reginald Rose about our cherished freedoms and the lesson in democracy that a town learns. An ADL trailer has been added, showing the award presentations to three foundations for their roles in preserving democracy. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE AMERICAN JEW: A TRIBUTE TO FREEDOM

44½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

An edited kinescope film, based on the original one-hour program produced by CBS television, in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. Shows the contributions of American Jews to democracy and democracy's role in helping Jews integrate into all areas of American life. Jeff Chandler is narrator, supported by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Richard Tucker, Dore Schary, Susan Strasberg and others. (Adult and secondary school levels)

AN AMERICAN GIRL

29½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

This new film, based on an actual event, tells the story of an American teen-ager who is mistakenly believed to be Jewish by her friends and neighbors. The particular incident revolves around anti-Semitism, but the story is basically concerned with irrational, unsocial prejudice. A dramatic and stimulating discussion starter. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE BOOK AND THE IDOL

14½ minutes/color/cleared for TV

Through a dramatic portrayal of archaeological artifacts, this film traces the emergence of monotheism in the Judaeo-Christian heritage and its conflict with paganism in early civilization in Israel. Film displays many ancient and revered holy objects. (Adult and secondary school levels)

BOUNDARY LINES

11½ minutes/color/cleared for TV (with fee)

Explores various imaginary boundary lines that divide people from each other—and shows that such lines have no true basis in reality. Dramatic use of color

cartoon, art and music make an appeal to greater understanding among all people. (Adult and secondary school levels)

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

10½ minutes/color/cleared for TV (with fee)

An animated cartoon which reveals the scientific facts of how people are essentially alike. (All age levels from 4th grade on)

THE BURDEN OF TRUTH

67 minutes/black and white on two reels/cleared for TV

A Negro family moves into a white suburban community and a mob gathers in protest. Through flashbacks, we discover the problems—and the prejudices—that the young Negro father faced in growing up. Sponsored by the United Steelworkers of America. (Adult and secondary school levels)

CAN WE IMMUNIZE AGAINST PREJUDICE?

6½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

One of four films in THE CHALLENGE series. Narrated by Eddie Albert. Three sets of parents use different methods to prevent prejudice in their children. When racial and religious bias develops nevertheless, the film asks wherein the parents have failed. A good audience-participation film, since it provides an "open end" or "stop the projector" technique, at which point audience discussions can take place. (Adult and secondary school levels)

CASE HISTORY OF A RUMOR

Winner of Blue Ribbon
1964 Award of Educational Film Library Association

52 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A startling revelation of how a whispered rumor explodes into a nationwide storm of suspicion and prejudice. This CBS REPORTS film unveils the operations of hate groups and individuals . . . how they exploit political ignorance and foment hate and extremism by deliberate distortion of fact and exaggeration of unfounded rumors.

A most effective object lesson for students of political science, social psychology, sociology. It is also a powerful vehicle of education for civic-minded groups of all kinds.

CAST THE FIRST STONE

42 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This documentary, originally shown on ABC-TV with commentary by John Daly, features interviews on location with Americans whose lives have been affected by prejudice and discrimination. Negroes in Los Angeles and Chicago, Jews in Detroit, Puerto Ricans in New York, Mexicans, Japanese and Chinese in the Midwest, describe their first-hand experiences and the outlook for the future. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE CHALLENGE

28½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

A newspaper writer-photographer team covers the trial of a white man who is acquitted of murdering a Negro. The team tours the country collecting data on civil rights. Their conclusion: the story of civil rights is a continuing challenge to America. Widely recommended for social studies classes. (Adult and secondary school levels)

CHALLENGE TO AMERICA: THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

25 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

This production features Prof. William Van Til, chairman of the Department of Secondary Education at New York University. Prof. Van Til illustrates ways and means of meeting the challenge of good human relations among people of various religious, racial and nationality backgrounds. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

27 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

An extremely effective dramatization of the problems of anti-Semitism in America, originally presented on NBC-TV by the National Council of Catholic Men as part of the "Prejudice, U.S.A." series. In this revealing story, Anne and her friends learn that the Community Club they have selected for their Senior Prom does not admit Jewish people—making it impossible for some

Ann's family supports her efforts to eliminate discrimination, with happy results.

of their classmates to attend. In seeking a reason for the club's unwritten "gentlemen's agreement," the teen-agers discover irrational prejudice in their own community. (Adult and secondary school levels)

COMMENCEMENT

21½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Produced by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, this film tells of a business executive who learns that his personnel department is guilty of discriminatory employment practices. We learn what steps he takes to carry out his contract, which calls for hiring on individual merit only. (Adult and secondary school levels)

CRISIS IN LEVITTOWN

31½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A series of interviews with residents, both for and against the integration of the first Negro family to move into Levittown, Pennsylvania. Dr. Dan Dodson of the New York University Center for Human Relations offers comment and analysis. Will evoke discussion on problems of equality of opportunity in housing. Widely recommended for social science classes. (Adult and senior high school levels)

DATE WITH LIBERTY

20 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This film is based on the book "Almanac of Liberty" by William O. Douglas, Justice of the Supreme Court. Five dramatic sequences are portrayed illustrating key concepts of liberty as safeguarded by law; the protection afforded by the Sixth Amendment; the freedom of the press; the right to a fair trial; the power of impeachment; and the right of loyal opposition. (Adult and secondary school levels)

DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT

60 minutes/black and white on two reels/not cleared for TV

Kinescope of the special television program celebrating the ADL's 40th anniversary. Produced by Rodgers and Hammerstein and starring Helen Hayes, Ethel Merman, Rex Harrison and many others. President Eisenhower, in accepting America's Democratic Legacy Award, restates the philosophy of American fair play

and the right of the accused to face his accuser. (Adult and secondary school levels)

DIVIDED WE STAND

28 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Produced by the National Council of Catholic Men in cooperation with NBC-TV, "Divided We Stand" deals with anti-Catholic prejudice in America. This effective treatment of religious prejudice was originally presented as part of the "Prejudice, USA" series. (Adult and secondary school levels)

EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW

Five independent 30-minute black and white films/clearance for television use must be granted by the National Office of the ADL

This series of illustrated film-lectures on the dynamics of intergroup relations in the United States focuses on the history and current situation of the Negro American. The historical, political, sociological and psychological forces which shape patterns of prejudice and discrimination are reviewed, and new advances in intergroup relations are discussed. Produced in cooperation with the National Educational Television Network and Harvard University, Dr. Thomas Pettigrew of the Harvard faculty is host narrator.

"14th Generation Americans" . . . The history of the Negro American and contributions by Negroes to all aspects of American life are emphasized.

"Face to Face" . . . Dr. Pettigrew explores the problems of bringing diverse groups together and the value of various kinds of contact in actually bettering intergroup relations.

"A Tale of Two Ladies" . . . A review of the history of Negro protest against racial discrimination.

The problems and position of Negroes in America presented in the series "Epitaph for Jim Crow."

"The Newest New Negro"... The meaning and value of the newest forms of direct-action protest against segregation are discussed with Whitney Young, Director of the National Urban League.

"Conformity and the Crutch"... The psychology of bigotry and the differences between pathological bigotry and bigotry arising out of social conformity are discussed in the light of recent sociological research.

FACE OF THE SOUTH

30 minutes/color/cleared for TV

Historical analysis of economic and social factors which have made the South what it is today. An illustrated lecture by George Mitchell, former director of the Southern Regional Council. (Adult and secondary school levels)

FOR WHITE CHRISTIANS ONLY

30 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A kinescope of the NBC-National Educational Television program on housing discrimination against minorities —specifically, Negroes and Jews. In addition to a round table discussion with three experts, Jackie Robinson describes his house-hunting experiences, and a Fairfield County, Connecticut real estate broker shows how housing discrimination against Jews operates in his area. (Adult and secondary school levels)

FREEDOM TO LEARN

26½ minutes/black and white and color/cleared for TV

A high school teacher, charged with teaching communism, is called before the school board, and expresses her confidence in the traditional American right of freedom to learn. Especially recommended for PTA and community groups. (Adult and secondary school levels)

FREEDOM TO READ

14 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

One of four films in THE CHALLENGE series. Mr. Jones, representing a community group, wants certain books removed from the public library in the interest of national security. Mrs. Green, the librarian, argues that

Americans have the right to read all sides of controversial questions. Should the books be removed? What is your decision? Especially recommended for civic and professional groups. Employs "open end" technique, whereby the film calls for the projector to be stopped and audience discussion to begin. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE GOLDEN DOOR

12 minutes/color/cleared for TV

The problems of American immigration are treated imaginatively through vivid color and animation. The film calls for a philosophy based on such concepts as: "immigration confers mutual benefits; judge an immigrant on his merits; make no distinction between someone born here and someone naturalized"; etc. (Adult and secondary school levels)

HERITAGE

9 minutes/black and white and color/cleared for TV

What happens when an individual disregards the rights of others? This animated film shows that all people have certain God-given rights that must be recognized and respected. Film is jointly sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League, the Chicago Catholic Youth Organization and the United Christian Youth Movement. (All age levels)

THE HIGH WALL

30 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Case study of a young bigot. Describes how he became "infected" and how his home life fostered the development of prejudice. The film shows that prejudice is a contagious disease which spreads from adult to child. (Adult and secondary school levels.)

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN

10½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Frank Sinatra not only sings the popular song of the same name, but also convinces a group of youngsters to stop discriminating against other children in the neighborhood because of their race or creed. (All age levels)

A LETTER FROM A SOLDIER

9 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Story of a mother who lost her son in Korea and of her struggle to overcome her religious prejudice against the son's friend, a Jew, who comes to visit her. This film is an excerpt, complete in itself, from the MGM feature film, "It's A Big Country," and stars Marjorie Main and Keefe Brasselle. (Adult and secondary school levels)

MAKE WAY FOR YOUTH

19½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Melvyn Douglas is narrator. Two rival gangs of teenage boys have an all-out fight. The son of the local newspaper editor is killed in the fray. The editor, in an urgent plea, asks his readers to get to know more about their children and what is happening in the community. The young people themselves meet the problems of intolerence and prejudice by forming a youth council and uniting in community-wide projects. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE NEW GIRL

30½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Produced by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, this film dramatizes the internal problems of a plant having a government contract (thus unable to discriminate in its employment policy) and the emotional tensions felt by the new girl herself. The pro and con arguments in hiring a Negro girl in an all-white company are presented in an interesting dramatic format. (Adult and secondary school levels)

NINETEEN TREES

13½ minutes/color/cleared for TV

The simple act of planting trees in one crowded city street starts a whole process of intergroup understanding and cooperation. (Adult and secondary school levels)

NO EASY ANSWER

17 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Designed to aid Jewish parents in dealing with the effects of anti-Semitism on their children. The problems and their solution are complex; there is "No Easy

Answer." Widely recommended for parents of Jewish youngsters. Designed primarily as a discussion starter. (Adult and senior high school levels)

NO HIDING PLACE

Winner of the 1964 Blue Ribbon Award of the Education Film Library Association

50 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

The Marsdens, eager to be at peace in their new home, seek the advice of social worker Neil Brock, played by George C. Scott.

George C. Scott and Ruby Dee, supported by leading performers, are starred in the TV drama, one of the popular CBS series "East Side/West Side." The film exposes the evils of "block-busting" perpetrated by unscrupulous real estate dealers upon suburban home owners. As it dramatically traces the events in a neighborhood into which a Negro family has just moved, the film reveals how block-busting tactics create panic and tension and frequently cause the collapse of an entire community. The theme of NO HIDING PLACE is provocative and suitable for a wide variety of groups . . . real estate organizations, home owners, students, church groups as well as civic and politically inclined groups.

OF HUMAN RIGHTS

20 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV (with fee)

The UN Declaration of Human Rights is the pivot on which this film turns: Nazi persecution and the flouting of human rights are depicted. The film then shifts to a U. S. community where prejudice among children occurs. These youngsters reflect their parents' disregard of human rights. (Adult and secondary school levels)

ONE GOD

38½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

The rituals and ceremonies of the Jewish, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religions. Using musical background and descriptive narration, this film illustrates similarities and differences of the three faiths. (All age levels)

ONE PEOPLE

10½ minutes/color/cleared for TV

A color cartoon, with Vincent Price as narrator. Depicts the contributions of nationality groups to our American culture. (All age levels)

OTHER HEARTS IN OTHER LANDS

14½ minutes/color/cleared for TV

This film shows two American farm youngsters on an Israeli kibbutz, as part of a United States-Israel exchange program. We see them learning their neighbor's way of life by living it and, in turn, imparting American farm know-how on this two-way road to peace and democracy. (All age levels)

PICTURE IN YOUR MIND

16 minutes/color/cleared for TV (with fee)

This sequel to "Boundary Lines" is narrated by Walter Abel. An imaginative cartoon which shows the tribal roots of prejudice and asks each individual to reexamine his conscience to see if his mental picture of the man "across the river" is realistic or distorted. Gets its message across through an effective combination of color, music and the spoken word. (Adult and secondary school levels)

PREJUDICE

57 minutes (on two reels)/black and white/cleared for TV

A businessman deludes himself that he is without prejudice, but a basic psychological insecurity creates a situation which reveals his latent prejudice. Guidance and understanding show him the true nature of his weakness, and set him on the road to clearer thinking. (Adult and secondary school levels)

REPORT FROM ALABAMA

29½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A kinescope of the special NBC telecast on the Federal Civil Rights Commission hearings in Montgomery, Alabama, devoted to an investigation of charges of the denial of voting rights in Alabama. (Adult and secondary school levels)

RUSSIAN COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

29 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Depicts the ongoing Communist Revolution from two points of view: (1) as seen by the people of the United States; and, (2) as viewed by the underprivileged people of the world. Shows the industrial, agricultural and scientific changes in Russia and summarizes the spread of Communism after World War II (Adult and secondary school levels)

RUMOR

5½ minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

One of four films in THE CHALLENGE series. The case history of a rumor, how it starts, spreads and its results. An excellent discussion starter, as it poses the question: "What should be our defense against rumors?" Film then calls for the projector to be stopped, with audience discussion to follow. (Adult and secondary school levels)

SECURE THE BLESSINGS

25 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Shows that our democracy is influenced by all Americans: a farmer, a housewife, a laborer, an employer and a lawmaker. Depicts the basic part played by democratic schools in preserving our way of life. (Adult and secondary school levels)

SING A SONG OF FRIENDSHIP

Two 10 minute films/color/cleared for TV

Animated color cartoons of three delightful Irving Caesar songs, presenting basic concepts of democracy in an absorbing and highly entertaining manner. The "bouncing ball" technique encourages audience participation. Songs of Part I: We Have a Law, Thomas Jefferski, Our Football Team; Part II: Let's Make The World

of Tomorrow Today, It's Always Music to His Ears, We'll Soon Be One World. Song-books are also available. (All age levels)

SKIPPER LEARNS A LESSON

9½ minutes/black and white and color/cleared for TV (with fee)

The story of a little girl and her dog, Skipper, who move into a new neighborhood. Although the little girl plays with other children, Skipper refuses to play with other dogs because of their superficial differences. Skipper eventually learns his lesson, and the children demonstrate that they can get along well together regardless of race, color or national origin. (Aimed at elementary grades but significant for adults as well)

STORM OVER THE SUPREME COURT

Winner of the Peabody Award

50 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A vivid portrayal of the history and progress of America's highest court. With films, cartoons, stills and portraits it traces the stormy conflicts which raged over the Supreme Court from the day of its inception, its influence in major historic events, and the various philosophy and ideologies of its justices. Originally presented as one of the outstanding "CBS Reports" special programs.

STUDY IN COLOR

A trilogy of films consisting of "Boy," "The Job" "Study in Color."

A group of three plays which represent a strong indictment of racial prejudice. With modern dramatic techniques and symbolism, they appeal to moral considerations and impel audiences to analyze their own inner feeling about color and race.

Although created as a trilogy, each film is an entity and can be used as the basis of a single program or as one of a series of three, if so desired. They are most suitable for church groups and other adult audiences who are concerned with the cultural, philosophical, psychological and ethical aspects of race prejudice. Senior high school and college students will also find these films interesting and provocative.

A modern, sophisticated approach characterizes the trilogy "Study in Color."

When ordering, be sure to indicate whether the complete series of three, or a single film, is desired.

TO FIND A HOME

28 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Shows the experiences of a Negro family trying to rent an apartment in a middle sized northern city. They are repeatedly refused. Another Negro family has a similar experience, but eventually find an apartment manager who has a policy of equal opportunity. Based on actual experiences, this film helps the audience examine their own attitudes. (Adult and secondary school levels)

The individual plays are:

"BOY": AN EXPERIENCE IN THE SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

12 minutes/black and white/ cleared for TV

Through imaginative role-playing, a Negro boy indulges in a fantasy which reveals his deep sensitivity to name-calling and stereotyped attitudes toward racial minorities. The hard-hitting dialogue exposes the degradation to which a prejudiced person subjects his fellow human being.

"THE JOB"

29 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

A sophisticated approach to the problem of racial prejudice, this sometimes humorous, but biting satire attacks the hypocrisy of using the race angle as a promotion gimmick for "selling" movies, plays or books. A Negro celebrity who is hired to promote a new movie on "the American Negro" is the central character of this play which is both entertaining and thought provoking.

"STUDY IN COLOR"

28 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Two players discuss "color" in separate soliloquies . . . one is a white man who wears a Negro mask, the other a Negro wearing a white mask. Through the use of these theatrical devices the members of the audience are given an opportunity to place themselves in the role of the Negro and try to empathize their deepest feelings.

THE STORY OF SAMMY LEE

22 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A kinescope from Paul Coates, "Confidential File" series. Explains that Sammy Lee was recently denied housing accommodations, and includes interviews with members of the Olympic diving champion's family and friends. Film has a ten minute section devoted to basic questions of racial prejudice—what it is and how it affects Jews, Mexicans and Negroes in a variety of situations. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THIS IS ISRAEL

14 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

Contemporary life of Israel: agriculture, industry, education, the home. (All age levels)

TO LIVE TOGETHER

34 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

The difficulties encountered and experiences shared by children at an interracial summer camp. The film shows that to learn democracy, children must have a chance to live it. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE TOYMAKER

15 minutes/color/cleared for TV (with fee)

Two little hand puppets, one striped and one spotted, are friends until they discover they are "different"; then suspicion develops. The camera moves back, and the puppets discover that they are in the hands of the toymaker who helps them understand that he gave them different markings simply to tell them apart. (Delightful for children 4 to 10, but suitable for all ages)

UNLEARNING PREJUDICE

29½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A kinescope from the NBC "Open Mind" series. Benjamin Epstein, ADL national director; Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst; and Marie Jahoda, New York University professor of psychology, discuss various aspects of anti-social prejudice. (Excellent discussion starter for high school, college and adults groups)

VERDICT FOR TOMORROW

28 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

A well-documented account of the Eichmann trial, narrated by Lowell Thomas. The film is based on the actual footage gathered during the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem and utilizes the trial as a reminder of Nazism and Jewish persecution rather than as a "dated" legal presentation. Produced by Capitol Cities Broadcasting Company. (Adult and secondary school levels)

WALK IN MY SHOES

42 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A documentary in the "Close-Up" series exploring the innermost feelings of the Negro as he reacts to prejudice and discrimination in America. Originally presented by ABC-TV, the film endeavors to project what it is like to "walk in the shoes" of the Negro—whether as a professional in Chicago or a laborer in New York. (Adult and secondary school levels)

WANTED — A PLACE TO LIVE

15 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Employs unusual audience participation plan through "stop the projector" technique. A Negro is rejected when he answers an ad to share a room with three other university students. In a second ending to the film, a Jew is the rejected room-seeker. (Adult and senior high school levels)

WHICH WAY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS?

8 minutes/black and white/cleared for TV

One of four films in THE CHALLENGE series. Deals with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and is designed to stimulate discussion about the violation of human rights, as nations seek to move toward increased human freedom and dignity. Employs "open end" technique, whereby the projector is stopped and audience discussion takes place. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN

22 minutes/color/cleared for TV

Dramatic story showing how the Bible is used by the eminent archaeologist, Dr. Nelson Glueck, to discover water resources and open travel routes in Israel's barren Negev. Film has scenes of great natural beauty. (Adult and secondary school levels)

YOUR NEIGHBOR CELEBRATES

26 minutes/black and white and color/cleared for TV

A rabbi describes to a high school group the major Jewish holidays: Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkoth, Passover and Shavuoth. As he speaks, the film portrays through music and song, the ceremonies associated

with these holidays. Excellent for church and Sunday School groups. (All age levels)

A limited supply of the following kinescopes and films are maintained in the film libraries of the national office and some regional offices and may be borrowed for special showings.

A MINORITY PROBLEM

28 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

The problems and possibilities of adoption for minority-group children are given warm and human analysis. Produced in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the problems specific to children in that city have relevance to all areas of the United States.

DALLAS AT THE CROSSROADS

28 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This film describes desegregation in the city of Dallas. It is an appeal for law and order during the process of desegregation in the public schools. (Adult and secondary school levels)

THE NATURE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

29 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A kinescope in the NBC "Open Mind" series. Panel of Arnold Forster, ADL general counsel; Marie Jahoda, New York University psychology professor; and Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, discuss various aspects of anti-Semitism. Recently given First Award by Ohio State Institute for Education by Radio-Television. (Adult and secondary school levels)

"OF RUSTED CANNONS AND FALLEN SPARROWS"

50 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This episode in the NBC series "Sam Benedict" depicts Edmund O'Brien as a lawyer who fervently believes that the First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech to all. Through a series of incidents the film demonstrates the importance of defending the civil rights of all people be they of the radical right or the radical left.

THE OTHER FACE OF DIXIE

53 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

This heartening progress report on Negro-white relations was originally presented by "CBS Reports." A vivid demonstration of integration achievement contrasting the old distrust with the new cooperative spirit among students in Clinton, Little Rock, Norfolk and Atlanta, this film includes inspiring personal statements by the teachers and citizens involved.

REMEMBER US

60 minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

A thoroughly comprehensive documentary on the atrocities committed by the Nazis. Several concentration camp survivors, now living in the United States, give a first-hand account of their experience under the Hitler regime. (Adult and secondary school levels)

TRAGEDY IN A TEMPORARY TOWN

47½ minutes/black and white/not cleared for TV

Kinescope of the NBC-Alcoa program by Reginald Rose, starring Lloyd Bridges. Story of what occurs at a temporary construction workers' camp when a rumor causes an innocent victim to be accused of a crime he did not commit. Hysteria ensues as blind prejudice against a minority group erupts. Winner of an ADL Television Award. (Adult and senior high school levels)

ONE MINUTE PUBLIC SERVICE SPOTS

Available Free for Television

TV CELEBRITY SPOTS

E.G. MARSHALL—THE DEFENDERS
FRANK SINATRA
CHUCK CONNORS—THE RIFLEMAN
JACK KELLY—MAVERICK
NANETTE FABRAY
JAY NORTH—DENNIS THE MENACE
JOHN RUSSELL—THE LAWMAN
VICTOR JORY—MANHUNT
PATRICK McVEY—MANHUNT
JAMES WHITMORE—THE LAW AND MR. JONES

LITTLE SONGS ON BIG SUBJECTS

What Makes A Good American?
Brown Skinned Cow
Columbus said, "Si Si Signor"
Ol' Commodore Grey

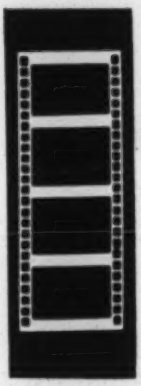
SING A SONG OF FRIENDSHIP

Thomas Jefferski
We Have A Law
It's Always Music to His Ear
Our Football Team

HUMAN RIGHTS SPOTS

Ralph Bunche
Celeste Holm
Fernando Lamas

E. G. Marshall and Frank Sinatra speak out against prejudice in two of the one-minute TV Celebrity Spots.



FILMSTRIPS

(All are 35mm)

ABOUT PEOPLE

63 frames/color/silent/$5.00

Based on Eva Knox Evans' book "All About Us." This cartoon shows the origin of different peoples and the changes that result from environment. Scientific facts are related with humor and simplicity.

THE ANATOMY OF NAZISM

55 frames/color with captions/$5.00

An historic presentation of the social, cultural, economic and political workings of fascism in Hitler Germany. Although focused on Germany, this filmstrip succeeds in reflecting the general threat to democracy of all forms of totalitarianism. (Adult and secondary schools)

The above filmstrip has been produced as part of a special package of correlated materials for the study of Nazi totalitarianism. It may be purchased in either of the study kits listed below, according to the particular needs of your group.

SPECIAL CLASS KIT

1 filmstrip, "The Anatomy of Nazism"
30 copies of "The Anatomy of Nazism" booklet (a basic study of the nature, dangers, and consequences of totalitarianism, written by Earl Raab.)
6 copies of "The Third Reich in Perspective" (a full resource unit for teachers and discussion leaders, including sections on teaching-learning activities and reference materials.)
RETAIL PRICE: $17.00
SPECIAL KIT PRICE: $15.00

SPECIAL TEACHER KIT

1 filmstrip, "The Anatomy of Nazism."
1 copy of "The Anatomy of Nazism" study booklet.
1 copy of "The Third Reich in Perspective" resource unit.
RETAIL PRICE: $5.60
SPECIAL KIT PRICE: $5.00

GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER STORY

72 frames/color/silent, with script/$6.00

The life of the great American scientist.

THE GOOD NEIGHBOR

130 frames/black and white/with sound record/$25.00

How a responsible businessman, learning of housing discrimination against a Negro army veteran who is his employee, gets involved and does something about it. Produced in cooperation with the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations.

ISRAEL: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

49 frames each/color with captions/$6.00 each

Seven filmstrips primarily concerned with topography, industry, commerce, and the adjustments of thousands of new citizens to the State of Israel.

LITTLE SONGS ON BIG SUBJECTS

68 frames/black and white/silent/$2.50

Songs about American democracy and neighborliness by Hy Zaret and Lou Singer. Excellent for community sings. Music book and 78 rpm record also available.

NONE SO BLIND

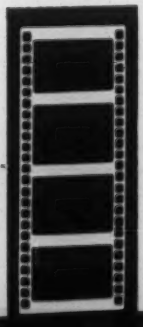
57 frames/color/with script/$2.25 or sound record/$6.00

"There are none so blind as those who will not see." Details the origin of prejudice and outlines the course the individual can follow to overcome it.

ONE GOD

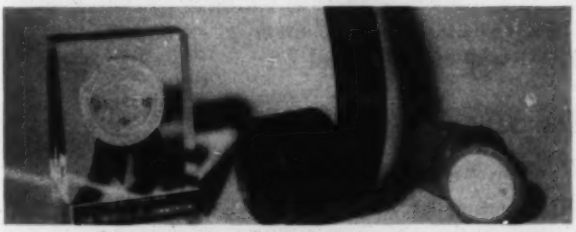
100 frames/black and white/with script/$5.50
or sound record/$10.00

Shows the ways of worship of the three major religious faiths in America. Based on the film and book of the same title.



PROFILE OF COMMUNISM

A series of two full-color documentary filmstrips with integrated captions, complete with discussion guide.



1963 Blue Ribbon award was presented by the Educational Film Library Association to ADL for its brilliant color filmstrip on communism.

PROFILE OF COMMUNISM, PART I: THE GROWTH OF COMMUNISM

61 frames/$6.00

Surveys the ideological beginnings of Communism in the 19th Century, through Marx and Lenin; the conversion of the USSR under Lenin and Stalin; and the national and international policies of the USSR through World War II.

PROFILE OF COMMUNISM, PART II: THE U.S.S.R. TODAY

65 frames/$6.00

Reviews the economic system of the USSR; the relation of the Communist Party to the Soviet government. Shows the current situation with regard to religion, education, public information, the arts, and legal process. Emphasizes the lack of popular participation in government and national life, and the lack of civil liberties in the personal life of the Soviet citizen.

The two "Profile of Communism" filmstrips plus the following correlated study materials are available in a special kit at a total cost of $11.00:

"A Short History of Communism" by Martin Greenberg. The evolution of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the development of Soviet Russia. 64 pp. with 16 pp. of photographs. 95c.

"Freedom vs. Communism" by Emerson Chapin. Contrasts the communist system with democracy. 48 pp. 50c.

"The Profile of Communism: A Fact-by-Fact Primer" edited by Moshe Decter. Up-to-date information about communism in Soviet Russia, China and the free world. 160 pp. 95c.

THE RABBIT BROTHERS

35 frames/black and white/silent, with script/$2.50

Based on the ADL booklet of the same name, this filmstrip shows how twin rabbits differ in their reaction to others who are "different."

THE STORY OF HANUKKAH

31 frames/black and white/silent, with script/$3.50

Picturization of this holiday, showing its historical background, customs and observances, as well as its association with modern-day Israel.

THE STORY OF OUR TOWN

62 frames/black and white/with sound record/$7.50

Shows the constructive action that women's groups can take to combat specific instances of discrimination in a local community.

THE STORY OF PASSOVER

52 frames/black and white/silent, with script/$3.50

The warmth of this holiday is portrayed by photographs of a family conducting the Passover Seder.

THE STORY OF PURIM

49 frames/black and white/silent, with script/$3.50

Conveys the gaiety of this holiday, through scenes in the synagogue and the home.

WE ARE ALL BROTHERS

54 frames/black and white/silent, with script/$3.50

A dramatic pictorialization showing that the peoples of the earth are one family.

RUMOR CLINIC

3 frames/black and white/silent/$1.00

An audience participation program which demonstrates vividly how rumors start and spread. Based on research done by Professor Gordon Allport of Harvard University as a method of examining the nature of the problem and of helping people become rumor conscious. Extremely effective and easy to use.

RECORDINGS

Some of the following series of recorded programs about the American heritage of freedom, equality and democracy are cleared for radio use without charge. For other uses, purchase price as listed. Note: Most of the following programs will henceforth be on tapes.

CONVERSATIONS WITH DR. SPOCK

Cleared for radio/available free to stations

Four quarter-hour tapes on prejudice in children, featuring Dr. Benjamin Spock, nationally known authority on child care, as interviewed by Gertrude Noar, National Educational Director of the ADL.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, well known pediatrician, discusses prejudice in children in a series of tape recordings.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS VIEW THE FUTURE

29 minute taped program/cleared for radio/available free to stations

Dore Schary, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, is host to four distinguished Americans, all winners of the Anti-Defamation League's 1964 America's Democratic Legacy Award for their recognized leadership of the civil rights movement. This recorded radio program is an eloquent presentation of the views of these prominent leaders on the civil rights issues and goals facing the nation. Included are Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, head of United Presbyterian Church of the USA; A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Walter Reuther, President, United Auto Workers, and Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP.

Dore Schary (center) with civil rights leaders (l. to r.) Rev. Blake, A. P. Randolph, Walter Reuther and Roy Wilkins.

JOHN BROWN'S BODY

43 minute long-playing disc/not released for radio/$4.00

Original soundtrack recording of the ADL and CBS-TV adaptation of Stephen Vincent Benét's Pulitzer Prize-winning poem of the Civil War. Starring Richard Boone and Douglas Campbell. Original music by George Kleinsinger, with the CBS Concert Orchestra under the direction of Alfredo Antonini.

DECISION

Album of 13 thirty-minute programs recorded on 12", 33⅓ rpm long-playing microgroove transcriptions/$25

Some of the problems dramatized are: Where does hate begin? How can a newspaper preserve democracy? What rumors do you spread? Is the tooth and claw the first law of nature? Some of the stars are: Walter Abel, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Stefan Schnabel, Bill Stern and Conrad Nagel. (Adult and secondary school levels)

HIDDEN BARRIERS

4 fifteen-minute programs recorded on two 12", 33⅓ rpm LP transcriptions/complete with story outlines and guide to radio programming/$7.50

This new album stars Ralph Bellamy, Helen Hayes and Cornel Wilde in dramatic re-enactments of real-life situations of minority discrimination. (Adult and junior high school levels)

THE NEW FRONTIER

13 fifteen-minute programs recorded on 16", 33⅓ rpm transcriptions/$22.50

Human relations problems in a variety of situations. Some of the topics dramatized: how a student fights prejudice to get a university education, how a G.I. becomes a symbol of the fight for human rights, how a mother struggles with her deep-rooted prejudice, how an airplane pilot risks his life for freedom. Some of the stars: Richard Widmark, Martha Scott, Cornel Wilde, Tyrone Power, and Edward R. Murrow. (Adult and junior high school levels)

STORIES TO REMEMBER

Album of 13 fifteen-minute programs recorded on 10", 33⅓ rpm long-playing microgroove transcriptions/complete with 12 page teachers' discussion guide, as prepared by supervisors and teachers of Portland, Oregon public schools/$15

The programs in this series are adapted from outstanding short stories and novels published in the United States. Some of the stars are: Geraldine Fitzgerald, Ralph Bellamy, Melvyn Douglas and Raymond Massey. (Adult and junior high school levels)

N IS FOR NAME CALLING

14 minute tape/7½ ips/an original radio program/cleared for radio use/$3.50

Narrated by Marlon Brando, with Sir Lawrence Olivier, as Shylock, doing a scene from "The Merchant of Venice." Produced jointly by the Anti-Defamation League and UNESCO, this new tape recording hits hard at stereotypes and prejudice generally, but specifically at the use of slang words and jokes to cast slurs on a people, a religion, a nationality. A good discussion starter or as a quarter-hour radio program. (Adult and secondary school levels)

SAMMY DAVIS, JR. SINGS BLACK AND WHITE

1 record (45 rpm)/cleared for radio use/75¢

This new and charming tune reminds us that many things which go together are black and white: day and night, ink and paper—and human beings. On the reverse side, Sammy sings the popular "The House I Live In." An excellent program starter. (All age levels)

LITTLE SONGS ABOUT THE U.N.

1 record (78 rpm)/cleared for radio use/$1.50

Six one-minute folk songs to help secure international understanding. (All age levels)

LITTLE SONGS ON BIG SUBJECTS

2 records (78 rpm)/cleared for radio use/$3.00

"Mother Goose Songs of Democracy"—12 one-minute jingles on fair play and democracy. (All age levels)

SING A SONG OF FRIENDSHIP

1 record (33⅓ rpm)/cleared for radio use/$3.50

19 songs of friendship written and sung by Irving Caesar. Delightfully presented, they describe our American way of life with the appealing simplicity of a folk song and the musical charm of a popular hit.

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS...

Cleared for radio/available free to stations

A quarter-hour taped documentary based on actual cases of discrimination in housing and resorts. Quentin Reynolds stars as narrator.

SUBJECT LISTINGS

ANTI-SEMITISM:

An American Girl, A Letter From A Soldier, The Nature of Anti-Semitism, No Easy Answer, Prejudice, Wanted—A Place To Live, Remember Us, Anti-Semitism in America, The Chosen People, Verdict For Tomorrow, Anatomy of Nazism, Some Of My Best Friends . . .

CITIZENSHIP:

Boundary Lines, The Challenge, Education for Democratic Human Relations, Freedom To Read, Heritage, Make Way For Youth, One People, Secure The Blessings, Sing A Song of Friendship, A Question of Chairs, Challenge to America.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

The Challenge, Dinner With The President, Freedom To Learn, Freedom To Read, Heritage, Of Human Rights, Report From Alabama, Cast The First Stone, Morning For Jimmy, Walk In My Shoes, Epitaph For Jim Crow, The Other Face Of Dixie, Some Of My Best Friends . . . , Civil Rights Leaders View The Future, Storm Over Supreme Court, Of Rusted Cannons and Fallen Sparrows.

COMMUNISM AND FASCISM:

Russian Communist Revolution, Anatomy of Nazism, Profile Of Communism, Part I & II.

DEMOCRACY:

Almanac Of Liberty, The American Jew: A Tribute To Freedom, Education For Democratic Human Relations, The Golden Door, Heritage, Let's Live Democracy, Little Songs On Big Subjects, Nineteen Trees, Report From Alabama, A Salute To The American Theatre, Sammy Davis Jr. Sings "Black and White," Secure The Blessings, Sing A Song Of Friendship, Cast The First Stone, A Question Of Chairs, Challenge to America, Dallas at the Crossroads, John Brown's Body, Epitaph For Jim Crow, The Other Face Of Dixie, To Find A Home, A Minority Problem, Some Of My Best Friends, Storm Over Supreme Court, No Hiding Place, Of Rusted Cannons and Fallen Sparrows.

EMPLOYMENT:

The Challenge, Commencement, For Fair Play, The New Girl, Prejudice, Morning For Jimmy.

HOUSING:

All The Way Home, The Burden Of Truth, Crisis in Levittown, For White Christians Only, The Good Neighbor, The Story of Sammy Lee, Wanted—A Place To Live, Morning For Jimmy, To Find A Home, Some Of My Best Friends, No Hiding Place.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING:

A Tent Is Not Enough, Boundary Lines, Little Songs About The U.N., Of Human Rights, Other Hearts In Other Lands, Picture In Your Mind, Sing A Song of Friendship, Which Way For Human Rights? Act Of Faith.

ISRAEL:

The Book And The Idol, Other Hearts In Other Lands, This Is Israel, The Wilderness Of Zin, A Stamp Is Born, Israel: The Land And The People.

JEWISH RELIGION AND CULTURE:

The American Jew—A Tribute To Freedom, The Book And The Idol, One God, The Story of Hanukkah, The Story of Passover, The Story Of Purim, The Wilderness Of Zin, Your Neighbor Celebrates, Anti-Semitism in America.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS:

About People, The American Jew: A Tribute To Freedom, Boundary Lines, Brotherhood Of Man, Can We Immunize Against Prejudice?, The Challenge, Culture And Creed, Free To Be Different, The Golden Door, Heritage, The High Wall, The House I Live In, Little Songs On Big Subjects, Make Way For Youth, N Is For Name Calling, Of Human Rights, One People, Picture In Your Mind, Prejudice, Rumor, Rumor Clinic, Sing A Song Of Friendship, Skipper Learns A Lesson, The Story Of Sammy Lee, The Toymaker, Tragedy In A Temporary Town, We Are All Brothers, Cast The First Stone, Challenge to America, The Chosen People, Divided We Stand, Verdict For Tomorrow, A Minority Problem.

PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION:

All The Way Home, An American Girl, Boundary Lines, The Burden Of Truth, Can We Immunize Against Prejudice?, The Challenge, Commencement, Crisis In Levittown, Culture And Creed, For White Christians Only, Free To Be Different, The Golden Door, The Good Neighbor, Heritage, The High Wall, The House I Live In, Let's Live Democracy, A Letter From A Soldier, Make Way For Youth, The Nature Of Anti-Semitism, N Is For Name Calling, The New Girl, No Easy Answer, None So Blind, Of Human Rights, Picture In Your Mind, Prejudice, The Rabbit Brothers, Report From Alabama, Rumor, Rumor Clinic, A Salute To The American Theatre, Skipper Learns A Lesson, Story Of Our Town, The Story Of Sammy Lee, To Live Together, The Toymaker, Tragedy In A Temporary Town, Unlearning Prejudice, Wanted—A Place To Live, Morning For Jimmy, Cast The First Stone, A Day In The Night Of Jonathan Mole, Anti-Sem-

itism in America, Walk In My Shoes, Divided We Stand, To Find A Home, No Hiding Place, Case History Of A Rumor, Of Rusted Cannons and Fallen Sparrows, The Chosen People, Dallas at the Crossroads, A Minority Problem, John Brown's Body, To Find A Home, Epitaph For Jim Crow, The Other Face Of Dixie, Some Of My Best Friends . . .

RACE RELATIONS:

A City Decides, A Day In The Night Of Jonathan Mole, A Morning For Jimmy, All The Way Home, Boundary Lines, Brotherhood Of Man, The Burden Of Truth, Can We Immunize Against Prejudice?, Cast The First Stone, The Challenge, Commencement, Epitaph for Jim Crow, Crisis in Levittown, Face of The South, Heritage, The House I Live In, The New Girl, One People, Picture In Your Mind, Report From Alabama, Rumor, To Live Together, To Find A Home, Wanted—A Place To Live, Challenge to America: The Role Of Education In Intergroup Relations, For White Christians Only, The Other Face of Dixie, Walk In My Shoes, Dallas At The Crossroads, About People, George Washington Carver Story, The Good Neighbor, Little Songs On Big Subjects, None So Blind, The Rabbit Brothers, We Are All Brothers, Rumor Clinic, Study In Color, No Hiding Place, Civil Rights Leaders View the Future.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY:

An American Girl, Face Of The South, Freedom To Learn, Freedom To Read, Heritage, The High Wall, Nineteen Trees, Secure The Blessings, A Question Of Chairs, The Chosen People, Divided We Stand, Dallas at the Crossroads, The Other Face Of Dixie, No Hiding Place, Case History Of A Rumor.

For over 50 years the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH has served as an educating force in American life. ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE programs have been directed, in particular, to combatting discrimination against minorities, to fighting the threat of all forms of totalitarianism and to promoting intercultural understanding and cooperation among all the religious faiths of America. The ADL regional offices maintain a human relations audio-visual library where films, filmstrips and dramatic recordings can be purchased or rented at a nominal cost. Through its 25 regional offices the ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE services fraternal, civic, church, educational, labor and other organizations working on behalf of better intergroup relations.

Orders should be sent to the

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

or to the regional office nearest you:

Blaustein Library
SB MA, A02 p. 5

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Vol. 24, No. 2 February 1963

Books and Pamphlets

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

American Jewish Committee. Meet the American Jewish Committee [rev. ed. New York, Jan. 1963. 12 p. (VF)

Slawson, John. The crucial problem of our time; remarks at a special meeting convened during the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Nov. 17, 1962, Philadelphia, Pa. New York, American Jewish Committee, Jan. 1963. 23 p. (processed) (VF)

ANTI-SEMITISM

Wangh, Martin. Psychoanalytische Betrachtungen zur Dynamik und Genese des Vorurteils, des Antisemitismus und des Nazismus. Sonderdruck aus Psyche, Mai 1962. Stuttgart, E. Klett, 1962. 273-284 p. (326.15 W)

BIBLE

Heschel, Abraham Joshua. The prophets. New York, Harper & Row; Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962. 518 p. (224 H)

BIOGRAPHY

Current biography yearbook, 1962. Edited by Charles Moritz. New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1963. 496 p. (R920 C)

Delaney, John J. and Tobin, James Edward. Dictionary of Catholic biography. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1961. 1,245 p. (R922 D)

U. S. Dept. of State. The biographic register, 1963. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1963. 507 p. (Publication 7426) (R923 U8)

BIOGRAPHY (cont.)

Who's who, 1963. London, A. & C. Black; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1963. 3,391 p. (R920.42 W)

Who's who in the west. 8th ed. Chicago, Marquis-Who's Who, 1962. 806 p. (R920.79 W)

CATHOLIC CHURCH

National Catholic almanac, 1963. Paterson, N. J., St. Anthony's Guild (distributed by Doubleday & Co.), 1963. 696 p. (R282 N)

CENSORSHIP

Nelson, Jack and Roberts, Gene, Jr. The censors and the schools. Boston, Little, Brown, 1963. 208 p. (371.3 N)

CHURCH AND STATE

Notre Dame lawyer (periodical). Church-state: religious institutions and values; a legal survey: 1960-62. Notre Dame, Ind., Notre Dame Law School, Aug. 1962. 649-719 p. (v. 37, no. 5) (322 N)

Powell, Theodore. Busses and ballots; public transportation to Catholic schools. New York, Religious Freedom and Public Affairs Project, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Jan. 1963. 8 p. (Background report) (VF)

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Fellman, David. The constitutional right of association. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1963. 110 p. (323 F)

CIVIL RIGHTS

U. S. Attorney General. A report on the progress in the field of civil rights. Washington, Jan. 26, 1963. 7 p. (mimeo.) (VF)

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

National Community Relations Advisory Council. Special Committee on Reassessment. Community relations components in the work of other Jewish communal services; report of a conference, Mar. 23-24, 1961. [Prepared by Arnold Aronson and Samuel Spiegler] New York, June 1962. 115 p. (360.73 N22)

CONSERVATISM

American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia. Conservatism, liberalism, and national issues. Special editor, Lee S. Greene. Philadelphia, Nov. 1962. 204 p. (Annals, v. 344) (320 A)

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Statement submitted by American Jewish Committee (A. M. Sonnabend), p. 94-97. (377 U81)

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Olson, Bernhard E. Faith and prejudice; intergroup problems in Protestant curricula. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963. 451 p. (290.2 O)

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Social Science Research Council. Annual report, 1961-1962. New York, 1962. 109 p. (307 S)

SOCIAL SERVICE

Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. Federation Study Committee. The Jewish aged of New York; their present and future. Report of the Subcommittee on Care of the Aged, submitted to the Board of Trustees of Federation, Apr. 1962. New York, 1962. 193 p. (processed) (362.6 F)

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Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Member congregations by State and community, with their membership, president, rabbi. New York, Sept. 30, 1962. 20 p. (VF)

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Ebenstein, William. Totalitarianism; new perspectives. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962. 80 p. (321.7 E)

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HJA:lg
3/25/63

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

bibliographies have been issued by:

Fisk University, annual Institute on Human Relations

National Council of Churches, Commission on Religion and Race

Protestant Episcopal Church, Commission on Religion and Race

American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations issues periodically/books and pamphlets on a variety bibliographies of of subjects--they always include a section on religion.

Books he should include:

Challenge to Religion, edited by Mathew Ahmann Nat'l Conference on Religion and Race

Race and Renewal of the Church, Will D. Campbell

The Strength to Love, Martin Luther King, Jr.

pamphlet, Letter from Birmingham Jail, available from Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.

Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, Kyle Haselden

pamphlet, Religion's Role in Racial Crisis National Conference on Religion and Race

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_____ One-hour 16 mm film of WNBQ-TV (NBC) Special shown January 21.

A panel discussion of the conference with the Very Rev. Msgr. Daniel M. Cantwell, Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler, Dr. Franklin H. Littell, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, His Eminence Albert Cardinal Meyer, Judge James B. Parsons, and Rabbi Irving Rosenbaum.
Film may be purchased for $100 or rented for $25 per month.

_____ Ebony Magazine - six page reprint of photos and story on the conference (under 100 copies 20¢ each; 100 to 500 copies 15¢ each; and 500 copies or more 10¢ per copy).

_____ Catalogue of Resources (single copy $1; 5 to 49 at 75¢ each; 50 copies or more 65¢ each).

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City, State

SOME SUGGESTED BOOKS ON RACE RELATIONS AND RELATED SUBJECTS

GENERAL BACKGROUND

THE AMERICAN DILEMMA: The Negro Problem in Modern Democracy by Gunnar Mydral.

First published in 1944 and a classic. A comprehensive study of the Negro in the U.S., and an analysis and interpretation.

Harper: $7.50

THE PEOPLE THAT WALK IN DARKNESS by J. Schulte Nordholt.

A complete history of the Negro people in America from 1600 to the present, including biographical sketches of Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, and James Weldon Johnson.

Ballantine: $.75

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW by C. Vann Woodward.

"A concise and interesting account of segregation which carries the full authority of this distinguished historian's careful scholarship. This is history that ought to be known, written as it ought to be told." -- Theodore Gill, Christian Century.

Dover: $1.50

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN CULTURE by Margaret Just Butcher.

A unique record of what Negroes have accomplished in and for America, in the fields of art, music, politics, and education. "A wonderfully illuminating book, written with insight, understanding, and love." -- Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mentor: $.75

THE MIND OF THE SOUTH by W. J. Cash.

A Southerner writes penetratingly on the origins and reasons for Southern point of view.

Anchor: $1.25

THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE by James McBride Dabbs.

"This study of the South's dilemma provides an historical background and a blueprint for the future that represents a state of mind neither radical nor conservative but enlightened within the framework of a very special set of political and social mores." Virginia Kirkus' Service.

Knopf: $4.00

THE OTHER AMERICA by Michael Harrington.

A description of the 50 million poor in America, despite today's affluent society, without adequate housing, education, and medical care. Includes chapter entitled, "If You're Black, Stay Back."

Macmillan: $4.00

THE ANATOMY OF A REVOLUTION by Craine Brinton.

An eminent historian dissects the process of revolution from an historical and sociological viewpoint.

Vintage: $1.45

RELIGION AND RACE

CHALLENGE TO RELIGION, edited by Mathew Ahmann.

Timely essays by A. J. Heschel, Martin Luther King, Sargent Shriver, etc., given by representatives of major American religious organizations at the first National Conference on Religion and Race, held January 14, 1963, in Chicago.

Regnery: $1.65

RACE AND RENEWAL OF THE CHURCH by Will D. Campbell.

A Christian minister discusses both the failures and achievements of the Church and frankly states what he feels the proper posture of the Church should be in regard to race relations. A selection of questions for study and discussion is included in the book. A provocative challenge to the Christian conscience.

Westminster: $1.25

THE STRENGTH TO LOVE by Martin Luther King.

A great leader expresses his deep convictions that lie behind his prophetic words and courageous actions in sermons which speak to the heart and conscience.

Harper: $3.50

THE RACIAL PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE by Kyle Haselden.

Moving from the historical background to the present, the author, editor of Christian Century, shows what the situation is and what perplexed individuals and churches can do about it.

Harper: $3.50

CHRISTIANS IN RACIAL CRISIS by Pettigrew and Campbell.

Two social scientists report the results of their study of the ministry in Little Rock and their churches. They describe the contributions that were made to the situation by organized religion and its ordained leaders. They analyze the limitations and present the challenging evaluation of the Church's potential in social crisis.

Public Affairs: $3.50

RACE IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

THE NEW NEGRO, edited by Mathew Ahmann.

A collection of essays by a new generation of Negro Americans forcefully expressing an irrevocable determination to achieve racial justice now.

Fides: $3.50

THE FIRE NEXT TIME by James Baldwin.

Contains two long essays by the brilliant Negro author which include "My Dungeon Shool" and "Down at the Cross," an indictment of Christianity and a plea to Americans, black and white, to achieve maturity in America.

Dial: $3.50

FORBIDDEN NEIGHBORS by Charles Abrams.

A record of the particular problems of several minority groups in the U.S. with regard to housing--realty boards, slum clearance, etc.,--with a thoughtful and crusading program for action.

Harper: $5.00

BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA by C. Eric Lincoln.

A sociologist's highly readable study of a sect whose lifeblood is the injustice meted out to Negroes in America, and the frustration which that injustice engenders--a real eye-opener.

Beacon: $1.75

THE DESEGREGATED HEART: A VIRGINIAN'S STAND IN TIME OF TRANSITION by Sarah Patton Boyle.

"A daughter of the Old South" shares with great insight and Christian compassion her personal odyssey in race relations. Bishop Pike said of THE DESEGREGATED HEART, "This is a dangerous book for the complacent. If you want to remain the same kind of person your are-don't pick it up!"

THE NEGRO REVOLT by Louis Lomax.

A timely work depicting the determination of one-tenth of a nation to secure equal rights. Examines the various techniques used--sit-ins, freedom rides, and other forms of demonstrations.

Signet: $.75

BLACK LIKE ME by John Howard Griffin.

A white journalist disguised as a Negro writes of a nightmare experience living as a Negro in the Deep South for several weeks.

Dell: $.50

DISCRIMINATION edited by Wallace Mendelson.

The extent of racial discrimination in major areas of the U.S. life today is carefully delineated in Mendelson's resume of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights five volume report.

Spectrum: $1.95

SLUM AND SUBURBS by James B. Conant

The noted educator compares and contrasts two totally different neighborhoods and the public schools which serve them, and finds that what a school does is determined by the status and ambitions of the families being served.

McGraw: $1.95

STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM by Martin Luther King.

The story of the now historic bus boycott in Montgomery, 1955, when Negroes earned the right to sit down with other Southerners. Contains Dr. King's views and methods of non-violence based on the ideas of Jesus and the methods of Gandhi. "May well become a Christian classic." --James A. Pike.

Ballantine: $.50

THE SOUTH AND THE SOUTHERNER by Ralph McGill.

Editor of the Atlanta Constitution tells of one man's gradual, hard-won understanding of the South, its proud tradition, and its terrible legacy --and of the reformation which is necessary. Includes chapter on "The Agony of the Churches."

Little, Brown: $5.00

Fowler Committee statement
Fowler Committee report
Interracial Human Relations Councils now functioning in
the South
Sit-in statistics
News clips on HR committees, their formation and function.

September 23, 1960

Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick
St. Mark Methodist Church
783 Peachtree Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Kirkpatrick:

Enclosed is the promised material on Councils on Human Relations, or Goodwill Committees, as some of them are called. I have concentrated on accumulating material on the formation of these committees, and statements of what they hope to, or have, accomplished.

Later, if you would be interested in receiving some copies of statements issued by various such groups, I will be happy to send you these also. In the main, the statements deal with the sit-ins.

If there is any way at all in which I can assist you by providing additional information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

September 23, 1960

Miss Mary S. Allan
43 South Battery
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Miss Allan:

Enclosed is the information you requested on communities which have interracial councils and under separate cover we are sending you some additional material on the operations of some of these committees in detail. We hope this will be helpful to you.

May I suggest that you write to Mr. Saul Silverman, executive assistant, Fowler Commission on Race Relations, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida, and request from him a copy of the Fowler Committee reports. These are the best we have seen, but we have only one copy.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure:
Human Relations and Goodwill Committees
Mailed separately:
Settling a Sit-in
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N.C.
Price and Moreland Special Reports

Fla. - 13 (1 inactive)
Ga. 1 (inactive)
N.C. 6
Tenn. 2
Texas 4 (1 inactive)
Va. 4
Wash. D.C. 1
31

September 26, 1960

Statewide: 2 (Fla. & Okla.)
City: 31 (3 new inactive)

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES

FLORIDA: State-wide Commission; 6 members--4 white, 2 Negro

White- Cody Fowler, chairman, Tampa; former president ABA
" L. Grant (Jack) Peeples, state beverage director (replaced Don Genung, who resigned)
" Mrs. C. D. Johnson, Quincy, chairman Florida Children's Commission
" John B. Turner, Miami, businessman
Negro- Perry C. Harvey, Sr., Tampa, International Longshoremen's official
" The Rev. E. C. Tillman, Daytona Beach

Committee announced advisory committee on religious affairs in May; it is composed of five white and one Negro members:

Canon William Hargrave, Orlando
Dr. Irving Lehrman, Miami
The Rev. Wittal Hunter, Crestview
The Rev. Cyrus A. Weaver, Jacksonville (Negro)
Msgr. George T. Rocket, Miami Beach
The Venerable Harry B. Douglas, Jr., Tallahassee

Auburndale: Five-member committee appointed Sept. 2, 1960.

Coral Gables: Five-member commission formed and had met twice (9/14).

Daytona Beach: 20-member committee has not met because of tough tough quorum rule (9/14).

Delray Beach*: Ten members; not very active.

Ft. Lauderdale: Commission appointed.

Miami: Large committee appointed with Nestor Morales as chairman; no longer active (9/14).

Jacksonville: Ministers met twice to establish committee. Recently developed new group of citizens high in power structure and established a bi-racial committee.

Orlando:* Members of Commission were actice in desegregating all lunch counters. Has outstanding Negro Chamber of Commerce and Housing Development.

St. Petersburg: Five-member committee (3 whites, 2 Negroes)
Dr. Earl B. Edington, chairman, pastor First Baptist Church (W)
Robert M. King, president-treasurer Rutland's Dept. Store "
Adrian S. Bacon, attorney (w)
William M. Lattimore, employee Sears & Roebuck (N)
Louis D. Brown, principal Wildwood Elementary School (N)

* Committees in operation prior to appointment of state Commission.

FLORIDA, continued:

Tallahassee: 15-member committee formed by Ministerial Alliance and representing power structure.

Tampa*: Outstanding committee in the state.

West Palm Beach*: Long-standing committee.

Winter Park*: Five-member committee in educative lines.

Communities reasonably close to establishing committees: (9/14)

Ft. Pierce
Plant City
Homestead
Winter Haven
Haines City
Pensacola
Clearwater
Palatka
Panama City
Key West
Manatee County
Vero Beach
Maitland
Sanford
Lakeland
Gainesville

GEORGIA

Savannah: Mayor W. Lee Hingledorff's biracial committee of 14 members (7 white, 7 Negro) became inactive April 15, 1950 because neither Negroes or whites in the community would cooperate with the committee.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte: Interracial negotiating committee called "Friendly Relations Committee" appointed in April by Mayor--15 members: (Only Presbyterian members listed, obtained from Presby.Outlook)

John R. Cunningham, exec. of Presby. Foundation, former president Davidson College
Philip F. Howerton, business man
W. E. Price " "
Mrs. Ernest Hunter, housewife
Dr. Monroe T. Gilmore
Harold S. Smock

Durham: The Rev. Warren Carr, chm.

Greensboro: Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations (8 white, 1 Negro)

E. R. Zane, chairman, city councilman (w)
Bland W. Worley "
David Schneck, city councilman "
Arnold Schiffman "
C. L. Fryman "
Howard Holderness "
James A. Doggett "
W. M. York "
Waldo Falkener, city councilman (N)

April 14 Greensboro Mens Club, group of Negro dentists, doctors, business men and teachers requested "larger representation of Negro persons and also include women".

High Point: Human Relations Committee appointed by Mayor Jesse Washburn (shortly after Feb. 11 student protest).
The Rev. Wm. P. Price, Episcopal clergyman, chairman

Raleigh: (15 members)

Dr. Harold J. Dudley, chairman
Rev. Arthur J. Calloway
Dr. Wilmoth Carter
R. Lee Covington
Dr. W. L. Green
Earl Johnson
James C. Little, Jr.
Howard E. Manning
Dr. W. C. Pressly
Dr. Howard P. Powell
J. J. Sanson, Jr.
Dan E. Stewart
M. B. Thomas
The Rev. C. W. Ware
Paul H. Johnson

NORTH CAROLINA, continued

Winston-Salem: Goodwill Committee (10 Negroes, 10 whites)

Gordon Hanes, president Hanes Hosiery Mills (w)
Joe S. Rice, president of Dr. Pepper Bottling Co. "
J. Ernest Yarbrough, secretary Retail Merchants Asso. and member of City-County Planning Board (w)
James G. Hanes, formerly head of Hanes Hosiery Mills and formerly a county commissioner for three decades (w)
Dr. Clarence H. Patrick, Chairman Department of Sociology, Wake Forest College (w)
Paul Essex, asst. superintendent of public relations, Western Electric (w)
Irving Carlyle, member legal firm of Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge, and Rice, city attorney, and former state senator (w)
James A. Gray, publisher of Journal & Sentinel (w)
E. S. Heefner, Jr., Judge of Forsyth County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court (w)
Dr. Mark Depp, pastor Centenary Methodist Church
The Rev. Kenneth Williams, professor at Winston-Salem Teachers College and former city alderman (N)
Curtis Todd, attorney (N)
The Rev. Jerry Drayton, pastor New Bethel Baptist Church (N)
The Rev. David R. Hedgley, pastor First Baptist Church (N)
A. H. Anderson, principal of Atkins High School (N)
Sam Harvey, executive director Winston-Salem Urban League (N)
Edward E. Hill, president Winston Mutual Life Ins. Co. (N)
C. I. Sawyer, teacher at Paisley Junior High School (N)
Dr. E. L. Davis, chief of medical staff at Kate Bitting Reynolds Memorial Hospital (N)
The Rev. H. W. Wiley, pastor of Second Mount Zion Baptist Church (N)

TENNESSEE

Knoxville: Mayor John Duncan "summoned" a committee after the Chattanooga rioting.

Nashville: The Mayor's Biracial Committee (5 white, 2 Negro)

Dr. C. Madison Sarratt, chairman (w)
George E. Barrett (w)
Lipscomb Davis "
W. S. Davis, president Tenn. A. & I. (N)
Stephen J. WRight, Secretary (President Fisk University) (N)
E. B. Gullett (w)
Donald Hart "

TEXAS

Galveston: 11-members, all white

3 lawyers
owner of radio-television station
clothing merchant
wife of cotton broker
owner of furniture store
4 ministers, representing the Protestant, Catholic, & Jewish faiths.

Houston: Citizens Relations Committee - 41 members (at least 26 whites and at least 11 Negroes; race of 4 appointed later unknown)

Note: June 10--Chairman Hamblen announced that committee would hold no more meetings; committee disbanded.

Executive Committee (13)

J. P. Hamblen, chairman, board chm. Sou. Electric Supply Co. (w)
David C. Bintliff, pres. real estate, insurance and investment agency (w)
N. E. Coward, executive secretary of Houston Labor and Trades Council (w)
Palmer Hutcheson, attorney (w)
Leon Jaworsky, attorney and president Houston Chamber of Commerce (w)
Felix Tijerina, restaurant operater (w)
Jack Valenti, public relations "
W. J. Wallace, secretary-manager Retail Merchants Asso. (w)
W. M. Wheless, oil operator (w)
Charles Lee, student Texas Southern University (N)
Hobard Taylor, president Negro taxi company (N)
A. E. Warner, president Houston Negro Chamber of Commerce (N)
Aloysius N. Wickliff, attorney and president Harris County Council of organizations

San Antonio: Group of white religious leaders acted as mediating committee, with store managers and student leaders; later, an interracial commission was set up.

VIRGINIA

Lynchburg: (4 white, 4 Negro) City Manager Robert D. Morrison will serve as executive secretary of the group.

Henry E. McWane, co-chairman (w)
Fred L. Showalter "
Harry G. Green "
Clarence K. Garrard "
William E. Gordon, co-chairman (N)
M. C. Allen "
M. W. Thornhill, Jr. "
Henry P. Weeden "

Montgomery County: 6 members, established by County Council; meeting called July 23, 1960 by Rockville Mayor Mason A. Butcher, acting County Manager.

Joseph E. McDowell, Washington lawyer (appointed by Urban League)
Rabbi Samuel Scalnic (app. by Washington Bd. of Rabbis)
J. Fendell Coughlin, Silver Springs lawyer (app. by Washington Archdiocese)
Chas. E. Bowen, Wheaton lawyer (app. by County's 6 Chambers of Commerce)
Rev. Kenneth Wentzel, Rockville (app. by 4 Montgomery Ministerial Associations)
Ann Brown (app. by county's democratic central committee)
(county republicans refused to name member, saying commission should be non-partisan)

Richmond: Mayor Claude Woodward appointed 12-member biracial committee (8/5)

Thos. C. Boushall, bd. chm. Bank of Virginia, chairman (w)
L. Dudley George II, business man (w)
W. Stirling King, former mayor (w)
Roy E. McDaniel (w)
Ed P. Phillips (w)
Henry T. Wickham, attorney (w)
Dr. F. J. Brown, physician (N)
Thos. H. Henderson, pres. Va. Union University (N)
David E. Langley, insurance exec. (N)
Winfred Mudie " " "
J. R. Picott, exec. sec. Va. Teachers Asso. (N)
H. C. Terry, president taxicab company (N)

Williamsburg: group of 100 white and Negro citizens has functioned as an informal racial relations committee.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA:

On March 30, 1960 Gov. J. Howard Edmondson appointed a state-wide Governor's Committee on Human Relations

WASHINGTON, D. C.:

District Commissioners' Human Relations Council formed three years ago. On Aug. 3, 1960 a new chairman was named, Aaron Goldman, member for three years. Leon Chatelain Jr., architect and former chairman was appointed with Barrington D. Parker, lawyer, and Dr. R. Frank Jones for three-year terms.

See pg. 4

Report L-20
October 25, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES

When sit-ins began at lunch counters in February, 1960 the South was quickly faced with its second great crisis since 1954. The Supreme Court's order to desegregate schools had been met by "massive resistance"; the South is only now, and painfully, raising itself from the resulting confusion. The lunch counter crisis, on the other hand, was met in many Southern cities by attempts to find an agreeable solution--fair and satisfactory to all.

The result in these cities has been a successful reform of social practices. And it is not amiss to stress the word "successful." For too long the South has had little success in its race relations policies; necessary changes have been imposed from outside the region. The South's morale needed a success. Now it has had one. Not, however, a success in maintaining the status quo, but a success in exercising the initiative, in planning its own change. From the cities which have led in solving the lunch counter problem, a new spirit of cooperation and bi-racial respect has been released.

The principal means used by these cities and towns to meet the sit-in problem has been the creation of bi-racial committees. By this action, municipalities have confined the sit-in problem on a local level, insulated from the storms of state politics. They have also given reality to the oft-expressed desire for better communication between the races. Official mediating committees have been appointed in at least 29 Southern cities.

Those Southern localities which do not have effective bi-racial committees might profitably examine the way other places have organized their's. Various cities have followed different approaches, and several types of committees have appeared and have been, in their local situations, effective.

The most common, and the most frequently successful in mediating differences, has been the relatively small (5-15 members) committee, appointed by the Mayor, bi-racial, and composed of respected civic figures. Its proceedings and organizational structure have been fairly informal, and it has held closed discussions, though it has kept the local press informed. Such have been the committees of, for example, Charlotte (N.C.), Knoxville (Tenn.), and Richmond (Va.). The membership has been recruited from the religious, professional, and business leadership of their cities.

Not all committees have followed this pattern. Greensboro (N.C.) had only one Negro representative, seven white. The very successful Winston-Salem (N.C.) committee had 20 members. The Galveston (Tex.) group was all-white and self-appointed. In San Antonio (Tex.), a self-appointed committee of white ministers served. In Nashville (Tenn.), the settlement was finally worked out, not through the Mayor's committee, but by negotiations between store managers and Negro spokesmen; they reached agreement, however, on ground cleared and prepared by the previous work of the Mayor's group. Something similar occurred in Miami.

Immediate success is not the only measure of a race relations committee's effectiveness, not even if the committee is by-passed in the final stages of a controversy. The committee may be the preventive of a future crisis, or the means of guiding the community in the acceptance of new practices; in any event, it will make its contribution to unsnarling the contradictions of Southern human relations.

There may be local situations in which the most effective committee would be one formed by the Chamber of Commerce or the Ministerial Association, rather than by the city government. Provided it obtained, through the stature of its members, recognition of a leadership role its effectiveness could be as great. In whatever manner the committee is appointed, there is one requirement which is unchanging. Probably in most if not all Southern localities, the decision to have or not have a committee rests with white persons; they cannot afford to forget that the Negro members must be persons who have the trust of the Negro community. Choosing Negro members on the basis of their acceptability to white people will not work in today's South.

Of course, committees are not a panacea. There can be, in fact, circumstances under which the appointment of one might be unnecessary. This would be the case in a locality where there is already established liaison between the races and effective methods of bringing about change in community practices.

In two states--Florida and Oklahoma--the governors have appointed state wide commissions, and a third state--Kentucky--has formed one by legislative act. The Florida commission (known as the Fowler Commission on Race Relations) deserves special attention from the rest of the South, for race relations in most of Florida conform to traditional Southern patterns. The Fowler Commission, with professional staff, has worked hard and fruitfully to encourage cities and towns of the state to set up bi-racial committees, whether or not they presently have a critical racial controversy; the Commission has also done much to promote a more tolerant, realistic, and calm climate of opinion throughout the state. The Commission has itself aided in mediating the lunch counter issue in some cities, and in ameliorating the tensions in the recent Jacksonville imbroglio (Jacksonville's administration had refused to appoint a local committee).

In some cities, committees appointed to deal specifically with the lunch counter problem have been kept in existence with broader responsibilities. This is a heartening development. It even suggests the possibility that Southern towns and cities might utilize the approach of bi-racial planning, through the give and take of committee discussion, to effect school desegregation, without the need for court rulings.

For Further Reading

(single copies available on request while supplies last from the Southern Regional Council)

Margaret Price, Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy, May 31, 1960

Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas, May 10, 1960

Clarence H. Patrick, Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, July 25, 1960

Wallace Westfeldt, Settling a Sit-in (Nashville, Tenn.), July, 1960

Cities Where Mediating Committees on Race Relations Have Been Created by the City Government*

FLORIDA
- Auburndale
- Coral Gables
- Daytona Beach (at last report, committee had not met because of strict quorum rule)
- Delray Beach**
- Eustis**
- Fort Lauderdale**
- Fort Pierce
- Miami (at last report, inactive)
- Orlando**
- St. Petersburg (in appointing committee, Mayor instructed it to avoid any "integration" questions)
- Tampa**
- West Palm Beach**
- Winter Park**

GEORGIA
- Savannah (inactive since April, 1960)

NORTH CAROLINA
- Charlotte
- Durham**
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- High Point
- Raleigh
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Florence

TENNESSEE
- Knoxville
- Nashville
- Oak Ridge

TEXAS
- Houston

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* This list may not be complete; it includes all locations which have come to SRC attention through press reports and other sources.

** Committee in existence prior to sit-in movement; in a few cases (e.g. Eustis and Fort Pierce, Fla.) committee has other governmental responsibilities.

VIRGINIA
Arlington
Lynchburg (created by City Council)
Richmond (appointed by Mayor following city election in which Councilmanic candidates committed themselves to favor creation of a committee)

* * *

In Roanoke (Va.) the unofficial Citizens Bi-Racial Committee led in the desegregation of lunch counters and is now actively studying other problems.

Pine Bluff (Ark.) has had an unofficial committee created by the ministerial association and endorsed by Mayor and majority of City Councilmen.

Laurinburg (N.C.) has a committee sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.

Informal but prestigious committees in Dallas and Galveston, and a ministerial committee in San Antonio, were active; the latter gave origin to a permanent human relations commission.

The white and Negro ministerial associations of Tallahassee (Fla.) have jointly established a committee with lay and ministerial membership.

Long standing, unofficial racial relations councils exist in a number of Southern cities and have recently been organized in places other than those mentioned above.

November 28, 1960

Mayor Leroy S. Bendheim
City Hall
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mayor Bendheim:

We recently received from your office reprints of several newspaper items dealing with the desegregation of lunch counters in Alexandria, as well as a copy of the public statement of the Alexandria Citizens Biracial Committee. Although the note which you enclosed did not mention our recent Report L-20, I assume that it was the cause of your sending us this material.

I do not know whether to be more pleased that you took time to communicate with us, or more regretful that we inexcusably omitted Alexandria from our list of cities which had formed bi-racial committees under official auspices and which, in doing so, had evidenced firm local leadership in these vexing times. We are very sorry that we omitted Alexandria and very grateful to you for calling it to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Ben Muse

Report L-22
December 9, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Fowler Commission on Race Relations was appointed by Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership for his state on issues of racial relations. On October 17, 1960 the Commission released a memorandum which dealt with the basic questions confronting Southern peoples. It is an analysis which has seldom been equalled for realism and for understanding of opportunities. With the consent of the Commission, we have reproduced the memorandum in full on the following pages. Although it is addressed to the leaders of one state, we believe that its reasoning is applicable to every Southern state.

TO FLORIDA LEADERS IN CIVIC, RELIGIOUS, AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS

Enclosed please find a memorandum which we are mailing to outstanding leaders in Florida. It points out twelve principal factors of change. They include changing factors involving:

Economics
Law
The World Scene
Mass Communication
Personal Communication
Education
Religious Emphasis
Armed Services
Negro Leadership
Urbanization
Political Rights
Attitudes

The memo points out that bi-racial committees have a similar, but more difficult, role to worker-management grievance procedures; that human relations committees, or some similar procedures, have been successful in numerous communities; and, that racial tension can best be handled around a table.

It contains a list of nine reasons why we, and many others, are convinced that such an approach will not precipitate discontent but will be profoundly contributive to peaceful race relations.

Finally, it reiterates our belief and respect for the right and responsibility of each community to develop its own approach.

Respectfully yours,

Cody Fowler
Chairman
Commission on Race Relations

M E M O R A N D U M

October 17, 1960

TO FLORIDA LEADERS IN CIVIC, RELIGIOUS, AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS.

Since we wrote all Mayors in Florida in April, with regard to the establishment of a bi-racial committee, we have been busy studying the problem at length. We feel, as a result of our discussions with outstanding leaders in business, education, religion, law enforcement, the press, and local bi-racial committees, far more equipped to explain the reasons for this recommendation. Whatever doubt as to the soundness and logic of this approach we could possibly have had, was completely removed by recent events in Jacksonville.

There are strong indications that many factors and forces operating in the field of race relations in our State are increasing tensions between the races. They are operating to a greater or lesser extent in all Florida communities, and are particularly strong in metropolitan communities as well as communities with large concentrations of college-educated Negro youngsters. They are:

1. The change from an "agricultural economy" to an "agricultural and industrial economy," and more recently to a "service economy" as well.

   This service economy's major activity is not production, but selling and serving rather than producing. What has not been fully appreciated is that the Negro in the South represents three billion dollars of the market of these service enterprises. As such, he now, through "selective buying," can exert a kind of economic pressure that has never been available to him. Many chain services are beginning to recognize this fact. While some have dismissed the recent student demonstrations as small isolated instances, we are beginning to understand that these demonstrations are obtaining support in the Negro Masses, with the distinct possibility that race tensions can affect the pocketbook of the merchant on Main Street in an unparalleled way. This is particularly so in our large cities, both North and South, where an increasing percentage of downtown shoppers are non-white.

2. The change in the interpretation of the rights of U.S. citizens by the Supreme Court, regardless of the feelings of many.

   These new decisions widely accepted in all lower Federal Courts are making legal defenses to total segregation policies in public facilities increasingly expensive, and ineffective except for the purpose of delay. Unrealistic understanding of the law is widespread, and is creating unrealistic demands on people in leadership roles. In Florida, with its vast tourist trade and rapidly

expanding industry, these decisions are contributing to a much more extensive problem than other Southern States. Tourists and new industry can be expected to be quite sensitive to the fear of unpleasant race tension.

3. The change in Africa from a continent of stable colonialism to a crucial part of the free world in the throes of new nationhood.

The obvious need of America to maintain the effective leadership of the free world of which Africa is an essential part, plus the fact that two-thirds to three-fourths of the total world population is non-white, is increasing national pressure on many of the traditional practices of the South, and is clearly reflected in the platforms of both major political parties.

4. The change in the effects of mass communication.

The increase in television and other mass means of communication has reduced the gap of aspiration between the two races. The same goals are held out to Negro and white alike, but job opportunities are far from equal. Whenever we increase wants, without increasing means, we are indirectly precipitating high levels of frustration.

5. The change in time, convenience and expense of personal communication.

New York is now two hours away. When we add to this the fact of the increased number of Negroes of education and political strength outside the South, and their increased demands, it becomes very obvious that local and national Negro leaders are in closer contact, resulting in increased awareness of the relationship of local problems to the national and world scene.

6. The change in the number of Florida Negroes who are educated.

This has resulted, to no ones real surprise, in a more persistant and articulate assertion of declared democratic rights.

7. The fact that so many major religious bodies or their leaders have seen fit to reassert the Judaic Christian understanding "that before God all men are created equal, and are entitled to equal opportunities."

Our files reflect expressions from the following organizations to name only a few.

Assemblies of God
Southern Baptist Convention
Church of the Brethren
Churches of Christ
Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints

Churches of Christ, Scientist
Church of God
Church of the Nazarene
Congregational Christian Churches
Disciples of Christ
Protestant Episcopal Church
Evangelical and Reformed Church
Evangelical United Brethren Church
Religious Society of Friends
Greek Archdiocese of North and South America
Jehovah's Witnesses
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Synagogue Council of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod
United Lutheran Church in America
The Methodist Church
Cumberland Presbyterian Church
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
United Presbyterian Church
Roman Catholic
Seventh-Day Adventist Church
Unitarian Church

8. Service in our Armed Forces.

Experience in our Armed Services, which have desegregated without difficulty, has made it more difficult for many Negroes to accept complete segregation. Included in this catagory are thousands of Negro veterans, many of whom are leaders in the Negro communities, and several of whom were officers in the Armed Services.

9. Changes in Negro Leadership Patterns.

The old "accomodating type" of leadership, which had power because of its acceptability to the white community, is being challenged and replaced by a younger and more aggressive type of leadership. Inability of responsible local leaders in the Negro community to bring about change means the diminution of their power and ascension of a more militant group of leaders.

10. The change from a rural to an urban society.

One of the major phenomenon of our time is the rapid shift of population from the country to the city. The pressure for change of customs based on a rural economic and social structure can be expected to become much greater in the city than on the farm.

11. Change in Political Rights.

Increased Federal legal protection of the Negro's right to vote obviously is increasing his political power. It is noteworthy that the last three presidents of the United States, as well as the two present presidential contenders have taken very strong positions with regard to civil rights.

12. Change in Attitudes.

Numerous researches have found significant correlations between the lack of educational opportunities and prejudice. With continued advances in education in our state and the nation, it can be expected that prejudice will continue to diminish.

These factors for change are extremely likely to increase in the 60's and are increasing rapidly as of this moment. New adjustments are going to have to be made regardless of the preferences of many. The difficulty is that these adjustments may be made on the street-corner under the leadership of extremists with disturbance of the peace, threats of violence, and angry passion as the guiding line, unless there is an institution in the community whose task is to deal with them.

No large industry would operate today without a well-functioning grievance procedure. This is vital to proper labor-management relations. A worker with a grievance who has no place to take it tends to build up resentment and increase the probability of irresponsible behavior. This is just a simple operating maxim of good management and public relations in general.

Our race problems are not basically different with the exception that they stem from such long held traditions and such strong emotions that they are even more difficult. They require much skillful treatment. Often they cannot be effectively handled in regular channels of government-citizen communications. We have discovered that many cities in the North and the South have found the most constructive approach to be the establishment and able functioning of a committee to deal with these and related problems of community relationship. Fourteen Communities in Florida have already established such committees. Thirty-three cities throughout the nation have hired professional staffs and have substantial budgets. The idea of a committee to deal with minority group problems is not in the least novel and has proved in numerous instances very effective, particularly in the areas of communication and understanding.

We have been so busy thinking in terms of names of "integrationist" and "segregationist" that we have lost sight of the fact that whether we like it or not we are facing real problems that cannot be avoided. Like all problems of change, they require a forum and safety valve.

Many of Florida's Leaders with whom we have talked have acknowledged the inevitability of change in race relations and share with us deep concern for such widespread lack of concern.

Simply put, which way is better for change to come?

1. By economic boycott, wade-ins, demonstrations, and race clashes?

OR

2. By responsible leaders who have studied the problem over a period of time; who have examined all points of view as well as the facts; who have the respect of the great majority of their community; and, who can arrive at the most satisfactory recommendations?

All these things are compelling reasons we feel for establishing bi-racial committees.

But more than this, abrupt change in racial policies can cause a community crisis. If the change is seen as involving the community's total situation, the possibility of hostility and anxiety are enormously multiplied. Such abrupt change is most likely to occur when prior communication has been poor. This means to us that the basic requirement for successful handling of a racial tension is the quality, extent, and depth, of prior communication between the races at the local level. Strategically this makes, we feel, an extraordinarily powerful argument for lengthy and thorough discussions prior to change.

Moreover, we have discovered that much racial tension can be greatly lessened by rational in time treatment of unmet needs of Negroes in housing, recreational, and occupational opportunities.

Progress Village in Tampa is only one of several outstanding examples of this kind of approach using the benefits of private enterprise and urban redevelopment programs. Research shows that contrary to the perceptions of many people of the white community the Negro is primarily concerned with job and housing opportunities.

Many communities have indicated that they have no racial problems and hence no need for a bi-racial committee. If this is so, we have only our congratulations and heartfelt thanks to give. In many instances this is true. In many others however, on the slightest prodding, it turns out to be unrealistic. Such unrealism may stem fr

1. Looking at racial incidents as being unique, with no attempt to see clearly developing patterns expressing major social forces.

2. Fear of criticism, causing discontent to be repressed and hidden which only increases the future pressure while giving a false impression of immediate satisfaction. Problems that are put off have a remarkably unhealthy tendency to worsen.

Many have indicated the fear that discussion will only encourage the expression of Negro discontent. The answer is that such discussion often has the immediate effect of puncturing dangerous illusions of racial content, but in the long run, if done by responsible leaders is profoundly settling because:

1. It encourages the leadership of both races to know how the other feels, and not just how they think they ought to feel. We have seen much too much evidence, some of it tragic, of people assuming that others felt the way they thought they ought to feel.

2. It tends to dissipate extremists pressure and influence. It is much harder to be irrational in the face of a fair hearing.

3. It tends to replace emotionalism and exparte speechmaking with firm understanding of reality, the community's growth, and the state's future in a dynamically changing world.

4. It encourages progress and advancement in community areas where resistance is least and need is greatest. It is apt to result in change with a minimum dislocation of the community's equilibrium, with improved community capacity to deal with future change, and greater harmony.

5. It encourages change to be seen in the light of understanding problems of resistance, and wide differences in feelings, rather than in terms of pressure, hate, indifference, or the special policy of a special interest group.

6. It is conducive to substantial economic savings to the community and the state. The present social costs of much of the Negro community, whether measured in judicial and penal records, police protection, social agency work, or malformed character structure, is exceedingly high and would be, in the long run, greatly reduced by such an approach of mutual understanding. Moreover, it would be a source of help and encouragement for Negro leaders to upgrade the standards of many of their people. Florida could lose millions in tourist trade and industrial expansion if a policy of racial repression, adapted for a rural economic society, is allowed to unwittingly build up the potential for racial tension and street-corner solutions.

7. It is likely to result in the accumulation of a much greater stock pile of knowledge than available to any individual. It provides for sharing responsibility in an area where responsibility must be shared. Moreover it makes it easier to recognize problems and to deal with them constructively.

8. We believe that deep down the discussion approach is in accord with the overwhelming majority of Florida's and the Nation's citizens. Its recommendation can be expected to be considered with a much more objective attitude than those made by an individual or group of limited representation. This is especially true where it is clearly indicated that such committees have no power to force anybody to do anything.

9. It will encourage economic and human realism as well as the harmonious existance and living together of the various people that make up a community.

These, then, are what we regard as some of the significant reasons for the appointment and effective functioning of a bi-racial committee, consisting of the community's top leadership selected with care and with fairness.

We have discovered that Ministerial Associations and Chambers of Commerce can be extremely helpful in the delicate task of ascertaining and obtaining the support of the community's respected leadership. They can be of real help in the very delicate job of minimizing premature statements until the problem has been thoroughly explored, as well as placing primary emphasis on conciliation and mediation, rather than arbitration.

We have also learned that such groups are most effective when they represent a variety of points of view.

We have been asked by many for specific suggestions as to how these groups might approach the problem once they are established. In response to this, we have drawn up an outline of approach which might be helpful as a starting point for a local committee's exploration as one of many ways to proceed. We would be happy to supply this upon request.

We are aware, of course, that every community is different, and that each must make its own decision and has its own responsibility. We firmly and deeply believe in this.

We ask your thoughtful consideration of these factors, as well as our sincere desire to be of help to you, your community, and the State as a whole. We would be happy to supply you with additional copies of this statement upon request.

Finally, we suggest, consider the alternatives to failure of taking the initiative.

Respectfully yours,

Cody Fowler
Chairman
Commission on Race Relations

jb

in response to L-22

December 21, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Thank you for the 8 copies of Recommended Approach for Local Communities in setting up bi-racial committees. We continue to receive request for this, as, for instance, 10 copies for Courtney Siceloff, Penn Community Center, Frogmore, S. C. Would you like to send us about 40-50 copies to fill these? Or, if you do not have this many to spare, may we mimeograph copies ourselves?

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

December 28, 1960

Mr. Fendall R. Ellis
Superintendent
Charlottesville Public Schools
406 Fourteenth Street
Charlottesville, Va.

Dear Mr. Ellis:

We are enclosing the requested outline of approach for local biracial committees, as published by the Fowler Commission on Race Relations in Florida. This is the outline mentioned in our Report L-22.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Human Relations Committee

January 18, 1961

Mr. W. Carson Ryan
1303 Mason Farm Road
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Enclosed is the requested copy of the report of the Fowler Commission. Your interest is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

BCC: Ralph Purcell, U. of Delaware, Newark
also thermafax of Henderson letter

March 15, 1961

Mr. Earl H. Henderson
International Representative
Fair Practices Department
Region 8, UAW
3304 — 3304 Capital Trail, Cranston Heights
Wilmington, Delaware

Dear Mr. Henderson:

Harold has asked me to reply to your letter of March 3. We don't have much additional material to send you regarding race relations committees. As you may know, the State of Kentucky has recently created one; it is still in the stage of getting started, but I would suggest that you write for more information to Galen Martin, executive director, Kentucky Commission on Human Relations, 311 Capitol Bldg., Frankfort, Ky. You might also write for information about the Oklahoma commission established by executive order of the governor. I have seen little on it yet and know of little it has done, but it has got together some good people. Write to Oklahoma Commission on Human Relations, c/o Executive Chambers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. I recently read the annual report of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights and thought it was a most interesting job. We have only one copy, but I would think you could get a copy by writing to: Gregory E. Shinert, Executive director, 705 Walsh Street, Jefferson City, Mo. The Fowler Commission in Florida has, as you probably know, expired. I am enclosing a couple of things they put out which may interest you. Let me know if we can be of any other help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A
Enclosures: L-22, Recommended Approach

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
RECOMMENDED APPROACH
FOR
LOCAL BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES

GOAL I

To begin immediately to negotiate with responsible leaders and the persons directly involved in all matters involving racial problems.

GOAL II

To explore and discuss in good faith, race relations in the local community, the State of Florida, and the South in general, with no commitment other than to understand the viewpoint of all involved in order to reach a better understanding of what is happening and why.

1. In this discussion to obtain an understanding of the tensions, facts, and causes underlying the racial problems rather than attempting to find immediate solutions without total understanding.
2. To explore and understand the point of view of community leaders in the following areas: government, Chamber of Commerce, religion, press, police, education, social service agencies, service clubs, bar associations, medical associations, responsible community organizations and others.
3. To examine these viewpoints from the standpoint of isolating facts, values, and attitudes for further exploration and to take the necessary time to get the best available knowledge. These facts will include:
    a. Legal rights, responsibilities and obligations.
    b. The total community picture of race relations obtained either by community self study using only local resources or by community self study using local resources plus that of trained specialists. (Guide

material for community race relation studies will be forwarded at an early date.)

c. Knowledge from other communities of successful and unsuccessful approaches to racial conflict.

d. Evaluation by each committee member of knowledge gained in completion of Goal II.

GOAL III.

To develop a strategy:

1. To improve the general climate in the community by a responsible and peaceful approach rather than repression or avoidance of problems.
2. To intelligently treat the causes of racial tension by joint decision and joint responsibility at places of least resistance and of the greatest need.
3. To incalcate a sound understanding of, and respect for freedom -- its rights of choice, its responsibilities of human brotherhood if it is to endure.

GOAL IV.

Establishment of long range program.

GROUND RULES

Ground rules to be mutually agreed upon in formation of local Committees. All committee deliberations are to be conducted:

1. With mutual respect and dignity.
2. With an understanding and respect for the differing viewpoints of community leaders.
3. With an understanding and respect for the differing pressures and influences operating upon each and every member of the community.
4. With the express disclaimer of all illegal approaches.

5. With an understanding and respect of the underlying need for communication in an informal atmosphere.
6. With an understanding and respect of the rights of all citizens to choose and discriminate in their private racial relations.
7. With an understanding and respect of the importance of the racial problem to the American people and necessity of approach-int it through Democratic process rather than coercion and denial.
8. With an understanding and respect of the need for the utilization of every available resource.

The staff of the Fowler Commission has been charged with the duty of assisting all local committees. We look forward to the possibility of holding a series of regional and state-wide conferences bringing together representatives of local bi-racial committees, the State Commission, and its Advisory Committees together with outstanding specialists in the areas of race relations.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

December 4, 1965

Dear Pat:

In general the release is fine. As you can see my colleagues and I have suggested a few changes in the interest of precision. One change I have not written in tha t I would very much like to have made is the addition to my identification that I am a member of the department of Psychology as well as the department of Education. My chairman (Psychology) is not likely to forgive me for letting tha t omission go by in the pamphlet but at least if the release lists both affiliations he may believe that the omission was inadvertent. This may seem a small matter to you but it may loom large in my life for some time to come.

If I had seen proofs of the pamphlet I might have caught the ommission as well as the amny other errors. I don't suppose it will do any good at this stage of the game but I offer you now a list of the errors I have spotted so far:

1. Page 1, par. 2, line 9 - "me" should be "us"

2. p 14, par. 2, ~~in~~ l. 4, - "familiar" should be "similar"

3. p. 20 , l. 1 - asterisk is for footnote at bottom of preceding page

4. p. 21, l. 2 - the word "notions" should be "terms" (such a change would fix it, but I do not know how the sentence was meant to read since I do not have the manuscript)
Par. 2, Last line - insert "Child" between "class" "has".

5. p. 25, par. 1, l. 7 - "these five" should be "three, four, and five" (same comment as in #4 above)

6. p. 29, footnote, l. 1 - "prerequisites" should be "perquisites"

7. p. 29 and elsewhere - somehow inconsistent figures on pay for students were printed; on this page the $40 is/ elsewhere $50 or other times $10 a week.

8. p. 31, Par. 3, L 7 — insert "schools so" between words "and" and "far".

9. p. 32, Par 3, L 4 — "in a class of" should be "in classes of".

December 2, 1965

Dr. Donald Ross Green
1419 Cornell Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30306

Dear Ross:

Here is the press release for Black Belt Schools. And, incidentally, a printed copy -- which I don't think you've seen.

As I said on the phone, do any correcting on the press release needed, please, and look at it particularly to see if it says what the study says, in proportion and completely. We do need it back Monday. If necessary, I can agrange to meet you somewhere to pick it up.

Again, let me say I think it is a valuable contribution.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosure - 1.

Note: This correspondence ret'd to JS by PW 3/28/66

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

January 19, 1966

Rec'd 1-21-66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Here, belatedly, is a list of people I would like to see the pamphlet sent to. The first part of the list is Ed Ladd's. Obviously the list does not do all that you wanted and it probably overlaps with what you have already done. However, it is the best I could do for now. (Except, please add the following:

Virgil E. Blanke, Editor
Strategies for Educational Change Newsletter
School of Education
ARPS Hall
The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210

also:

Stanley M. Elam, Editor
Phi Delta Kappan
Eighth Street and Union Ave.
Bloomington, Indiana 47402)

Were you able to get a list from the Southern Association of Colleges?

Sincerely yours,

Ross

Donald Ross Green
Associate Professor

DRG:cw

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

January 11, 1966

I sent this with a copy of the pamphlet to the list below. They are the school people we dealt with in Burke and Edgefield.

Dear :

You may recall our visit to your school almost two years ago. We did finally write something based in part on that visit, and the pamphlet enclosed is the result. We would be interested in your comments on it.

May I reiterate for all of us our gratitude to you and your staff for the courtesies shown us.

Sincerely yours,

Donald Ross Green
Associate Professor

DRG:cw

Copies to: Mr. S. E. Diggs
Mr. H. E. Chappelle
Mr. S. K. Dean
Mr. L. Malphrus
Mr. L. S. Fleniken, Jr.
Mr. R. O. Derrick
Mr. W. G. Yarborough
Mr. R. E. Blakeney
Mr. A. H. Gnann
Mrs. R. H. Harris
Mrs. L. Clower

MAILING LIST

Arthur Parkllan, Director, E. I. P., 224 Central Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia

Sanford S. Atwood, President, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Alexander Moore, Assistant Professor, Division of Teacher Education, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Earl D. C. Brewer, Professor, Department of Religion, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Martin L. Levin, Instructor, Sociology and Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Mr. John Griffin, Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St. N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

Robert Cousins, Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St. N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

H. Titus Singletary, Georgia State Department of Education, State Office Building, Atlanta, Georgia

Claude Purcell, Georgia State Department of Education, State Office Building, Atlanta, Georgia

Horace M. Bond, Dean, School of Education, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Paul I. Clifford, Registrar, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Don Davies, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Samuel Ethridge, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

David Darland, National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Frank G. Bowles, The Ford Foundation, 477 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York 10022

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Prentiss Hosford, Atlanta Public Schools, 224 Central Avenue, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

J. Everette DeVaughn, Atlanta Public Schools, 224 Central Avenue, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Eunice Sims, Atlanta Public Schools, 224 Central Avenue, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Kay Earnhardt, Atlanta Public Schools, 224 Central Avenue, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

David Seeley, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

[redacted]

Fletcher Watson, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Murray Wax, Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66045

Dr. Robert Coles, Harvard Medical School, Boston, Massachusetts

Miss Elizabeth Eddy, Project TRUE, Hunter College, New York City, New York 10021

Roy Hall, Dean, School of Education, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware 19711

1/3/66

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NAME	ADDRESS
Prof. Henry F. Kaiser	Department of Educational Psychology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc.
Prof. Julius M. Sassenrath	Department of Education, University of California, Davis, Calif.
Prof. Jack A. Holmes) Prof. Guy T. Buswell) Prof. Harold D. Carter)	School of Education, Tolman Hall, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Prof. Lee J. Cronbach	School of Education, Stanford Univ., Palo Alto, California
Prof. Fred T. Tyler, Dean) Prof. W.A.Brownell)	School of Education, University of Victoria, British,Columbia, Canada
Mrs. John Fedora	2916 Grand Ave., Granite City, Illinois
The Hon. James A. Mackay	House Office Build., Washington,D.C.
Prof. R. Stewart Jones	College of Education, University of Ill. Urbana, Illinois
Prof. Albert J. Kingston) Prof. Warren G. Findley) Prof. James E. Greene, Sr.) Prof. Bernice Cooper)	School of Education, University of Georgia Athens, Ga.
Dr. Walter N. Durost	2181 Indian Rocks Road, Largo, Florida
Prof. Frank Laycock	Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
Dr. John R. Hills	Board of Regents, 244 Washington St.,S.W. Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. John J. Mallet) Dr. Peter M. Mayfield)	1285 Peachtree St.,N.E.,Atanta,Ga.
Prof. Cameron L. Fincher	Department of Psychology, Ga. State Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
Prof. Edward K. Weaver	School of Education, Atla. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
Prof. Russell P. Kropp	School of Education, FSU, Tallahasee, Fla.
Prof. Willard H. Nelson	Dept.of Psychology, FSU, Tallahasee, Fla.
Dr. Frank Benham	CAI Center, FSU, Tallahasee, Fla.
Dr. Richard H. Kicklighter	State Dept. of Education
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst	University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
Prof. Nicholas Hobbs	George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee

NAME	ADDRESS
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Prof. Phillip W. Jackson	5835 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Ellis B. Page	Bureau of Educational Research, University of Conn., Storrs, Conn.
Prof. W. Clark Trow	School of Education, University of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Prof. John A. Barlow	Univ. of Indiana, Indianapolis, Ind.
Prof. Clinton I Chase	School of Education, Indiana University Bloomington, Indiana
Prof. Egon G. Guba	Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Mrs. Donald R. Green	19 Second Street, N.E., Washington,D.C.
Dr. Bert Y. Kersh	Teaching Research, Oregon State System of Higher Education, Monmouth, Oregon
Mr. and Mrs. J. Mitchell Reese	842 Berkeley Ave., Trenton 8, New Jersey
Mr. and Mrs. J.M. Reese, Jr.	541 Glen Arden Drive, Pittsburgh, Penna.
Mr. Reg Murphy	405 West Chester Dr., Decatur, Ga.
The Hon. Jeffrey Cohelan	House Office Build., Washington,D.C.
Prof. Goodwin Watson	Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
The Hon. Charles Weltner	House Office Bldg., Washington,D.C.
Rep. Elliot H. Levitas	Fulton Federal Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Paul A. Heist	Center for the Study of Higher Education, Univ. of Galif., Berkeley, Calif.
Prof. A. J. Kingston	School of Education, Univ. of Ga., Athens,Ga.
Prof. Harry Singer	Dept of Education, Univ. of Calif., Riverside, Calif.
Prof.. Fredrick Lighthall	University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
Prof. Edward Fry	Graduate School of Education, Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick,N.J.
Prof. John Ginther	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

NAME	ADDRESS
Dr. Peter Loret	Educational Testing Service Princeton, N. J.
Prof. John R. Braun	Dept of Psychology, Univ. of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn.
Prof. Merle C. Wittrock	School of Education, Univ. of Calif. Los Angeles, Calif.
Prof. Hilda Taba	San Francisco State College, San Fran., Calif.
Prof. Leonard W. Towner	Department of Psychology, Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

RE: CORRESPONDENCE FROM DR. JAMES F. GOLLATTSCHECK TO SA MARCH 10, 1966, AND SA'S REPLY ON MARCH 16 ON CACEP AND REFERENCE MADE ABOUT BLACK BELT SCHOOLS PAMPHLET --

SEE - PERSONNEL: SAMUEL L. ADAMS (PERSONAL)

February 11, 1966

Mr. Robert M. Isenberg
Executive Secretary
National Education Assn.
Department of Rural Education
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Isenberg:

Thank you for your letter of February 2 and for your kind comments about our special report, "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation." Like you, we strongly believe that adoption of suggestion #4 on page 24 would be an important improvement on present administrative conditions involving rural schools. I shall send a copy of your letter to the authors. The report represents one additional effort of the Southern Regional Council to initiate or serve as a catalyst for new programs to make the South a better place. Intercounty cooperation is such an obvious need that many of the people close to education fail to see it.

The pamphlets you sent will be added to our library and the material in them will find its way into future studies or answers to inquiries from persons seeking information from us.

Having recently moved from Florida, I am familiar with the beginning programs there in higher education -- cooperative intercounty junior colleges. We see the need for establishing intercounty cooperation for buying supplies and, hopefully, multi-county schools where needed. Such cooperation is especially apropos for specialized technical and vocational schools. Cooperative effort in special education is also needed.

Although this approach has not yet caught fire in the South where the need for cooperative programs is perhaps greatest, the South holds the greatest potential for the development of such programs. We may very well at some future time develop some studies relating to intercounty cooperative efforts in education and/or in other areas. I do not believe that this relates exclusively to administrative structure. Administrative structure of schools is part and parcel of social and curriculum issues facing education. Administrative fiat often is needed to help reform social and curriculum issues.

I would appreciate your going into further detail about what you may do to help us should we begin a study in this area.

I am enclosing a copy of the report so that you will have one of your own. Also enclosed is a copy of a recent issue of our regular publication, New South, which in a few weeks will become a quarterly publication.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosures - 2.

Department of NEA RURAL EDUCATION

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

February 2, 1966

Rec'd 2/4/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Adams:

I have just completed a review of the Council's report "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation." While I am interested in the entire report, I want to comment here briefly only on suggestion #4 which appears on page 24 and is discussed a little more fully on pages 31 and 32--the suggestion that inter-county cooperative programs be developed. I want to commend the authors of the report for the soundness of the suggestion. Inter-county cooperation is not only necessary, but overdue especially in rural areas if comprehensive programs of high quality are to be realized.

My interest in the subject lies in the fact that it is precisely what this Department of the NEA has been trying to promote for nearly 15 years. We have some convictions about the kind of structure that is required; i.e., that it should be an integral part of the state school system rather than a cluster of informal arrangements with higher education institutions, but basically our approach is the same idea as that proposed by the authors. A few of the materials we have developed along this line are enclosed.

There is some, but a very limited, precedent for inter-county cooperation in the South. There are a couple of instances of multi-community colleges in Florida. It is my understanding that there is one inter-county guidance effort underway in Florida, and perhaps there are others. The area vocational schools currently operating in Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and the Carolinas are inter-county in a number of instances. Generally speaking, however, illustrations in that region are few. In other sections of the country the idea has moved a long way and significant programs are now being provided among local school units on a cooperative basis. These include programs in special education, instructional materials centers, data processing centers, curriculum development programs, including specialized consultative help, research efforts, cooperative purchasing, and many others. It is unfortunate that the approach has not yet caught fire in the South where the need for cooperative programs is great. A substantial study of

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Karlene V. Russell (1968)
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Montpelier, Vermont

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Henry County
Cambridge, Illinois

the potential of such an approach could perhaps develop interest among the states to make the necessary provisions to develop the idea.

I recognize that a study of this area relates specifically to administrative structure more than to social or curriculum issues, but I am also aware that educational programs to meet or resolve the social and curriculum issues do not just happen. They require an organizational framework that can deal appropriately with them. They require an agency that is strong enough and operates in an area large enough to implement a program of high quality. If a specific study in this area may be comtemplated by the Council, I want to report to you that we would welcome an opportunity to work with you in any way we can.

The copy of your bulletin which I reviewed was a borrowed copy. I would like to secure one for our use and would appreciate your forwarding one to me. Please bill us if there is a charge.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Isenberg
Executive Secretary

RMI:js
enc.

File: Personal/SA
Cross ref: Black Belt Schools

File: Black Belt Schools
Response
Corr. correspondence in
SA's personal file given
to him on his departure
(8/9/66)

March 16, 1966

Dr. James F. Gollattscheck
Acting Superintendent
Pinellas County Board of
Public Instruction
1960 East Druid Road
Clearwater, Florida 33517

Dear Dr. Gollattscheck:

Thank you for your letter of March 10, 1966, and the warm regards it expressed. I also appreciate the letter you sent to Reader's Digest in reply to their request for information on CACEP.

I know you must be quite busy after being so suddenly thrust into your new role following the tragic death of Dr. Paul Bauder. Your taking the time to write makes me all the more proud to know a busy administrator who pauses long enough to do some of the less earth shaking human things.

I am glad you liked our pamphlet, "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation." If some similarly meaningful research idea should pop into your mind, I would appreciate your communicating same to me.

I had considered writing to congratulate you on being chosen acting superintendent, but the tragic circumstances which led to your getting the position left me not knowing how to say it. Besides, I did not want to put any hex on a possible permanent appointment. Anyway, you are a talented young man and the Kennedy years have made this a good time for talented young men.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

PINELLAS COUNTY
BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION BUILDING
1960 EAST DRUID ROAD
CLEARWATER, FLORIDA 33517

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MRS. MARJORIE WHITLEY

March 10, 1966

James F. Gollattscheck
Acting Superintendent

Mr. Sam Adams
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have recently received from The Reader's Digest. I am also enclosing a copy of my answer to them. I am very happy that you are being recognized for your efforts on behalf of Pinellas County children.

I have been intending to write to you for some time to comment on the very fine publication which has come out since you joined the Southern Regional Council; I am referring to the pamphlet "Beyond Desegregation". I have received a copy and have found it very interesting and informative.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

Acting Superintendent
of Public Instruction

jfg;fmo

Enc.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

March 23, 1966

Mr. S. L. Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rec'd 3/24/66

Dear Mr. Adams:

As I said to Pat Watters in January when I sent in the list there is no need to mail a second time to anyone. As I said then, I am sure that many of the people on the list, especially those in Dr. Ladd's part (the first two pages) are already on some of your lists. However, it is regrettable that so many of these people have not yet seen the pamphlet.

It would be appreciated if you could have the mailing completed. If you need them I could probably glean a few copies from some of the people I gave them to last Fall. Alternatively, you can return the list to me along with whatever copies you have in hand and we will send them ourselves. Please let me know what action is being taken in this matter.

Yours truly,

Donald Ross Green

Donald Ross Green
Associate Professor

DRG:cw

March 18, 1966

Dr. D. Ross Green
Emory University
Division of Teacher
Education
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Green:

We are in receipt of the list of individuals you wish to receive "Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation."

After looking over the list, I recognized the names of some individuals who have already received the pamphlet through our first general mailing. You may recall that we set up a category especially for the schools and departments of education and educational organizations at your suggestion. If you deem it necessary to have another general mailing, then it would probably need to wait until there is another printing of the report since our supply is now extremely limited.

For your information, enclosed is a copy of a letter we received just the other day from Mr. James F. Gollattscheck, acting superintendent of public instruction of the Pinellas County Board of Education. He is complimentary of the good thinking that went into your report. His is typical of the type of response we have been receiving all along.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Fr Blank Bell Pelle
D. Rose Green

Recd 3/12/66

MAILING LIST

Arthur Parklian, Director, E. I. P., 224 Central Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia

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Alexander Moore, Assistant Professor, Division of Teacher Education, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Earl D. C. Brewer, Professor, Department of Religion, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Martin L. Levin, Instructor, Sociology and Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Mr. John Griffin, Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St. N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

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Kay Earnhardt, Atlanta Public Schools, 224 Central Avenue, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

David Seeley, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

Stephen

Fletcher Watson, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Murray Wax, Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66045

Dr. Robert Coles, Harvard Medical School, Boston, Massachusetts

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1/3/66

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Prof. Lee J. Cronbach	School of Education, Stanford Univ., Palo Alto, California
Prof. Fred T. Tyler, Dean) Prof. W.A.Brownell)	School of Education, University of Victoria, British,Columbia, Canada
Mrs. John Fedora	2916 Grand Ave., Granite City, Illinois
41 The Hon. James A. Mackay	House Office Build., Washington,D.C.
Prof. R. Stewart Jones	College of Education, University of Ill. Urbana, Illinois
Prof. Albert J. Kingston) Prof. Warren G. Findley) Prof. James E. Greene, Sr.) Prof. Bernice Cooper)	School of Education, University of Georgia Athens, Ga.
Dr. Walter N. Durost	2181 Indian Rocks Road, Largo, Florida
Prof. Frank Laycock	Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
Dr. John R. Hills	Board of Regents, 244 Washington St.,S.W. Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. John J. Mallet) Dr. Peter M. Mayfield)	1285 Peachtree St.,N.E.,Atanta,Ga.
Prof. Cameron L. Fincher	Department of Psychology, Ga. State Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
Prof. Edward K. Weaver	School of Education, Atla. Univ., Atlanta, Ga.
Prof. Russell P. Kropp	School of Education, FSU, Tallahasee, Fla.
Prof. Willard H. Nelson	Dept.of Psychology, FSU, Tallahasee, Fla.
Dr. Frank Benham	CAI Center, FSU, Tallahasee, Fla.
Dr. Richard H. Kicklighter	State Dept. of Education
Prof. Robert J. Havighurst	University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
Prof. Nicholas Hobbs	George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee

NAME	ADDRESS
Prof. Susan Gray	George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee
Prof. Phillip W. Jackson	5835 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Ellis B. Page	Bureau of Educational Research, University of Conn., Storrs, Conn.
Prof. W. Clark Trow	School of Education, University of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Prof. John A. Barlow	Univ. of Indiana, Indianapolis, Ind.
Prof. Clinton I Chase	School of Education, Indiana University Bloomington, Indiana
Prof. Egon G. Guba	Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Mrs. Donald R. Green	19 Second Street, N.E., Washington,D.C.
Dr. Bert Y. Kersh	Teaching Research, Oregon State System of Higher Education, Monmouth, Oregon
Mr. and Mrs. J. Mitchell Reese	842 Berkeley Ave., Trenton 8, New Jersey
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Prof. Goodwin Watson	Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
The Hon. Charles Weltner	House Office Bldg., Washington,D.C.
Rep. Elliot H. Levitas	Fulton Federal Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Paul A. Heist	Center for the Study of Higher Education, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
Prof. A. J. Kingston	School of Education, Univ. of Ga., Athens,Ga.
Prof. Harry Singer	Dept of Education, Univ. of Calif., Riverside, Calif.
Prof. Fredrick Lighthall	University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
Prof. Edward Fry	Graduate School of Education, Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick,N.J.
Prof. John Ginther	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

NAME	ADDRESS
Dr. Peter Lorge	Educational Testing Service Princeton, N. J.
Prof. John R. Braun	Dept of Psychology, Univ. of Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn.
Prof. Merle C. Wittrock	School of Education, Univ. of Calif. Los Angeles, Calif.
Prof. Hilda Taba	San Francisco State College, San Fran., Calif.
Prof. Leonard W. Towner	Department of Psychology, Long Beach State College, Long Beach, Calif.

March 29, 1966

Dr. D. Ross Green
Emory University
Division of Teacher Education
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Green:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, four copies of the February, 1966 issue of Current. These complimentary copies have been sent with the compliments of the editors to you and Messrs. Jordan, Bridgeman and Brittain.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Research Department

jcs

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

With the compliments

of the Editors

Please note the material

on page 19

which we think will be

of special interest to you.

Would you be good enough to pass one copy each on to: Donald R.Green,James A. Jordan, W.J. Bridgeman Clay V. Brittain as well as keeping one copy for your files. Thank you.

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Staige: I have just finished reading Coles' article on deseg. in NEW REPUBLIC. Is that a chapter from his book? Was his ATLANTIC MONTHLY piece from his book? When is his book due to be out? If these articles aren't from his book, what then is his book to be about, like? I got the Civid Rights Commission reports OK. If I haven't said this before....keep in mind that I always welcome suggestions, tips, ideas. Best

GMcM

George McMillan Box 299 Aiken, S. C.

Dear Staige: Just to let you know that my spooky piece is gonna be in LIFE, the issue due out next Monday. Thank you very much for your help, and will you also kiss Barbara Patterson on the forehead for me, and thank her?
Please remember my invitation, come on over and let's see what kind of tennis player you really are.

Best,

George

10/3/63

Harrison Endorsement

Va. Pilot 7/17/64

Jaycees Set Vote Campaign

NORFOLK — Backed by the endorsement of Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. and Mayor Roy B. Martin, the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce coordinated plans Thursday for launching its voter registration campaign Monday. The campaign will run through July 31.

Representatives of all city organizations concerned with voter registration discussed the drive with Charles Cooper, Jaycee voter registration project chairman, at a luncheon in the Monticello Hotel.

Cooper was offered full support in getting people throughout the city to register during the drive.

At his weekly press conference in Richmond Wednesday, Harrison issued a statement commending the objectives of the nonpartisan Jaycee campaign and urged Norfolk citizens to register to vote in the presidential election Nov. 3.

A 30-second recording of the governor's statement will be released to all Norfolk radio stations for use during the drive, Cooper reported.

Martin, who has proclaimed July 20-31 as "Get Out the Vote Weeks," will open the drive at the General Registrar's office in City Hall Annex Monday morning.

At Thursday's luncheon Marvin Wilkie, Norfolk director of the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, said that COPE will distribute bumper stickers to people who register. The stickers will read "I Am A Registered Voter. Are You?"

COPE also will offer free transportation to City Hall during each night of the drive.

The registrar's office will be open from 8:30 a.m. to 9 p.m. each weekday between July 20 and July 31, Registrar Mary E. Dudley said Thursday.

The League of Women Voters will have two volunteer workers on hand at the registrar's office every night of the campaign to answer questions.

In addition, COPE will answer any queries by phone about registration and free transportation from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday during the drive. The number is 625-4900.

The Jaycees will have five members on duty at City Hall each night to help people park and register. A team of speakers will urge civic club members to get citizens to register.

"We want anybody who's interested in this project to get their people registered," Cooper emphasized Thursday.

Miss Dudley said there were 62,045 registered voters in Norfolk as of March 31, the latest date for which figures are available.

The registrar's office closed its books last spring prior to the Democratic congressional primary election. But they were reopened again Thursday and will remain open for all people eligible to register until Oct. 3, one month before the presidential election.

By that time, indeed long before that time, the Jaycees hope citywide registration figures will have risen to an all-time high. They will make "every effort" to "get out the vote" in the next two weeks, Cooper pledged Thursday.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Voter Registration

Free Buses Available

NORFOLK—As part of the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce's two-week voter registration drive to begin Monday, the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO has chartered Virginia Transit Co. buses to take people to the registrar's office in City Hall Annex.

The buses will arrive at a specified location each evening at 6 and depart at 6:45. They will bring all riders back from City Hall as well. There will be no charge.

Buses will depart from the following locations during the citywide "Get Out the Vote" drive:

Monday, July 20—ILA Hall, Princess Anne Road and Wide Street.

Tuesday, July 21—Fairmont Park, Tidewater Drive and Cromwell Road.

Wednesday, July 22 — Ward's Corner, Cross Roads Restaurant.

Thursday, July 23—Ocean View Democratic Club, Atlantic Avenue.

Friday, July 24—Southern Shopping Center, Little Creek Road and Tidewater Drive.

Monday, July 27—Roosevelt Shopping Center, Little Creek Road.

Tuesday, July 28—Janaf Shopping Center, Seaboard Bank.

Wednesday, July 29—Norview High School, Chesapeake Boulevard.

People seeking further information may call COPE's Norfolk office. The number is 625-4900. The COPE office will be open from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday of next week and the week following.

Va. Pilot 7/23/64

1,660 Learn Registration Easy Matter

By STAIGE D. BLACKFORD

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

NORFOLK—"It's a breeze!" This was how Mrs. Jean Carroll, 29, of 5475 Don Drive in Azalea Acres described her registration as a Virginia voter at City Hall Annex Wednesday. For Mrs. Carroll, as for many of the 371 people who came down to register on the fourth day of the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce's two-week "Get Out the Vote" drive, it was her first experience in registering to vote.

"It's something I've been putting off and shouldn't have, really," Mrs. Carroll said.

To Charles Cooper, chairman of the Jaycee voter registration project, the ease with which Mrs. Carroll and hundreds of others have registered this week is scarcely surprising.

"One reason for the drive's success," Cooper noted Wednesday, "is the quick handling of people at the registrar's office. They can register eight people at a time."

Another reason for the drive's success, Cooper pointed out, is the "splendid cooperation" the Jaycees have received from all groups working on voter registration in Norfolk.

"There has been no duplication of effort," Cooper said. "White and Negro, Democrat and Republican, all have worked together in getting people registered to vote."

Additional bipartisan support for the drive was expressed Wednesday by 2nd District Democratic Rep. Porter Hardy Jr. and Republican congressional candidate Wayne Lustig, who both congratulated the Jaycees for launching the registration project.

Hardy declared that "no privilege is more sacred to the citizen than his right to vote and no responsibility more important than the exercise of that franchise."

Lustig said that he hoped "thousands more will avail themselves of the opportunity to register and thereby actively participate in their own government."

Robert H. Merriman, president of the Norfolk-Portsmouth Board of Realtists, also announced Wednesday that the organization will sponsor a "crash voter registration campaign" as a part of the citywide "Get Out the Vote" campaign. The realtists will concentrate on a "door-to-door" campaign in "as many areas of the city as they can cover" through July 31, when the drive ends.

The brunt of getting people registered falls on the calm, capable shoulders of General Registrar Mary E. Dudley and her staff of six women. On the job from 8:30 a.m. to 9 p.m. five days a week, Miss Dudley and her staff make the registration process seem almost as easy as writing your name. The average time required for registration is four to 12 minutes.

The women in the registrar's office also are prepared to cope with such things as disappearing children.

A case in point is that of Mrs. Patricia Wilgus, 27, of 1629 Cougar Ave. in Belair, who came down to register Wednesday with her two little blonde girls.

As Mrs. Wilgus was filling out the registration card, the younger girl, apparently fascinated by the nearby files, wandered away among them. With the help of the registrars, Mrs. Wilgus located her behind a file in short order.

Meanwhile, her older daughter, Suzanne, decided to pinch-hit for mummy. She climbed up on the chair vacated by her mother, picked up her mother's pencil, and busily began to fill out the registration card. She was just beginning to fill in the section asking if you are a naturalized citizen when her mother returned to the table.

Another mother, Mrs. Virgal M. Lundy, 21, of 1424 Republic Ave., came in with her 8-week-old boy. She sat down, registered in no time flat, and then calmly proceeded to give her baby his bottle. The boy's appetite was scarcely affected by the strange surroundings: he drank his milk as though he were right at home in his mother's kitchen.

By the end of the drive's fourth day, the total of new registered voters had reached 1,660. The drive will resume today, continue through the end of next week.

Va. Pilot
7/27/64

Johnson Supports Signup

NORFOLK — President Lyndon B. Johnson has strongly endorsed the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce's two-week voter registration campaign.

In a telegram to Charles Cooper, Jaycee voter registration project chairman, President Johnson said:

"America's greatest heritage is the right to vote — the right of the individual to choose his government. I am delighted with the success of the Norfolk Junior Chamber of Commerce voter registration drive to date, and I want to congratulate the city for its outstanding effort.

"I hope that as many citizens as possible will register to vote, and I urge all citizens to exercise this precious right on election day."

Johnson's endorsement of the drive bolstered Jaycee hopes for getting 5,000 new voters registered in the city by the time the campaign comes to an end this Friday.

The drive opens its second week today, with the registrar's office at City Hall Annex resuming operations at 8:30 a.m. The office will be open from 8:30 a.m. to 9 p.m. today through Friday.

The President was informed of the Jaycees' two-week campaign late last week by Richard Nelson, 26, a member of the White House staff and a native of Norfolk. Nelson is the son of Irvin J. Nelson, owner of the Nelco department stores here.

After learning of the drive's purpose —to "Get Out the Vote in '64" — Johnson sent the telegram commending the Jaycee effort to Cooper. The Jaycee chairman received it over the weekend.

The President has scheduled a national conference on voter registration for Friday, the last day of the Jaycee registration campaign.

It Comes to $17 Billion Annually

The High Cost of Racial Discrimination

NEW YORK.

It is not surprising to hear somebody say that racial discrimination is costing the country a lot of money. But it is staggering to see the estimated figure.

$17 billion.

This is the annual increase in the gross national product (total of all goods and services sold) that might be realized if non-whites in the United States had the same educational levels as whites, and if the economy fully utilized their educations.

This report to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, by the Council of Economic Advisers in September 1962, is one of nearly 200 excerpts contained in a 44-page booklet published jointly this week by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai 'B'rith and the Southern Regional Council.

The booklet, entitled "The Price We Pay," itemizes some of the money and opportunity that discrimination costs Southern communities in economy, employment, legal procuedure, education, culture and tourism. It also details the dollars the nation pays for Federal troops and in foreign relations.

Though there are a few excerpts from reports to the government, most of "The Price We Pay" is made up of news items and editorials from such publications as the Atlanta Constitution, Birmingham News, Washington Post, New York Times, and Wall Street Journal, Time and Business Week.

"There are probably those," the booklet says, 'who would try to use the figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

"Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic," the booklet continues. "The estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for five years — $100 million —would be only 0.6 per cent of the GNP increase—$17 billion—which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources."

Among the costs cited:

ECONOMY

"In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because white did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence."

In Charlestown, S.C., along usually busy King Street, one prominent retail merchant confided: "Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to."

"Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis police department more than $9,000 in overtime pay."

"Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control."

"The Louisiana legislature held five "extraordinary sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000"

EMPLOYMENT

"Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast."

" . . . The city of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over $4-8 million as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes."

CULTURE

"The New York Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups. One fourth of the exhibitions . . . visit the South."

"The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees."

"Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katcheon."

TOURISM

"Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 National Convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems . . . assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and one spends $30 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to $4.2 million."

FOREIGN RELATIONS

"Last year the U.S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands (the Greater and Lesser Antilles) amounted to $180 million, but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few."

FEDERAL TROOPS

"The defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4.1 million maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith . . . in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department."

The Virginian-Pilot
MORNING AND SUNDAY
ESTABLISHED 1865 ... NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH VIRGINIA

PW - please reply (I'll help). VEP will need strong steps to copies to Sam

TELEPHONE MADISON 5-1431
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

File Staff Background

July 27, 1964

Dear Les:

I suppose it was inevitable: Glenn Scott, the Pilot's Sunday editor, wants me to do two Sunday features on SRC. I don't know when, I don't even know whether, they will run. But with your help, I'd like to take a crack at them.

The first piece would be about VEP. It would have a local angle because there is a helluva voter registration drive going on here right now. Even though this drive (see enclosed news clips) ends Friday, there is every reason to believe the Tidewater Voter Registration group and the YW CA will go on with their efforts to get Negroes registered right up to Oct. 3. But, using Norfolk as a peg, we would like to focus on Negro voter registration throughout the South. I note, for example, that you are quoted in yesterday's Times as saying there are 2,000,000 more Negro voters in Dixie this year than in 1960.* To what extent can this be attributed to VEP projects? And how many such projects has VEP supported in the past; how many is it supporting now? ~~How much longer will VEP operate?~~ Can you give me a state-by-state rundown on the number of registered Negro voters in 1960 ~~and those registered today~~ (I realize this is impossible in some states). Can you cite some examples of highly successful VEP projects? Outside Mississippi and Alabama, what areas have been the hardest to crack? Why?

Those are a few questions that come to mind. For background, I wonder if you could send me ~~the original news release plus any articles that have appeared about the project (e.g. Pat W's New Republic piece last spring)~~. Also, if possible, can you give me an estimate of the funds involved and the principal sources of same. I hope I ain't asking too much. I can only say that little or nothing appears to be known about the project in this area, and Glenn thinks we should make our readers aware of its existence.

The second piece would be about SRC itself. Obviously, I can write quite a bit about its activities at present. But I would like to have ~~a copy of the New South issue on the origins of SRC, a copy of the list of board members, a bit about Mr. Dabbs, Mr. Wheeler, and present and past executive directors. The "Origins and Aims" L Report would be useful too.~~ And it would be nice to have your thoughts on where SRC will go from here. Glenn asks the question, "why the focus on race?" Even though the answer seems pretty ~~shir~~ obvious, I'd like to have it from the horse's mouth. ~~I am correct in thinking, am I not, that Odum envisaged the Council as an organization established to deal with all the problems of the South. Also was not V. Dabney of~~

* I'm citing this from MEMORY, so may be off on the figure.

The Virginian-Pilot
MORNING AND SUNDAY
ESTABLISHED 1865 • • • NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE MADISON 5-1431
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

LWD-2-2-2

~~the Richmond Times-Dispatch (some think Disgrace) among the founding fathers. Did he or did he not resign when SRC took a public stand against segregation? Any colorful anecdotes you might have about the Council would be appreciated (for example, is it true that George Mitchell hocked his life insurance policies to keep the outfit in business at one time?).~~ Also, by comparing past and present budgets, past and present staffs, can we show how the Council's activities have expanded over the years? ~~And what was that great quote by Tom Waring of the Charleston News&Courier about SRC, the one you used to end your '62 or '63 annual report?~~ Finally, what is the Council's budget at present and its main sources of revenue?

Naturally, any ideas or suggestions you might wish to make about either piece would be greatly appreciated. Incidentally, for my information only, how did y'all come out in your fight with the Ga. Labor Dept. over the back payments in unemployment compensation?

As Nobby will, I trust, show you, the "Price of Conflict" got a good play in today's Pilot (oh what-the-hell, I'll send you a copy too). It appeared opposite the editorial page. I assume it was taken from the ADL handout. Nobby also sent me a copy, and it looks damned good indeed. Also thought the Mississippi Special Report said some things that bloody well needed saying. Before we send fed troops there, however, we might think about putting a few on the sidewalks of New York.

All goes very well here even though Norfolk is, of course, small potatoes compared to Atlanta. It is, nevertheless, the only city in this state looking ahead rather than back. Richmond is well summed up in a Charlottesville law professor's reply to my question of why the state capital has no by-passes: "General Lee wouldn' t have approved."

As for SRC, I'm sure the experience there will come in handy here (in fact, they've already tapped me as the resident civil rights expert. Some expert!). All in all, though, looking back on the SRC days, another Spanish saying comes to mind: Lo que bien a perdonar, pero es mejor que olvidar--"it is good to forgive, but it is better to forget."

Best to one&all. Best to you. Cheers,

Stige

August 3, 1964

Mr. Staige Blackford
The Virginia-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Bear Staige:

All but four of your VEP questions are answered in the material enclosed--particularly the most recent press release. I am going out of town and am leaving with Wylie four to answer by separate mail: The number of VEP projects supported, past and precent. State by state rundown on Negro registration in 1960. Examples of good and bad projects. Estimate of cost. The funds come from national foundations.

On SRC, the materials attached answer all questions except:

1..Dunbar on whither SRC: "The Council was established to work on social problems of the South. It learned quickly that race is basic to all of them. Until the South emancipates itself from racial inequity, it can't make any rational progress on its other problems. The Council's future is to be a part of the South and have its programs develop with the issues and opportunities of the region."

2. This mainly from Paul Anthony on Odom and anecdotes: Howard Odom was a regional sociologist at the University of North Carolina. He was controversial in academic circles for his insistence on practical application rather than theoretical musings of sociology. He produced a study, Southern Regions which is to Southern sociology as the American Dilemma is to race. He gave much thought and dreaming to what SRC should be, envisioning it as a great repository of the brains and know-how of the South, acting as a non-official agency. He saw race as the biggest problem, but not isolated from the others. He was first president, and a University of North Carolina faculty member, Guy Johnson, was executive director during the year he served. His dream was never fully realized; lack of funds was a main reason.

George Mitchell did borrow money on his life insurance in the late 40's to keep the Council going. A 1951 statement supporting integration did lose some members, Mr. Dabney probably the most prominent. However, there is no documentation that he

George Mitchell did borrow money on his life insurance in the late 40's to keep the Council going. A 1951 statement supporting integration did lose some members, Mr. Dabney probably the most prominent. However, there is no documentation on that he quit because of the statement. I would suggest getting his version of what happened if you're going to use this.

Lillian Smith, famous novelist and writer on Southern problems, was asked several times to be a member, not without misgivings of the part of some board members. She declined--saying SRC was too close to separate but equal.

The Southern Conference on Human Welfare was founded well before SRC, in 1938, and got off to a great, generally supported start, in contrast to SRC. It attracted most important leaders, including many who later helped form SRC, at a time when they were fighting Communist take-over of SCHW. The overlapping membership has given rise from time to time to charges SRC is outgrowth, interlocking directory thing of SCHW. This not so.

3. Money comes from national foundations. Budget attached. Size of staff is now 27. It started with five or six.

I hope this will do it. If not let me know. And I'll be looking forward to seeing the stories.

On a personal level, I'm still kicking myself for not getting to see you-all before you left. I was traveling muchly and one thing and another. Anyhow, belatedly, this is to wish you good luck, and to say I did value working with you, and getting to know you. As an old newspaperman, allow me to offer two pieces of advice: Never neglect a copy-spike wound. Always treat city editors with the utter contempt and complete scorn that their sorry position and condition in life warrants.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

Enclosures

August 24, 1964

Mr. Staige Blackford
The Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk, Virginia

Dear Staige:

Wiley begs off on the state-by-state 1960 rundown, and, in part, on the number of past and present projects. Enclosed is a list of current projects, but the catch is that one project might cover anywhere from one to a dozen locales.

Joe Tucker said he gave you a copy of the latest annual report, which should answer the questions about money and good and bad projects. If you still need more, holler. He said, incidentally, he enjoyed seeing you. I think his new job is agreeing with Joe.

Maggie and I were duly impressed with your clipper ship story. I've got a piece in the September Progressive (if you ever see such any more) I'm right proud of, on St. Augustine.

Sorry as hell to be so late with this. Wiley was out of town; then I was--same old story. I'm glad you're doing this piece--will be interested in seeing it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

Enclosure

Reif
Norfolk Study

November 2, 1959

Mr. Daniel A. Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dan:

As you know by now, we did not get the manuscript off last week as I promised, but herewith I turn it over to you. We kept it so long that any suggestion of a hurry-up would be unseemly, but I know you are interested in moving it along as quickly as possible.

As you will see, we have cut it fairly hard. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Jane Reif with explanations of the cust. On the whole I think it is a good job and I believe Paul Rilling and Harold Fleming more-or-less agree.

I believe one additional thing is needed, and another thing desirable. Just before this goes to the printer, there ought to be added a few sentences in a paragraph bringing up to the minute the legal developments in Norfolk; I can take care of this if you wish. Secondly, I believe it would be desirable for Mr. Beckwith, or you, to write a brief (half-page) foreword, indicating the purpose which you wish to serve in publishing this pamphlet.

Jane Reif tells me that Mr. Brewer read the whole manuscript and has a copy of it. We still think that one or two points should be discussed with him. These are indicated in my letter to the author.

As to further procedure, I suggest that you get this to the printer (David Schill) as soon as you have reviewed it; write or call me of course if there are any questions you wish to discuss before printing. If you wish we are prepared to do the proof-reading. You should ask the printer for two sets of galleys--

one to be sent to Mrs. Reif, and the other to us or to you, depending upon who is proof-reading. As I said to you on the phone, I think a printing job comparable to our usual SRC pamphlets is in order. I think the printer will probably furnish you a colored stock for a cover with one color superimposed upon it at a reasonable cost. As we had agreed, SRC, which has already paid the author's expenses, will pay one-half of the printing cost for 2,500 copies. Whatever quantity you may order, therefore, please get a quote on 2,500. Would 500 copies as our share be reasonable and fair?

Best wishes, and will be interested to get your reaction.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: manuscript
CC- Letter to Jane Reif

November 2, 1959

Mrs. Jane Reif
1912 McDowell Rd.
Norfolk 13, Va.

Dear Mrs. Reif:

The manuscript has gone off to Dan Bowers and I hope that this means it will soon get to the printers. Actually, though I know your patience has been strained, the delay probably has not hurt anything and may be an advantage. At any rate, let's believe so.

I repeat that this is a good job; I am more than a little sorry that it will not bear the SRC imprint, because I think we would be very well represented by it.

You will think the cuts have been ruthless, and I honestly regret some of them myself. I don't have to tell you, though, that a publication of this sort stands or falls on its over-all effect, and we are convinced that the shortened report will be more effective. I tried very hard not to edit this in such a way as to distort or change your meaning in any place except as indicated in the explanations. This is as good a place as any to say that if you cannot agree with some of the editing, please send your objections to me, possibly with a copy to Dan Bowers. We want this to be a publication which not only we but you are proud of.

With exceptions as noted, all the cuts were made merely in the interest of space. A few changes were made for purely technical reasons, such as grammar, etc. These will be apparent to you and need not be discussed.

The two cuts made for reasons other than space were the following: a) the passages about the NCPS role in the court suit; b) paragraphs on pages 55 and 56 about rumor. As for the first, I explained the reasons to you on the phone this morning.

There is the question of whether we are not laying the basis for accusations against the NCPS for illegal operations. We are not lawyers and haven't sought legal advice, but it would be non-lawyers also who would raise the charges, if any. In the 1956 extra session of the Virginia legislature, it passed new and stronger barratry, maintenance and running and capping laws. (pages 33, 35, 36). Even if what you wrote did not amount to a implication of illegality, it does, we think, put the NCPS in the rather unfavorable light of publicly saying one thing, privately doing another. No one is suggesting that this is avoidable, but we don't think that this close to the event the NCPS would want its friends to say publicly that this was the way NCPS operated. Similarly, for the paragraph on rumor. Whatever other merits or demerits these paragraphs may have (and we frankly don't think they add to your story) they strike a sensitive nerve here, inasmuch as we are, at considerable effort and expense, engaged through our L reports in raising the economic alarm. We are naturally a little dubious about sponsoring the implication that we are manufacturing an issue.

Chapters

Now for some more particular points:

Page 1, last line - I didn't see that your sentence had any concrete meaning and I tried to give it one. If you agree with what I have written, let it go; if not, please suggest change.

Page 5 - Although you discuss the role of the school board at a later point, we do think that a few lines characterizing the role of the board and its leadership should be inserted in the second paragraph, or following it, and that some mention should be made here of Superintendent Brewbaker; for several reasons, we would hope that your comment about Mr. Brewbaker would be a favorable one, but you will write it as you see fit.

PLEASE MAIL THESE FEW LINES TO DAN BOWERS WITH INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHERE THEY ARE TO BE INSERTED.

Pages 11 to 13, and page 32 - As I have cut these, we think they are all right; even though Mr. Brewer has read the manuscript, I think it would be worthwhile for him to look at these pages again.

Page 17 - I am assuming that the lady stated to someone or to you that pressure had been put on her husband. If, however, it was no such direct statement, and what you have written is an inference, then it should be presented as such. I leave this to your judgement.

Page 34 - We think you should consider, or have Mr. Brewer consider, the advisability of deleting the second paragraph "one of the nicest things, etc." Again, it is a question of the public image of the NCPS. You say that the committee refused Negro contributions, but cite an example of an acceptance even though believed to be a Negro contribution. If you on the scene have no objection, we haven't. I did think we ought to call it to your attention. You make the point in the preceding paragraph that a lot of anonymous contributions were received and that they probably came from Negroes; do you need the quotation that follows?

Page 70 - How did the three defenders finish in the primary? It can't be the way you have written. PLEASE WRITE DAN BOWERS THE CORRECT FIGURES.

There is, I think, only one other thing to be added and that is a few lines, written just before this goes to the printer, bringing up to date the legal developments. You have done so much already that I'll offer to do this, unless of course you would prefer to.

It has been a great pleasure working with you on this, and I hope a satisfying one to you as well. Norfolk has been written about a great deal; Paul Rilling tells me there is a piece in the current Red Book magazine, and I have just myself read Luther Carter's article in the South Atlantic Quarterly, Autumn 1959. There were also, as I am sure you know, the articles in Commentary and the Atlantic. But I think yours is far and away the best of the lot.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CONTENTS

Chapter 1.

The City of Norfolk . . . . . .
The Legal Dilemma . . . . . .

Chapter 2.

The Norfolk Committee for Public Schools . . .
Norfolk's Teachers: An Example of Leadership .
The Established Civic Organization . . . . . .

Chapter 3.

The Pro-School Forces in Norfolk . . . . . .
On the Fence . . . . . .
The Committee of 100 . . . . . .
Students of the Lost Classes . . . . . .

Chapter 4.

The City Government's Stand . . . . . .
The November Referendum . . . . . .
Public Opinion--Apathy and Frustration . . . . .
The Power of the Grapevine . . . . . .
News Spotlight on Norfolk . . . . . .

Chapter 5.

Norfolk's Segregationists . . . . . .

Chapter 6.

The Schools Open . . . . . .
The Second Year of Desegregation . . . . . .

Chapter 7.

Private and Public Schools Now . . . . . .

Chapter 8.

Looking Back . . . . . .

December 27, 1959

Mr. Dan Bowers, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Dan:

I agree with you in dislike of an off-set type for Jane Reif's pamphlet. My own strong recommendation would be that you have the pamphlet printed. The $800 price seems about what we would pay here; I assume this includes the cover and layout services.

I trust you received from Jane Reif the two inserts which, in my letter to her of November 2, I asked that she mail to you. You may recall also that I suggested in my letter to you of November 2 that before this went to the printer a few sentences be added to bring up to date the legal situation in Norfolk, and I volunteered to do this, although certainly it can be done by anyone who has kept informed. What is your wish regarding this?

I assume you will let me know about your plans for proof-reading, if you wish us to help with it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director or Research

LWD:a

June 2, 1960

Office files LWD

telephone conversation, Dan Bowers, sit-ins report

HAMPTON.
Woolworth began serving Negroes four or five days ago, using a rather odd strategy. Some weeks back Woolworth removed all the stools from the lunch counter. The manager now has bought some new stools, wholesale, and is offering them for sale, retail. The stools are conveniently parked in front of the lunch counter and while they are waiting for customers, people (including Negroes) are sitting on them.

This, Dan says, is the outcome of some quiet negotiations between Woolworth and students.

HAMPTON: Although the Mayor of Hampton has refused to appoint an interracial committee, he has made an open invitation to the citizenry to form its own Human Relations Committee and the local Human Relations Council is proceding to set up a biracial committee of church people to deal with the sit-ins.

WILLIAMSBURG. Woolworth has voluntarily desegregated within the past week. There have been no demonstrations. Negroes are now taking advantage of the desegregation.

This, says Dan, was the result of negotiations between the store and the local Human Relations people, most of whom are from the college. Dan also said that Howard Johnson has voluntarily desegregated, but when I questioned him about it he was not sure whether this was the case or whether service this past week was only a repetition of the occasional service which Howard Johnson has given for a couple of years. (This refers to the town of Williamsburg and not Colonial Williamsburg.)

ALEXANDRIA. This week the Mayor has appointed a biracial committee. No publicity has been given to this act.

SUFFOLK. Dan has just talked with the manager of Woolworth, who tells him the business at his lunch counter is back to normal though Negroes are staying away--apparently on principle.

Va Private Schools

June 10, 1960

The Rev. Daniel Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dan:

I have not forgotten that I promised you that the idea for the private school report would not languish. I have talked with several people, including Ben Muse and Ken Morland, all of whom have been encouraging as to the desirability of such a study. There are, however, some practical problems of personnel and timing. All I can say at this time is that we shall do our best to have a respectable, special report on Virginia private schools out before September.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Ben Muse

reply: Goodman file

November 23, 1960

The Rev. Daniel Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Dan:

I am enclosing a copy of Mary Ellen Goodman's report. Can you read it quickly, and call me to give your reaction to it? Of course we want you also to point out any errors of fact or interpretation you may detect.

I think it will be obvious to you what she has done. The report has four sections, the first being merely introductory. The second describes objectively the operation of the schools, and does this largely from the inside; i.e. the Foundation leaders are allowed to be heard and the description concentrates on what is happening inside the schools. The third and fourth sections put the private school experiments into perspective.

What we would like from you is two things:

a. Your comments; call me, but if you feel like writing do that also.

b. Some notion about the number of copies you will want (our intention has been to mimeograph it as a special report). At some point I believe you indicated a possible willingness to help in the financing. We haven't pursued that, but we are hoping that, if you think the Report useful, you may take a generous number and pay for them at cost or a little above.

Best wishes. Will be grateful for an early response.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Virginia Council on Human Relations

216-C BROAD-GRACE ARCADE
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Phone MI. 9-0872

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DANIEL A. BOWERS
Executive Director

December 6, 1960.

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul:

RE: Your letter of Nov. 11th and your telegram of Dec. 5th.

I believe Jean Fairfax is a little unrealistic in wanting to know how Negro families plan for such a situation as Prince Edward. The answer is too obvious--they don't plan. Maybe a study would reveal this type of thinking. Any community study would have to be made in depth and consider all the factors which she lists.

I had two things in mind in relation to a study. First, I believe a study of the Centers in Prince Edward would be valuable. Such a study would be valuable for negative reasons--simply to show that the problems are tremendous. Such a study could be made in one or two days by a competent person. I would suggest Dr. J. Kenneth Morland because he is the closest person to the area. He also might use some student assistance. Such a study would be valuable to the other agencies which are interested in Prince Edward and would be relatively inexpensive. It would also point out the strengths and weaknesses of the program in operation there. I do not see the value of a community study because it would take too long--it would probably antagonize some people and would not be of too much value in solving our immediate problems there.

I believe we should plan to use the consultant service-- sponsored by SRC or some one else to come in late this spring and talk with business men, civic leaders, newspaper editors etc. The local whites will not ask for such a study but it would be valuable. I think the timing of such a plan is important. The burdens of the foundation will be greater as the school year goes on and the dissatisfaction should mount by then.

I shall be happy to discuss this with either you or Les Dunbar and will work with you in whatever way you suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel A. Bowers

CC Leslie W. Dunbar

June 3, 1960

Professor Warren Breed
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Newcomb College
Tulane University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Professor Breed:

Under separate cover we are sending you some things which may help you in writing your paper. Actually, we did a lot of work on this subject of economic consequences some months back, but neither we nor anyone else has developed much new data lately. You should be on the look out for a very respectable piece by Helen Hill Miller in the next issue of the Harvard Business Review; Mrs. Miller in this article summarizes most of the arguments, and adds a new interpretation or two. See also the article by Herbert Hill in Phylon, Winter 1959.

So far as I know, there is no good information on loss of teachers, or of delinquency in Little Rock and Norfolk. We have a couple of stray notes on the teacher matter in a pamphlet now in its last, agonizing stages at the printers, and I will get a copy to you posthaste when we have it. This same pamphlet may help with a couple of the other questions you raised and on which good, hard information is not available.

I am not alltogether sure I agree with you that it is wise, for tactical or other reasons, to hold up North Carolina as a shining example (and I am including in the materials sent to you a copy of the policy statement by SRC on token integration); but, nevertheless, here are the figures on the numbers of Negroes in bi-racial schools in the state:

NORTH CAROLINA	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Charlotte	4 *	4	1
Durham (Durham County)	-	-	7
Greensboro	6	5	5
Goldsboro (Wayne County)	-	1	14
High Point-Guilford	-	-	2
Havelock (Cherry Point, Craven Co.)	-	-	17
Winston Salem	1	4	7
	11	14	53

* one withdrew after harassment

In Nashville, where the first three grades are now desegregated, there are I believe a total of 41 Negro children in bi-racial schools.

As to the reprint of the Nashville Tennessean article, we have only about 100 left; it is possible our printer still has the plate. The Baldy cartoon was reprinted in two large sizes by ADL, and of course was also used by ADL for its own little pamphlet, called SOS, which is coming to you. If you want to pursue its use any further, I suggest that you take it up with your local ADL office. Paul Rilling, our field director, was the SRC staff member who spoke at the meeting of SOS in New Orleans.

Incidentally, we had a letter from a Miss Betty Wisdom in New Orleans indicating that she was working on a similar undertaking. Do you know her?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
L-Reports, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14
SRC Policy Statement, December '59
Crisis in Norfolk, Reef
Organizing to Save Public Schools, Lightsey
Save Our Schools, ADL
Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools? ADL
New South, April, June, July-August, 1959
Statements: Ministers, Doctors, Emory faculty, Ministers '57

March 20, 1964

Dr. John R. Cunningham
Chairman
Mayor's Committee on Community Relations
Wachovia Bank Building
1005 West Trade Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Cunningham:

I am returning the copies of minutes of the meetings of your committee and wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your courteous and valuable assistance. It was a pleasure to meet you and have the opportunity to discuss the important work you are doing.

I found the minutes extremely helpful in trying to understand Charlotte, and a wonderful insight into the workings of a committee such as yours, particularly in the intangible qualities of the continuing relationships involved.

Thank you again and if I can ever be of service to you please call on me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students

Supplementary Scholarship Fund 6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, N. Y./UNiversity 1-0300

File

March 31, 1964

L.D.
V.J. ✓ You all know of anybody?

Mr. Patrick Watters, Jr.
76 Park Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

When I was in Atlanta last month, Ruste Kiffield suggested I send you some information about our college advisory service and scholarships for Negro students interested in attending interracial colleges. If you ever run across any youngsters whom you feel might benefit from our service, we would be very happy to hear from them. I would also be happy to answer any questions you might have about our material.

Sincerely,

Ann Coles

Ann Coles
Associate
School-College Relations

Enc.

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NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS

SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOLARSHIP FUND

While the primary purpose of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students is to help academically qualified girls and boys to obtain admission and scholarship assistance at interracial institutions of their choice by means of a counseling and referral service, NSSFNS has also established a Supplementary Scholarship Fund. This Fund is designed to provide supplementary financial assistance to Negro high school seniors, counselees of the agency, who are awarded college or other scholarships but who are unable to take advantage of these awards without additional financial assistance.

Supplementary scholarships are awarded up to $400 per student per year, in accordance with need and are renewable for the sophomore and junior college years, provided that the college scholarship is renewed and the agency has the necessary funds available. They are valid at any regionally accredited, degree-granting, interracial institution at which all campus facilities are extended equally without regard to race. Financial need, scholastic record, extra-curricular activities, staff interviews, scores on the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test or the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test and/or the Scholastic Aptitude Test and, when taken, the Achievement Tests of the College Entrance Examination Board are considered in selecting scholarship winners to whom supplementary awards are to be made.

The counseling process starts with the administration, in the high schools, of the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test or the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test in the Fall and Spring, respectively, of the junior year. Accordingly, inquiries as to the nature and scope of the agency's services should be addressed to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, New York, preferably in the Spring of junior year but, in no case, later than the early Fall of senior year in high school.

3-64

Opportunity News
incorporating CTS BULLETIN

Published from time to time by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) and Community Talent Search (CTS)

6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, N. Y. October, 1963

OPPORTUNITY NEWS

686 STUDENTS WIN $636,850 ENROLL AT 354 COLLEGES

In its fifteenth year NSSFNS brought the total number of students it has helped to enroll in interracial colleges to more than 9,000 by adding, during the year, 686 freshmen, who entered 354 colleges this fall.

Supplementary Scholarships

The value of scholarships secured or awarded during these years was brought to approximately $4,300,000 through awards to this year's students totalling $636,850. Of this sum, $25,600 was awarded to 93 entering freshmen directly from the NSSFNS Supplementary Scholarship Fund; the balance, by colleges and other sources.

A total of $56,250 worth of supplementary scholarship grants was made to 197 entering freshmen and upperclassmen—to bridge the gap between the students total financial needs and college awards, which, together with earnings and family contributions, were still insufficient.

The sophomores and juniors were originally NSSFNS counsellees who had received supplementary aid beginning in their freshman year. Seniors in this category had been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

JANET GABRIEL (Berkeley, California), received honors at entrance to Stanford University with the Class of '63. She majored in psychology and spent part of her junior year in France. Janet, graduated (Phi Beta Kappa) in June, will begin graduate study in September. RAYMOND JOHNSON (Alice, Texas), a mathematics major and National Merit Scholar at the University of Texas, proved his superior ability by graduating in three years "summa cum laude". Rice University graduate school will be the locale for his next academic venture. New Yorker CORNELIA MCDOUGALD, majoring in Slavic language and literature at Radcliffe College, graduated "cum laude" in June. She will enter Harvard Law School this fall.

CTS BULLETIN

COMMUNITY TALENT SEARCH: A TURNING POINT

The NSSFNS activity, COMMUNITY TALENT SEARCH (CTS), has reached a turning point. What follows is a brief review and summary of the activity since its inception in 1957 and before (1955-56), together with a statement of plans for the immediate future.

CTS Originated to Raise Educational Sights

CTS was activated by NSSFNS to bring to communities and school systems throughout the nation awareness, advice and technical assistance about the need to identify early enough their able students from the ranks of the culturally and economically deprived; to offer them the necessary extra services to raise their educational sights and achievement to bridge the educational gap with middle class students, all in furtherance of equalizing educational opportunity.

CTS Treats Causes

CTS grew directly out of the NSSFNS basic program with the knowledge that helping high school seniors enter college, necessary as it is, was only scratching the surface, when measured against the enormous number who dropped out of the educational race either at or long before reaching the twelfth grade. Millions of dollars of federal and local funds are now being spent to do something to bring out-of-school, out-of-work young people, the high school "drop-outs", back into the economy. This is treating the symptoms of the problem *after* the damage is done. The CTS method is to treat the causes, *before* the damage is done.

CTS Attacks Problem Regardless of Race

Another recognition growing out of the NSSFNS basic program was that the problem of the educational gap was socio-economic rather than ethnic, applying equally to all the deprived, regardless of race.

It is now well known that the first step in the establishment of CTS was the initiation and co-sponsorship of the first project in this field, the Demonstration Guidance Project

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

686 STUDENTS WIN $636,850

FROM PAGE 1

advised a year ago to seek other means of assistance so that NSSFNS funds could be used to help more freshmen, sophomores and juniors.

Counseling and Referral Services

In 1962-63, 3,900 students applied for NSSFNS counseling and referral services. Of this number, 1,791 completed their applications, and qualified in one of the two nationally administered scholastic aptitude tests (The National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT) and the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT) administered by the National Merit Scholarship Program and the College Entrance Examination Board, respectively).

Of the 1,791, NSSFNS counselors referred 1,269 to interracial colleges.

Staff Interviews

The staff held over 400 interviews with college candidates and students already enrolled in college. Approximately 50 visits were made to high schools, junior high schools, and preparatory schools, as well as 139 visits to colleges during the year. Various members of the staff and board participated in between 40 and 50 professional meetings and conferences.

NSSFNS Scholars

NSSFNS scholars in any year are a unique group. This year their average family income was approximately $4,800 per annum, and one third of them had incomes of under $4,000. Some of them came from broken homes and others received public assistance. Yet these 93 entering freshman students, plus 22 who received "certificates of merit", were admitted to 230 colleges with awards totalling $180,945. They are going to 92 colleges and accepted 193 awards totalling $147,291.

Seventy-eight percent scored under 600 in the Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board. Their average score was 531. Thirty-five percent scored under 500. Approximately 66% of the group were in the top 10% of their high school classes. Many of them held school or class offices and 48 were National Honor Society members.

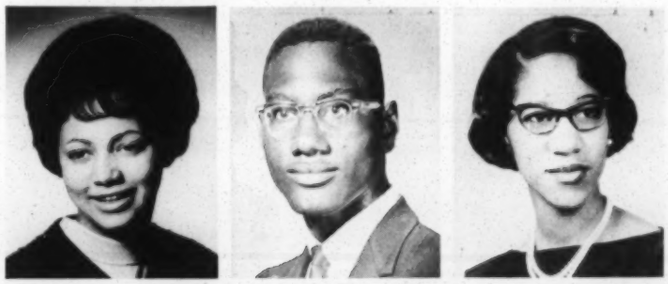
Students in College

Tabulations of the academic progress of former NSSFNS counselees now enrolled in college show that 5.6% of these students had a scholastic average of A or A—; 50.3% B+, B, or B—; 32.4% C+, C, or C—; and .7% D or below. Not listing grades were 11%. Fewer than 5% withdrew from college for any reason. This compares with a national average of over 40% dropouts from all causes.

ALUMNI FOLLOW-UP STUDY

The long-awaited study of the pre-college, college and post-college progress and adjustment of five classes of NSSFNS alumni has been completed and will be published and distributed this fall. It was made possible by a grant from the Old Dominion Foundation, and carried out by Professors Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin, assisted by Mrs. Justine Smadbeck.

New NSSFNS Counselees and Scholars Entering the Class of 1967: HAROLD MCDOUGALL (Brentwood, New York), a top-ranking graduate of Central Islip High School, will enter Harvard College to pursue a pre-law course. VIVIAN E. GALES (Uniontown, Alabama), was first in the graduating class at Perry County Training School. She also served as vice-president of her class and editor of the school paper, will enter Blackburn College in the fall. ENNIS WASHINGTON (Port Arthur, Texas), an "A" average graduate of Lincoln High School, will enter Baker University to follow studies in the combined liberal arts-engineering program.



MORE NSSFNS Counselees and Scholars of the Class of 1967: SHERRON LEE WALKER (Compton, California), treasurer of her high school student body at Compton Senior High School, will major in education at the University of California at Los Angeles. WALTER R. COOPER (Rockford, Illinois), received a National Merit Scholarship to study pre-medicine at Johns Hopkins University. FRANCES POWELL (Augusta, Georgia), excelled in oratory and debate at Immaculate Conception Academy and will enter Western College for Women to pursue a course in intercultural relations.

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS PROGRAM RE-ESTABLISHED

A full time professional has joined the NSSFNS staff to carry on a newly reconstituted program of counseling and referral for candidates for enrollment in independent schools. First candidates will be processed for enrollment in school in September 1964.

The former Preparatory School Program was discontinued in June 1962, largely for economic reasons. Subsequently, a number of schools indicated their desire to have the program re-established. A meeting was held between representatives of some two dozen schools with the President of NSSFNS in January 1963 at Phillips Academy, Andover. At this time NSSFNS expressed willingness to renew the program, provided the necessary funds could be found.

Since the Andover meeting, through an executive committee appointed at the time, 31 schools have agreed to participate in a re-established program and to assess themselves to make it possible to do so. The assessment, together with some foundation help, will be sufficient to defray the expenses of the program.

THE NSSFNS PROGRAM: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

THE NSSFNS PURPOSE AND PROGRAM consists of a long term goal of equality of educational opportunity for all deprived groups regardless of race. Until financial resources permit the full implementation of this goal, the NSSFNS basic program is to increase opportunities for Negro students in interracial colleges through a college advisory service and a supplementary scholarship fund. Efforts, commensurate with resources, are made in behalf of all deprived students at earlier educational levels through such activities as COMMUNITY TALENT SEARCH. A limited Independent Schools Program has been reestablished at the behest of some thirty independent schools. Finally support is given, when possible and appropriate, towards ending de facto school segregation.

For the last several years, NSSFNS has pointed out that it has been carrying out a modestly growing, increasingly effective program on a large demonstration or pilot scale within the context of the total need. It has also stated each year that there is a job which needs to be done on a massive scale with federal funds, either as planned in the several bills placed before Congress by successive administrations for aid on three educational levels, elementary, secondary and higher or through a National Talent Foundation.

No such federal program including aid to deprived groups in our large cities or to establish a federal scholarship program has ever been reported out of the appropriate Congressional Committee. No one has picked up the idea of a National Talent Foundation. Nevertheless the huge numbers of out-of-school, out-of-work youth continue to grow in our cities and thousands of deprived students, many of them Negroes, are unable to finish high school, much less go on to college. Accordingly, it has become increasingly evident that NSSFNS must searchingly explore the extent of the mass problem, at least as it effects Negroes, make decisions about the role NSSFNS should play to fill the vacuum and then, if it is so decided, seek the funds to support a mass program.

According to the U.S. Census and other available data, such a program would involve up to 40,000 students instead of 2000, up to 10,000 high schools instead of 2000 and up to 1500 colleges and universities instead of 350. It would also involve a several million dollar budget with several regional offices instead of the present few hundred thousand dollar budget.

For fifteen years NSSFNS has demonstrated that the job can be done with profit to the individual and to the nation on a pilot scale with a limited budget. If the government or large private resources continue not to do the mass job, then NSSFNS must at least study its own potential for attacking the problem and perhaps to attack it.

NSSFNS BOARD AND STAFF

DEAN O'CONNELL

DEAN WILSON

MISS BARNES

MR. SIMMONS

During the past year, Deans Charles D. O'Connell and Eugene S. Wilson of the University of Chicago and Amherst College, respectively, were elected to the Board of Directors. Both men, good friends and supporters of NSSFNS, were elected to the Board as representatives of the colleges which are helping to support the NSSFNS counseling and referral service.

Misses Susan Olsen and Carole Merritt resigned from the NSSFNS staff. Miss Penelope Barnes, Mount Holyoke '59, Miss Ann Coles, Pembroke '63, and Mr. James Simmons, M.A. Harvard '63, joined the staff. Miss Barnes will serve as Senior Associate on the counseling staff and will visit colleges and schools in the New England area. Miss Coles joins the staff as a counselor-trainee. Mr. Simmons will serve as Associate for the Independent Schools Program.

NEW SOURCES OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Financial support for the NSSFNS program was materially strengthened in the year just past, largely through additional corporate support, as well as from a small number of legacies and new individual contributors.

For the first time in its history NSSFNS was able to come close to the full counseling, scholarship and special projects budgets established for the program as presently constituted.

Although we are unable to determine whether the pattern of increase will continue for the next year, this problem is far less serious than not having had the increased support at all.

Just as the point of reaching the budget for the presently constituted program is nearing, however, we are faced with the possible need for going into a massive program with a far greater budgetary goal (*see* NSSFNS Program: Past, Present, Future, *page 3*).

CTS: A TURNING POINT

FROM PAGE 1

at Junior High School 43 and George Washington High School. The final report of this six year project has recently been published. The results were fabulous in terms of the increase in successful college candidates—in fact all post-high school education—the increased number graduating from high school, as well as the decrease in drop-outs and behaviour problems.

In the ensuing years CTS helped in the setting up of New York City's well known "Higher Horizons" program and New York State's "Project Able".

CTS Extended Through 22 States

With the support at various times of the Field Foundation, the Old Dominion Foundation, the Aaron E. Norman Fund and the Rosenberg Foundation of San Francisco, CTS has been in touch in one way or another in varying degrees with the communities and/or the school systems in 83 towns and cities in 18 states, in addition to 4 states on a state-wide basis and the federal government. Some of these contacts were minimal, consisting of correspondence only. Others were marked by a single visit, still others involved prolonged communication including two-way visits and correspondence.

CTS was consulted in the establishment of state-wide projects in California, New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. Among other places, CTS was also consulted by communities, with projects either planned or in being, in Los Angeles, Marin City, Oakland, Richmond, Palo Alto, San Bernardino, San Francisco, Sacramento, Vallejo in California; Hartford, Connecticut; the District of Columbia; Orlando, Florida; Indianapolis, Louisville, Baltimore, Boston; Flint, Michigan; Lyme, New Hampshire; Mt. Vernon, Rochester, Schenectady and Syracuse in New York; New York City; Allentown and Philadelphia in Pennsylvania.

CTS Type Projects Now Benefit 500,000 Students of 8 to 10 Million

Although NSSFNS, through CTS, gave a great deal of the initial impetus and direct acceleration to the growing movement in behalf of equal educational opportunity, other catalysts also became operative and altogether, by now, as many as 500,000 deprived students may be benefiting from projects in their behalf. While this represents substantial progress, it is still a long way from helping the eight to ten million deprived young people in our elementary and secondary schools. While the problems of the slum-dwellers have attracted national attention, most of the efforts as well as the funds are still going into treating the symptoms, that is training and job placement for the "drop-outs".

CTS Turns to Study and Publication

The reason CTS is now at a turning point is, first, because it has to a large extent accomplished its purpose in focusing the attention of the nation on the problem. Secondly, foundation grants supporting CTS have run out.

It is now our judgment that the biggest contribution CTS can make in the immediate future is in compiling and evaluating the variety of projects and programs currently being carried on across the nation. Accordingly, we have asked for and received a grant for a study and publication along these lines from the Old Dominion Foundation. The project will be carried on jointly with the Graduate School of Education of Yeshiva University. The publication should be forthcoming in from twelve to eighteen months. Meanwhile CTS advisory services are still available to communities or school systems upon request.

NEW COLLEGE PARTICIPATION FEE

Colleges participating in the NSSFNS college advisory (counseling and referral) service have, in the main, responded generously towards paying a nominal fee, in return for this service, based on enrollment. Of 233 participating institutions solicited, 113 colleges have paid their 1962-3 fees, 96 declined, 4 are as yet uncertain, and 22 did not respond.

For 14 years NSSFNS has rendered its advisory service without charge and is grateful to those colleges which responded affirmatively. While the additional revenue represents a substantial portion of the budgetary deficit anticipated at that time, it also represents only a fraction of the cost of the service.

Participating colleges will be represented on the NSSFNS Board through two additional places that have been assigned to college admissions officers for three-year terms on a rotating basis.

NSSFNS OFFICERS AND STAFF: Harry J. Carman, *Chairman*, Richard L. Plaut, *President*, Mrs. Nathan Straus, Hon. Robert C. Weaver, Kenneth B. Clark, John H. Fischer, *Vice-Chairmen*, Frank T. Simpson, *Secretary*, J. Oscar Lee, *Treasurer*, Julian K. Robinson, *Vice-President and Director, School-College Relations.*

National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
6 East 82nd Street
New York 28, N. Y.

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Standard Press & Graphics, Inc. / New York City

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

December 20, 1963 Vol. 82 No. 25

EDUCATION

SCHOLARSHIPS

The Will to Succeed

The modern Horatio Alger is a penniless Negro who rises from the rags of a segregated Southern high school to the riches of Harvard. As in the classic story, he has a patron. It is the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, a counseling agency that finds poor Negroes with rich minds and then finds colleges and scholarships for them. In 15 years of scouring South and North, NSSFNS (which is commonly reduced to "*Ness*-feness" in speech) has successfully planted 9,000 Negroes in 350 mostly-white colleges, and last week it revealed its chief asset: the Negroes' own passionate desire to succeed.

To measure its methods, NSSFNS President Richard L. Plaut launched a survey of 1,278 recent protégés. The overall dropout rate turned out to be 33.4%—as against the national rate of 60%.* Of 509 willing to provide complete information, 1% made Phi Beta Kappa and 10% graduated with honors. Southerners topped the Northerners at high-standard campuses.

Behind the statistics are people such as Jo Ellen Flagg, 26, daughter of a domestic in Charleston, W. Va., who went to West Virginia Wesleyan ('58) on a family income of $1,090. She majored in library science, got a B average, earned a master's at Western Reserve, and is the science librarian of Oberlin College. Ragan A. Henry, 29, son of a Kentucky carpenter's helper, came from a family with an income of $3,000. He won $4,600 in scholarships at Harvard, graduated *magna cum laude* ('56), went on to Harvard Law ('61), is a Philadelphia lawyer.

Harold C. Haizlip, 28, son of a porter in Washington, D.C., went to work at the age of twelve to supplement a family income of $2,800. Amherst gave him a scholarship and he graduated *cum laude* ('57) with an honors thesis written in ancient Greek on "The Greek Concept of Eros." He got a Woodrow Wilson fellowship, earned his master's degree in teaching at Harvard in 1959. Married to a Wellesley girl, he is now working for a Ford Foundation project to help modernize Boston schools.

The survey was run by Psychologists Kenneth B. Clark (whose studies of segregation bolstered the 1954 Supreme Court school decision) and Lawrence Plotkin, who both teach at City College of New York. Their chief conclusion is that colleges ought to weigh entrance-exam scores less for Negroes because the tests "do not predict the college success of Negro students in the same way they do for whites."

In short, "motivational factors" are more important. "These students must complete college; to drop out means that they will fall back into the ranks of the nonspecialized labor force where their race ensures the permanence of low status. Thus the Negro students, aspiring to integration, overwhelmingly succeed in graduating despite the fact that they are less well prepared academically and financially."

* Main reasons: money, military service and (especially among girls) marriage. Harvard's dropout rate is 25%, Wisconsin's 46%, Indiana's 56%. Many eventually return or graduate elsewhere, but this still leaves the national net dropout rate at 40%.

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To be routed in order numbered

Date _____

PLEASE CHECK, DATE, & FORWARD

LWD ✓ Frank Smith
PA
RHA SNCC Hayley
VEP Springs
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BP
PR Bruce
MM ✓ Gordon, Selma
ML here now.
MG
JS
JB Sherrod?
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NM
BC
JT ✓
MA LK ✓

FILE RH ✓
MP ✓

Robert Frankler, ~~[illegible]~~ Director of
Roosevelt University Scholarship
430 S. Michigan Ave Program
Chicago, Ill.

Arpil 17, 1964

Miss Ann Coles
Associate
School-College Relations
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
6 East 82nd Street
New York, New York 10028

Dear Miss Coles:

Thank you for your letter of March 31, regarding your program. I have circulated the information here at the office, and all of us will keep the program in mind.

I had one specific inquiry as a result of this, and will pass it along. It involves a young man whose parents are dead and who has since graduatin from high school in 1961 supported four younger brothers and sisters. He now has the time, but not the money to go to college. He wants to go to college. He is Doneville Zachary, Route 1, Winston, Georgia.

If his case does not fit into the purposes of your program, could you suggest one that might help him?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

Atlanta, April 20, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

Sorry I'm so late in this getting this clip to you. Please toss it away when you've finished. I'm enclosing a copy of another story on the Jacksonville racial biz taken from the Washington Post andwritten by their stringer in Jacksonville. It has some stuff I didn't know about. I read your report from a copy received in the office. It looked fine and also brought some real praise from some people in the office.

Best regards,

Nick

Nick Chriss

P.S. Have you heard about the new Atlanta PressClub we're trying to start. If you're interested, you can get a prospectus from Raleigh Bryans across the street.

May 1, 1964

Miss Ann Coles
Associate
School-College Relations
National Scholarship Service and
Fund for Negro Students
6 East 82nd Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Miss Coles:

Thank you for your answer to my query about Doneville Zachery. I hope something comes of it.

One of our staff members, Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan, administrative secretary of the research department, has expressed an interest in the program. Her daughter will be entering college in the fall of 1965. Please send her application and further information on the program.

If other persons express an interest, I'll certainly get them in touch with you. Needless to say, I think your program is of the utmost importance.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:nm

National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students

6 East 82nd Street, New York 28, N. Y./UNiversity 1-0300

April 28, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for your letter. I have sent Doneville Zachary an application for our college advisory service and scholarship program. While it is too late for us to help him find a college for next fall, I hope we will be able to make some suggestions to him for the following year.

If you hear of anyone else, please feel free to refer them to us.

Sincerely,

Ann Coles

Ann Coles
Associate
School-College Relations

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Western College for Women

Names of colleges and universiites included for identification purposes only.

November 11, 1964

Dr. John T. Caldwell, Chancellor
North Carolina State of the University
of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Caldwell:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the conference on economic opportunities and human resource adjustment, December 9-11. I plan to attend.

Another member of our staff, Dr. Lloyd Elliott, staff economist, would like to attend. Would it be possible to include him?

Thank you for your consideration of this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

NORTH CAROLINA STATE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT RALEIGH

OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

November 4, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
Director of Information
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I am pleased to invite you to attend a southern regional conference on the general theme economic opportunities and human resource adjustment in the South, to be held on December 9-11, 1964 in Charlotte, North Carolina. The conference is being sponsored by the Agricultural Policy Institute at North Carolina State in Raleigh and held in cooperation with A & T College in Greensboro.

The South-wide conference is being planned to explore what we believe to be a most important and pertinent problem, namely, manpower adjustment to changes in economic opportunities within the South. The manpower revolution in the South will be discussed and ideas and experiences will be exchanged with the hope of providing those attending with factual information which will allow the people of the southern region to share equally in the future prosperity and economic progress of the nation.

Attending the conference will be a cross-section of people in leadership roles throughout the South and the nation. The conference is scheduled to get underway at 9:00 a. m. on Wednesday, December 9, and close at noon on Friday, December 11, 1964.

If you are unable to attend this conference we would be pleased to have someone you name to represent you.

It would greatly assist us in making final plans for the conference if you would complete and return the enclosed self-addressed registration card at your earliest convenience. Conference lodging reservations should be made directly to the hotel, using the enclosed card.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

John T. Caldwell
Chancellor

JTC:bjr
Enclosures

The University of North Carolina, William Friday, President, comprises: The University at Chapel Hill; the University at Greensboro; and North Carolina State at Raleigh.

FILE

Talked to in person

Box 46
Gays, Ill. 61928
Dec. 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I write to you at the suggestion of Mr. Garnett Day Jr., Chairman of the Coordinating Committee on Moral and Civil Rights of the Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis. I had approached him regarding a term paper topic for a course of study in which I am involved at Christian Theological Seminary. He has referred me to you.

In the course, taught by Dr. Harold Fey, recent editor of the Christian Century, we are studying contemporary ideologies as rivals to Christianity, and their various manifestations. The purpose of my paper is to examine the group known as Nacirema, and to learn whether it qualifies as such a manifestation.

My major problem at this point is that there is a dearth of published material about the organization. In fact, aside from three magazine articles, there seems to be no material. Would it be possible for you to either direct me to some such source, or possibly even to provide me with views, accounts, or experiences with this group?

I am anxious as well to obtain, either by purchase or even by loan, some of Nacirema's own publications. I believe that these might be most helpful in assessing the goals of the organization, and in analyzing the motives and forces which have attracted adherents to it.

The paper will not be for publication, but simply for private use in the class as a course requirement. For any assistance which you can provide, I shall be most grateful.

Sincerely,

John R. Caughron

John R. Caughron

File

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Feb. 26, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I want to thank you very much for giving me the names of Mrs. Spearman, Mrs. Wright, and Miss Blackwell. All of these people were very helpful and put me in touch with a number of people in their communities who are directly or indirectly concerned with high school students.

Because of these people, my trip was far more worthwhile than it might have been, and I am very grateful to you for giving me their names.

Sincerely,

Ann Coles

Ann Coles
Senior Associate
School-College Relations

1:00 pm Sat
11/6/65
Merch. Mart
230 Peachtree

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence concerning Alex Campbell, see

Newspapers, et al, The New Republic

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence concerning Bill Cook, see Newspapers, et al, Newsweek.

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence concerning Leroy Collins, see

United States Government, U. S. Department of Commerce

CROSS REFERENCE

For information concerning Oscar Cohen, please see

Organizations, Anti-Defamation League

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR: written by Les Dunbar

Correspondence re NEW SOUTH articles/between PW and Elizabeth Case, executive editor of the U. of Mich. Press,

SEE:

New South: Correspondence re Articles

A MAN HAD TWO SONS

(A Sermon Preached by Will Campbell in
Vanderbilt Chapel, May 6, 1959)

> I am the Lord your God...You shall have no other gods before me.
>
> A man had two sons; and he went to the first and said, 'Son, go and work in the vineyard today.' And he answered, 'I will not'; but afterward he repented and went. And he went to the second and said the same; and he answered, 'I go, sir,' but did not go. Which of these two did the will of his father?" They said, "The first." Jesus said to them, "Truly, I say to you, the tax collectors and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you..."

> "We believe it is sinful to have two congregations in the same community for persons of different races. That race prejudice would cause trouble in the churches we know. It did this in apostolic days. Yet not once did the apostles suggest that they should form separate congregations for the different races. Instead, they always admonished them to unity, forbearance, love and brotherhood in Christ Jesus."

Do you recognize these words as coming from the subversive presses of our Methodist neighbors across the green? Or do they sound more like some of the Communist dupe preachers who don't understand our problem and are trying to take us too far too fast? Or perhaps they were spoken by some of the left-wing, bleeding heart, do-gooders of the North country who take pride in speaking fifty years ahead of their time.

If any of these were your guess you were wrong. They were spoken by a man representing a group far from notorious for its social liberalism. These are words of a Church of Christ evangelist. The place was Nashville, Tennessee. The year was 1878. The preacher was David Lipscomb for whom the local Church of Christ college was named.

Ah, but haven't we come a long way since 1878? O, yes indeedy...day by day in every way we're getting better and better. And give us time, patience, understanding, don't pass repressive legislation against us, and O, please, no don't try to cram anything down our throats and we'll work this thing out..you bet your life we will.

Now there are two rather remarkable things about this statement in the light of which we would do well to view the last remains of a lot of alleged religious institutions today.

One, he did not appeal to harmony. He did not try to avoid trouble but admitted its existence and walked right into the face of it with his eyes wide open. Apparently to this spokesman of a group which is referred to by the sophisticates as "a fringe sect," had the idea that Christian behavior had nothing to do with what people wanted to do, or were ready to do, or what did not violate the local mores. Apparently he had the strange notion that Christian

behavior had only to do with the uncompromising demands of Almighty God as revealed through the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.

Contrast this to our day when cardinal virtues are harmony within the fellowship, peace, goodwill, program, every member canvass, building campaign, a million more in '54, standard of excellence and every Baptist a tither.

But then Mr. Lipscomb lived in an era when observers could say of the pulpit what Herman Melville said, commenting on the unusual pulpit of Whaleman's Chapel in Moby Dick, shaped like the prow of a ship with an open Bible resting upon a wooden scroll, fashioned like a ships beak: "What could be more full of meaning," he said..."for the pulpit is ever this earth's foremost part; all the rest comes in the rear; the pulpit leads the world...Yes, the world's a ship on its passage out, and not a voyage complete; and the pulpit is its prow..."

Who says this of the pulpit anymore? Contrast those words with these of Mary and Robert Lynd: "Middletown is building its religion in its own image; there is a tendency to appraise the fruits of religion by the same tangible material measurements which it applies to its other activities."

So, in a system as far from central authority as one can get, a leader in 1878 could say from Tennessee to a local church in Texas, "We mean simply this, a church which cannot bring such prejudiced individuals to see their rebellion against God must withdraw from that individual as one who with a heart full of pride, bitterness and treason fights against God." But today in the name of harmony they are given the chief seats.

Almost a hundred years after David Lipscomb here is what happens in the only two systems even close to an episcopacy-in one Bishops fold up and play dead while thousands of laymen organize in church houses to tell the world what the Church is and what their church will and will not do. In another an Archbishop submits to the demands of a band of racist who say, "Pope or no Pope, we ain't going to integrate our parochial schools."

What we are talking about is far more basic than desegregated schools. The churches have failed in this matter of race partly, and perhaps primarily, because we have failed in the matter of authority and in the meaning of the pulpit. While groups like Southern Baptist, to which I belong as all of you know, have moved more and more toward a system of centralized authority, those churches with established channels of authority have gone under in the wake of "creeping congregationalism."

The second remarkable thing about Mr. Lipscomb's statement, which seems now to have become a text,is that he made no appeal to law, to the courts, to democracy, to anything devised of man. His was a simple, yet powerful proclamation of "Thus saith the Lord." This despite the fact that the Emancipation Proclamation was as close to him and as controversial as the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is to us.

Now I am not suggesting that we are not making a witness in this crisis today. I think that we are. What I am suggesting is that the world is saying that we have failed and since we are all in the family-whether all of us are legitimate or not-I think we should take a serious look at some possible reasons while we are in the family circle.

Campbell and Pettigrew talked of the failure of the Church in Little Rock with regard to race. But it occurs to me that our failure does not really have to do with race at all. If we have failed I am inclined to believe that it has nothing to do with what we have or have not done about race. Rather, it seems to me, it has to do with the manner in which we have dealt with the nature of God, with the redemptive power of God and with the judgment of God. Further it has to do with our failure to proclaim the essentials of the Christian gospel and with our reluctance to proclaim categorically and with power and authority, "Thus saith the Lord...'I am the Lord thy God;...thou shalt have no other gods before me." In short, our failure has to do, not with the fourteenth amendment but with the first commandment; it has not to do with constitution but with idolatry. And in this process race has become identified, not as an element of our culture, but as an element of our faith.

Let me illustrate what I mean by race being a violation of the first commandment and becoming an element of our faith.

One of the earliest recollections I have is of sitting in a little rural church in South Mississippi with my father one night and seeing the Ku Klux Klan file solemnly into that little frame building and the ceremony that followed. Being low church and not accustomed to vestments in the service, the hoods and robes made a lasting impression on my young mind, though I had no reason to question their presence. In that ceremony a large pulpit Bible was presented to the congregation and accepted by the revival preacher. On the back was stamped in brazen letters, KKK.

Several years ago I was preaching in that same pulpit and as I held the back cover reading the Scripture, my fingers moved across those large, embossed letters. Later in the afternoon in conversation with several members of the congregation, I inquired as to their attitude toward having a pulpit Bible given by the Klan and wearing its symbol. Although these were people who had lived their entire lives in that community and who were present at the ceremony, each one stated that he had quite forgotten the incident and never knew that the letters, KKK, were raised on the back cover of the Bible on their pulpit.

This, I submit to you, is the greatest danger facing the Christian Church in the South today. The real danger, it seems to me, is not racism per se, but that racism becomes a part of the faith. The Klan no longer exists in my community, but it has left its stamp, not only on the pulpit Bible but on the minds and hearts of generations yet unborn. Its modern counterpart will also pass away. But the seedlings they are planting will grow and thrive for a long, long time.

And these seedlings are essentially religious in character. Most of what is written and distributed by those groups subverting the laws of church and country has a religious theme. No subject has more religious relevance and arouses more religious support than the subject of race in the South today. And the segregationist man in the pew and pulpit who appeals to such support is not simply rationalizing. The stamp of racism has become a part of his religious heritage and it is almost impossible to break through and reach him. If he would say, "Down with the Church and Jesus Christ, I like segregation and I'm going to keep it forever," the task of the Church would be simple. Instead he defends white supremacy in God's name. It is in the name of the Church that he vows to keep segregation and it is with Bible in hand and chapter and verse upon his lips that he offers his argument. When he, in the name of God, denies the love and mercy and justice and judgment of God, he is deviating from the faith in such proportion as to become a serious threat

to the life of the Church as the Church.

Like any heresy, there is always an element of truth in what he says. In several places now we have established schools in the churches and by the churches when public facilities have been closed. Ask us why we did it. Ask and we will tell you that we did it in the name of the faith...for the sake of good, for the advancement of knowledge, for the increase of wisdom, for the children...for Christ's sake. And you cannot question any of these motives and you cannot tell us that we have no responsibility to our youth. Don't tell us that the Christian thing for us to do is to let our children grow up in ignorance. And this is true. These reasons are basic to our faith. But it is always so..always in the name of good, righteousness, civic duty, parental responsibility.

Yet we cannot longer fail to point out to our people the perpetuation of a whole array of subordinate gods when the god of race is worshipped. These gods may be racial pride or prejudice, they may be states rights, or they may be OUR OWN CHILDREN.

A young white Presbyterian mother said to some of us in Little Rock recently that she could never again send her child to one of the schools built to evade the law as long as they are open to her child but not to another mother's child because of degree of skin pigmentation. She could not do so, she said, and maintain her integrity as a member of a Christian church which stood for just the opposite of what it was doing. She reported with some emotion how it hurt her to sacrifice her son.

And what do we say to a person like that? Well, we can tell her that after all this is not her fault and that a part of her faith also is to do her best for her child and that her church also stands for education of its youth and we can remind her of many other values. I don't know what the right thing to tell her was but I tried to converse with her in something of the following manner:

"Lady, you are in good company. You are in the tradition of one of our greatest fathers."

"Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou loveth, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of.

"And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.

"...and Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife---to--slay---his---son."

And we talk about lowering our standards!! We talk about we can't obey what our country and our church tells us to do because it will hurt our little children! Maybe it will--I'm not prepared to argue the point. But this I do know and here say. This Little Rock mother was right! It was obedience to God that made the faith of Abraham a great religion and it was this same obedience to God, even to death on a gallows, that made Christianity a great religion.

"He that loveth...son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me," said a man whom most massive resisters call Lord. This is the issue before the Church in the South: do we believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob or do we worship at the shrine of states sovereignty and color supremacy-today it is white, there

is a real danger that tomorrow it will be colored.

The failure of the Protestant faith in the South is not a failure to ask and answer the anthropological question, "What is race?" This question has been answered effectively and efficiently. Our failure, it seems to me, is that we have not succeeded in answering the theological question, "What is the Church and what is the nature of the Christian faith?" And when the question is asked by such dark skinned people as Elizabeth Eckford in a mob possessed school yard when her only comforter and protector was a woman accused by a congressional committee of being a communist for surely no saneChristian lady would behave in such a strange manner. Or when it is asked by the spirit of Mack Charles Parker as he is dragged from the waters of the muddy Pearl. Or when it is faced in the light of the words of still another dark-skinned man who told those who considered themselves the church in his day that those who sold their bodies for pay and those who cooperated with occupying forces for pay-truly, I say to you, scalawags and whores enter the kingdom of God before you! When it is asked by these voices it is more than an academic question to be considered in seminary halls.

But, they say, look at our amazing rate of growth. Look at the results of evangelistic crusades and the success of contemporary revivalist. Look at the souls we are bringing in. And it is so. Sometimes I wish it were not for I see others, with no claim to being Christian, fighting for their very lives every step of the way, branded as communist, involved in la suits for the right to exist while we are growing by leaps and bounds. I do not know about your denomination but in my Holy Mother Church, the Southern Baptist Convention, we do not have enough buildings to house those we are attracting in the midst of this crisis. We are forever building bigger and better barns..."Thou fool, this night thy soul!!" This is a warning seldom heard. Nor is this one heard more often, "Beware when all men speak well of you."

And it is not enough to sit around and condemn the segregation' . . to the depths of hell. There are those who insist that a man cannot believe in segregation and be a Christian. I am not prepared to argue the point except to say that I am too much a part of the sin of the world arbitrarily to rule a man out of the Kingdom for any reason. I am convinced that this man is wrong and I believe that in this area someone else must be for him the Church. But I cannot forget that tomorrow he may be for me the Church. For tomorrow the White Council president or even the Klan leader may be for me the Church, pulling me back into the fellowship of Christ, bringing me back into the community of the redeemed.

But a more serious point is that he is even now playing what seems to me to be a significant role. For he is constantly forcing us to defend what we consider the Christian position against what he considers the Christian position. It is troubling that we who consider ourselves the children of light in regard to race in the South are being much better Humanist than we are Christian. Examine our resolutions, our statements, our actions. They speak most often of law and order, of human dignity, of man's rights, of democracy, of constitution and at best of the principle of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

And we are finding that more and more this is our most vulnerable spot. And I believe we have left the door open for the attack of the segregationist Christian. This is not to quarrel with the humanist for he has played his role more than well. But for the Christian Church to assume this same role is to bet on the wrong horse. For, as Dr. T.A. Kantonen has suggested, the Christian view of race does not rest on the principle that all of us are brothers and ought to act like it. The Christian view on race is not the universal principle of the Fatherhood of God and the

brotherhood of man as important as that is. If the segregationist is told that the gospel is to obey the law, accept the Supreme Court, he can see no gospel, no "good news" here. It must be elsewhere and he sets about to find it for this is only bad news.

But if he is told, as he must be told, that the Christian gospel was and is a message of redemption; that it was and is "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself...God was in Christ reconciling the world to one another and thus to himself..God was in Christ breaking down the walls of hostility that separate man from man and thus man from his God--God was in Christ loving him, accepting him, forgiving him-even if he cannot love and accept his brother yet--tell him this and if he hears it, believes it and accepts it, he is a lot closer to an integrated church in an integrated society than if he is told that he "ought" to be a good boy.

Some say there is no such thing as a Christian race relations-that we must take our cue from the social scientist. Indeed there is! And it might be that the racist will force us to see it anew. But it has to do with grace, not law, not order. And by this grace we are no longer Greek, African, Asian but we are, in the words of the Pentecost story, "all together, in one place (integrated if you please) hearing the wondrous works of God." And all our resolutions, petitions, strategies, all our human engineering will fail if we miss that simple point. We are the tertium genus-the third race. The Christian message on race is that race is irrelevant--that ours is a kingdom which asks no questions except one and that has nothing to do with color or caste but only with redemption.

It would be ironic if history should prove that the present racists contributed more to the total company of the redeemed of all times by forcing us to reexamine the gospel than all the present righteous ones. God does indeed work in mysterious ways.

And remember, too, that a man had two sons. The Chruch, through her pronouncements, resolutions and statements has said, "I go, Lord." But have we gone?

Well, all I have tried to say is that we have failed in our message on race insofar as we have failed in our message on redemption.

Now, of course, the obvious converse of what we are saying about the message of redemption is the often neglected message of the judgment of God. Redemption has meaning primarily in terms of judgment. A great deal of our social action has the wrong subject and object. The suffering of the minority does not stand between him and his God, though God is certainly concerned with his suffering. Amos never proclaimed that the judgment of God would come to the Northern Kingdom because people were suffering. Rather God's judgment was to come because others of his children were causing them to suffer. In any concern for social justice the soul of the dispossessor must concern us as much as the suffering of the dispossessed.

Our weakness is that we timidly proclaim the message of redemption and apologetically proclaim the judgment of God.

A preacher of the deep south had labored long and hard with his middle class and lily-white congregation about their relationship with all men. For many years he had pounded the pulpit in his proclamation that God created all men, loved them and made no distinction between them. Finally there came what was inevitable from the beginning-a meeting of the governing body of his church which decided in the finest democratic tradition that it was clearly and unequivocally the will of God that the beloved pastor move on to richer fields of service. There came the last

sermon for the preacher to this congregation to whom he had ministered for these many years. Obviously familiar with the homiletical techniques of Jonathan Edwards he meant to make his last shot count. His descriptive account of the wrath to come was vivid in every detail. "And you will be writhing and screaming in the bottomless pit of that eternal inferno and you will look next to you and see the seared and blistered skin of a black man, and on the other side you will hear the dreadful and eternal screams of a yellow man, and you will lift your eyes to paradise and there you will see, partaking of their everlasting joy white men and black men and yellow men and then it will occur to you that this ole preacher was right when he told you that God is no respecter of persons. And you will see God standing on the precipice of Glory with his hand on the big, forged door of eternity and you will cry out, 'Lord, we didn't know! We didn't know!' And you will hear the clanging of the door, and the rattling of the chain and the snap of the lock and the last words of God to you--- W'ALL, YA' KNOW NOW!!'"

Perhaps few of us in this room would look with favor on the scorched flesh policy of Jonathan Edwards' evangelism but whether we would or whether we wouldn't few of us would fail to hold some interpretation of the judgment of God.

And whatever our interpretation-whether we use the words to the hymn, "God, the all merciful," or the more ancient ones, "God, the all terrible!" there has been a failure simply to point our people to the cemetaries.

Why, in God's name-any god-haven't we convinced our people by now of the simple truth with which the Bible is filled-that life is suffering and sorrow, that we all come forth like a flower and are cut down and are of a few days and full of trouble, and all flesh is like grass and we are all here dying together. This takes the wind out of our sails and even a racist god must see that.

So that no matter how high we rise, no matter the legislation we engineer, no matter the investigating committees we chair, no matter how loudly we shout, "Never!" and no matter how much we invoke the blessings of Almighty God upon the work of our hands---the final outcome will be that of the mighty kings of Judah recorded in the Books of the Chronicles and the Kings--each one died and slept with his fathers and another reigned in his stead, and he died and slept with his fathers and another reigned in his stead, and so will each of us die and sleep with our fathers and another will reign in our stead and history will record us in one sentence if we are terribly good or terribly bad and we will all sleep in this giant sepulchre together and be judged by one God. The best text on race relations is not from Acts, "God hath made of one," but from II Samuel, "How are the mighty fallen!" There rose up a man in Europe who shouted, "Never in a thousand years," and in one decade it seemed that he was right as he burned eight million of our brothers in incinerators and made lamp shades of their skin and soap of their flesh but ere that same decade ended he died like a rat in a bunker and sleeps with his fathers.

Our sin has not been in neglecting to tell our people that "red and yellow, black or white, they are precious in his sight." We have told them that. Our sin is that we have not told them what Isaiah said: that man is as grasshoppers. We have told man of his worth and dignity and perhaps rightly so. But we have not told him often enough of his insignificance in the total scheme of things. "It is God that sitteth above the circle of the earth...that bringeth princes to nothing; that maketh the judges of the earth as vanity...he bloweth upon them and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away as stubble."

What, now, shall we say? Is there a demon. Is there someone we can blame? Yes, I think there is and in testimony thereof, I make this final witness.

There is some virtue in honesty. And if prejudice is acquired in the manner described by the social scientist then I am sure that within me lie the vestiges of as much racial pride and prejudice as there is within anyone. They tell us we do not rid ourselves of it simply by intellectual declaration and I have no reason to disagree. But this sends us racing back over the years to David Lipscomb who saw that there was a difference between feeling and behavior-between prejudice and discrimination.

And during the past few years as it has been my ministry to move about the crisis areas of the South, I have seen those vestiges of the savage fade and grow dim.

With a pastor into what is left of his church after a sack of dynamite has been thrown into it in the dark of a winters night. And there are all the little brown faces outside, not allowed now into what is referred to as "their church." And I wonder what they are thinking as they see a white face crawl through the wreckage. And inside the debris the pastor picks up a small chalkboard which still bears, prophetically, part of last Sunday's lesson, written in what is obviously the handwriting of a child--"God loves all the little children of the world." And remembering the faces outside for a moment I wonder about this "they are precious in his sight" business and if he really does have "the whole wide world in his hand." Maybe he is the demon to let this happen--to the children--to the little children. But then there are the familiar words, "Let the little children-all children-come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom."

And somehow my Southern way of life seems like less than the Kingdom of God.

Or a mother is struck with a bottle as she takes her little girl to the school where the law of that city says the child should go. And thinking for a moment as a southern white man I wonder why this is so important to her--to take her child and herself into the face of death. And I am sorry for a mother who is hit with a bottle but then I recall some other words-"that men will come from the East and from the West and from the North and from the South and sit down in the Kingdom and the least shall be greatest..." And I am no longer sorry for her for somehow I have the feeling that at that moment I am looking at one of the greatest.

And those vestiges of prejudice grow still a little dimmer.

Or a pastor with the little brown hand of a six year old parishioner thrust trustingly in his is spit upon as he walks with her into the face of a screaming mob, and he makes no answer but enters as the crowd opens up. And again I am sorry for a man who is spit upon. But then the words, "If a man say to his brother 'racca' he is in danger of the judgment." And some have suggested that the word originally came from the noise made in the throat of one preparing to spit. h-a-a-r-c! And my sorrow for a man spit upon turns to strak terror and fright. But not fright for the man spit upon but fright for the man who spit. But not fright for him alone now but fright for all that has produced him and now sustains him.

And I remember who I am and what I am. A white man, a Southerner, a Protestant. And I pray: "God have mercy on me a sinner, for I am he."

****

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 2-17

To: AF From: LWD

Subject:

This is an ideal illustration of the distribution challenge.

I don't agree with PA that this should get a wide circulation. That would be a lazy substitute for skilled, imaginative distribution. A mailing with a sharp focus & an intimate a message as this should not – by us, at any rate – be cast on the water.

I would like to see this mimeographed & mailed to a list of preachers & church people, patiently compiled by us in terms of their readiness for this sort of lecture. I would like to see it accompanied by a brief but warm letter.

From the desk of . . .

WILL D. CAMPBELL

For your information.

King:

I deny the charge of mimeographing my own sermons. Some Vandy students did it. The things it contains have been said by me many times but usually to groups who know that I am not suggesting that all we need to do to accomplish integration is to use the six point record system.

A national pulpit magazine is interested in publishing it. Is it misleading to someone not sophisticated and informed like us good white folks of the South? If you can take a few minutes to read it I would appreciate your reaction-not to the content but as to whether or not you think it would be understood by Yankees.

Chicken Schmidt

1716 WEST END AVE.
NASHVILLE 2, TENN.

PR ✓ Wow!
PA ✓
JC ✓
LWD ✓
HF

Deserves widest possible circulation PA

MA - file - W. Campbell

(you may wish to read)

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

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June 2, 1960

Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Campbell asked that the enclosed manuscript be sent to you with the information that any plans you have for it will be agreeable to him.

Sincerely yours,

Office of Rev. Will D. Campbell

National Council of Churches
2001 Division Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Mimeographed - 1,000
7-12-60

distributed -

72 1. Ministers' list SRC
650 - 2. John Morris mailing list
25 - 3. state organizations + Religious groups SRC list
80 4. Atl. Christian Council suggested list
150 - 5. Mrs. Zilly -
10 - 6. Misc.
987

Mailing list

galen r. weaver, recording secretary • will d. campbell, assoc. executive director

May 6, 1959

A MAN HAD TWO SONS

(A Sermon Preached by Rev. Will D. Campbell in Vanderbilt Chapel, Nashville, Tennessee)

> I am the Lord your God... You shall have no other gods before me.
>
> A man had two sons; and he went to the first and said, 'Son, go and work in the vineyard today.' And he answered, 'I will not.' But afterward he repented and went. And he went to the second and said the same; and he answered, 'I go, sir,' but did not go. Which of these two did the will of his father? They said, "The first." Jesus said to them, "Truly I say to you, the tax collectors and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you..."

> "We believe it is sinful to have two congregations in the same community for persons of different races. That race prejudice would cause trouble in the churches we know. It did this in apostolic days. Yet not once did the apostles suggest that they should form separate congregations for the different races. Instead, they always admonished them to unity, forbearance, love and brotherhood in Christ Jesus."

The casual observer of the reams of resolutions and statements which have been issued on the subject of the church and race since 1954 might assume that those words came from the subversive presses of the various denominational houses, or from some communist dupe preacher who doesn't understand our problems down here and who is trying to take us too far, too fast, or from some left-wing easy bleeder of the north country trying to speak fifty years ahead of his time.

If any of these were your guess, you were wrong. They were spoken by a man representing a group far from notorious for its social liberalism. These are words of a Church of Christ evangelist. The place was Nashville, Tennessee. The year was 1878. The preacher was David Lipscomb for whom the local Church of Christ college was named.

Ah, but haven't we come a long way since 1878? Day by day in every way we're getting better and better. And give us time, patience, understanding, don't pass repressive legislation against us or try to cram <u>any</u> thing down our throats and we'll work this thing out. You bet your life we will!

Now there are two rather remarkable things about this statement in the light of which we would do well to view the last remains of a lot of alleged religious institutions today.

One, he did not appeal to harmony. He did not try to avoid conflict but admitted its existence and walked right into the face of it with his eyes wide open. Apparently this spokesman of a group which is referred to by the sophisticates as "a fringe sect," had the idea that Christian behavior had nothing to do with what people wanted to do, or were ready to do, or what did not violate the local mores. Apparently he had the strange notion that Christian behavior had only to do with the uncompromising demands of Almighty God as revealed through the life and teachings of Jesus Christ.

Contrast this to our day when cardinal virtues are harmony within the fellowship, peace, goodwill, program, every member canvass, building campaign, a million more in '54, standard of excellence and every Baptist a tither.

But then Mr. Lipscomb lived in an era when observers could say of the pulpit what Herman Melville said, commenting on the unusual pulpit of Whaleman's Chapel in MOBY DICK, shaped like the prow of a ship with an open Bible resting upon a wooden scroll, fashioned like a ship's beak: "What could be more full of meaning," he said...."for the pulpit is ever this earth's foremost part; all the rest comes in the rear; the pulpit leads the world....Yes, the world's a ship on its passage out, and not a voyage complete; and the pulpit is its prow..."

Who says this of the pulpit anymore? Contrast these words with these of Mary and Robert Lynd: "Middletown is building its religion in its own image; there is a tendency to appraise the fruits of religion by the same tangible material measurements which it applies to its other activities."

So, in a system as far from central authority as Oral Roberts from the Mayo Clinic, a leader in 1878 could say from Tennessee to a local church in Texas, "We mean simply this, a church which cannot bring such prejudiced individuals to see their rebellion against God must withdraw from that individual as one who with a heart full of pride, bitterness and treason fights against God." But today in the name of harmony they are more apt to be given the chief seats.

Almost a hundred years after David Lipscomb, laymen organize in church houses to tell the world and the bishop what the church is and what their church will and will not do. In another communion, an archbishop submits to the demands of a band of racists who say, "Pope or no pope, we ain't going to integrate our parochial schools."

What we are talking about is far more basic than desegregated schools. The churches have failed in this matter of race partly, and perhaps primarily, because we have failed in the matter of authority and the meaning of the pulpit. While groups like Southern Baptist, to which I belong as all of you know, have moved more and more toward a system of centralized authority, those churches with established channels of authority have gone under in the wake of "creeping congregationalism."

The second remarkable thing about Mr. Lipscomb's statement, which seems now to have become a text, is that he made no appeal to law, to the courts, to democracy, to anything devised of man. His was a simple, yet powerful proclamation of "Thus saith the Lord." This despite the fact that the Emancipation Proclamation was as close to him and as controversial as the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is to us.

Now I am not suggesting that we are not making a witness in this crisis today. I think that we are. What I am suggesting is that the world is saying that we have failed and since we are all in the family- whether all of us are legitimate or not- I think we should take a serious look at some possible reasons while we are in the family circle.

Campbell and Pettigrew talked of the failure of the church in Little Rock with regard to race. But it occurs to me that our failure does not really have to do with race at all. If we have failed, I am inclined to believe that it has nothing to do with what we have or have not done about race. Rather, it seems to me, it has to do with the manner in which we have dealt with the nature of God, with the redemptive power of Jesus Christ and with the judgment of God. Further, it has to do with our failure to proclaim the essentials of the Christian gospel and with our reluctance to proclaim categorically and with power and authority, "Thus saith the Lord...'I am the Lord thy God;... thou shalt have no other gods before me.'"

In short, our failure has to do, not with the fourteenth amendment, but with the first commandment; it has not to do with constitution but with idolatry. And in this process race has become identified, not as an element of our culture, but as an element of our faith. Let me illustrate what I mean by race being a violation of the first commandment and becoming an element of our faith:

One of my earliest recollections is of sitting in a little rural church in south Mississippi with my father one night and seeing the Ku Klux Klan file solemnly into that little frame building and the ceremony that followed. Being low church and not accustomed to vestments in the service, the hoods and robes made a lasting impression on my young mind, though I had no reason to question their presence. In that ceremony a large pulpit Bible was presented to the congregation and accepted by the revival preacher. On the back was stamped in brazen letters, KKK.

Several years ago, I was preaching in that same pulpit and as I held the back cover reading the Scripture, my fingers moved across those large, embossed letters. Later in the afternoon in conversation with several members of the congregation, I inquired as to their attitude toward having a pulpit Bible given by the Klan and wearing its symbol. Although these were people who had lived their entire lives in that community and who were present at the ceremony, each one stated that he had quite forgotten the incident and never knew that the letters, KKK, were raised on the back cover of the Bible in their pulpit.

This, I submit to you, is the greatest danger facing the Christian Church in the South today. The real danger, it seems to me, is not racism per se, but that racism becomes a part of faith. The Klan no longer exists in my community but it has left its stamp, not only on the pulpit Bible but on the minds and hearts of generations yet unborn. Its modern counterpart will also pass away. But the seedlings they are planting will grow and thrive for a long, long time.

And these seedlings are essentially religious in character. Most of what is written and distributed by those groups subverting the laws of church and country has a religious theme. No subject has more religious relevance and arouses more religious support than the subject of race in the South today. And the segregationist man in the pew and pulpit who appeals to such support is not simply rationalizing. The stamp of racism has become a part of his religious heritage and it is almost impossible to break through and reach him.

If he would say, "Down with the church and Jesus Christ, I like segregation and I'm going to keep it forever," the task of the church would be simple. Instead he defends white supremacy in God's name. It is in the name of the church that he vows to keep segregation and it is with Bible in hand and chapter and verse upon his lips that he offers his argument. When he, in the name of God, denies the love and mercy and justice and judgment of God, he is deviating from the faith in such proportion as to become a serious threat to the life of the church as the church.

Like any heresy, there is always an element of truth in what he says. In several places now we have established schools in the churches and by the churches when public facilities have been closed. Ask us why we did it. Ask and we will tell you that we did it in the name of the faith...for the sake of good, for the advancement of knowledge, for the increase of wisdom, for the children...for Christ's sake. And you cannot question any of these motives and you cannot tell us that we have no responsibility to our youth. Don't tell us that the Christian thing for us to do is to let our children grow up in ignorance. And this is true. These reasons are basic to our faith. But it is always so....always in the name of good, righteousness, civic duty, parental responsibility.

Yet we cannot longer fail to point out to our people the perpetuation of a whole array of subordinate gods when the god of race is worshipped. These gods may be racial pride or prejudice, they may be states rights, or they may be our own children, or <u>our own selves</u>.

A young white Presbyterian mother said to some of us in Little Rock recently that she could never again send her child to one of the schools built to evade the law as long as they are open to her child but not to another mother's child because of degree of skin pigmentation. She could not do so, she said, and maintain her integrity as a member of a Christian church which stood for just the opposite of what it is doing. She reported with some emotion how it hurt her to sacrifice her son.

And what do we say to a person like that? Well, we can tell her that after all this is not her fault and that a part of her faith also is to do her best for her child and that her church also stands for education of its youth and we can remind her of many other values. I don't know what the right thing to tell her was but I tried to converse with her in something of the following manner:

"Lady, you are in good company. You are in the tradition of one of our greatest fathers.

'Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the mountains which <u>I</u> will tell thee of.

'And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.

'...and Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife... to ---- slay---- his---- son.'"

And we talk about lowering our standards!! We talk about we can't obey what our country and our church tell us to do because it will hurt our little

children! Maybe it will-- I'm not prepared to argue the point. But this I do know and here say. This Little Rock mother was right! It was obedience to God that made the faith of Abraham a great religion and it was this same obedience to God, even to death on a gallows, that made Christianity a great religion.

"He that loveth....son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me," said a man whom most White Council members call Lord. This is the issue before the church in the South: do we believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob or do we worship at the shrine of states sovereignty and color supremacy- today it is white, there is a real danger that tomorrow it will be colored.

The failure of the Protestant faith in the South is not a failure to ask and answer the anthropological question, "What is race?" This question has been answered effectively and efficiently. Our failure, it seems to me, is that we have not succeeded in answering the theological question, "What is the church and what is the nature of the Christian faith?" And when the question is asked by such dark skinned people as Elizabeth Eckford in a mob-possessed school yard when her only comforter and protector was a woman accused of being a communist by a congressional committee for surely no sane Christian lady would behave in such a strange manner. Or when it is asked by the spirit of Mack Parker as he is dragged from the waters of the muddy Pearl. Or when it is faced in the light of the words of still another dark-skinned man who told those who considered themselves the church in his day that those who sold their bodies for pay and those who cooperated with occupying forces for pay- truly, I say to you, scalawags and whores enter the kingdom of God before you! When it is asked by those voices it is more than an academic question to be considered in seminary halls and faith and order conferences. It is a question to be asked by anyone wearing the sign of the Cross.

But, they say, look at our amazing rate of growth. Look at the results of evangelistic crusades and the success of contemporary revivalists. Look at the souls we are bringing in. And it is so. Sometimes I wish it were not for I see others, with no claim to being Christian, fighting for their very lives every step of the way, branded as communist, involved in law suits for the right to exist while we are growing by leaps and bounds . I do not know about your denomination but in my Holy Mother Church, the Southern Baptist Convention, we do not have enough buildings to house those we are attracting in the midst of this crisis. We are forever building bigger and better barns.... "Thou fool, this night thy soul!" This is a warning seldom heard. Nor is this one heard more often, "Beware when all men speak well of you."

And it is not enough to sit around and condemn the segregationist to the depths of hell. There are those who insist that a man cannot believe in segregation and be a Christian. I am not prepared to argue the point except to say that I am too much a part of the sin of the world arbitrarily to rule a man out of the Kingdom for any reason. I am convinced that this man is wrong and I believe that in this area someone else must be for him the church. But I cannot forget that tomorrow he may be for me the church. For tomorrow the White Council president or even the Klan leader may be for me the church, pulling me back into the fellowship of Christ, bringing me back into the community of the redeemed.

But a more serious point is that he is even now playing what seems to me to be a significant role. For he is constantly forcing us to defend what we consider the Christian position against what he considers the Christian position. It is troubling that we who consider ourselves the children of light

in regard to race in the South are being much better Humanist than we are Christian. Examine our resolutions, our statements, our actions. They speak most often of law and order, of human dignity, of man's rights, of democracy, of constitution and at best of the principle of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

And we are finding that more and more this is our most vulnerable point. And I believe we have left the door open for the attack of the segregationist Christian. This is not to quarrel with the humanist for he has played his role more than well. But for the Christian Church to assume this same role is to bet on the wrong horse. For, as Dr. T.A. Kantonen has suggested, the Christian view of race does not rest on the principle that all of us are brothers and ought to act like it. The Christian view on race is not the universal principle of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, as important as that is. If the segregationist is told that the gospel is to obey the law, accept the Supreme Court, or open his lunch counters, he can see no gospel, no "good news" here. It must be elsewhere and he sets about to find it for this is only bad news.

But if he is told, as he must be told, that the Christian gospel was and is a message of redemption; that it was and is "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself...God was in Christ reconciling us to one another and thus to Himself...God was in Christ breaking down the walls of hostility that separate man from man and thus man from his God---- God was in Christ loving man, accepting him, forgiving him--- even if he cannot love and accept his brother yet---- tell him this and if he hears it, believes it, and accepts it, he is a lot closer to an integrated church in an integrated society than if he is told that he "ought" to be a good boy and obey the courts.

Some say there is no such thing as a Christian race relations-- that we must take our cue from the social scientist. Indeed there is! And it might be that the racist will force us to see it anew. But it has to do with grace, not law, not order. And by this grace we are no longer Greek, African, Asian but we are, in the words of the Pentecost story, "all together, in one place (yes, integrated) hearing the wondrous works of God." And all our resolutions, petitions, strategies, all our human engineering will fail if we miss that simple point. We are the tertium genus- the third race. The Christian message on race is that race is irrelevant-- that ours is a kingdom which asks no questions except one and that has nothing to do with color or caste but only with redemption.

It would be ironic if history should prove that the present racists contributed more to the total company of the redeemed of all times by forcing us to re-examine the gospel than all the present righteous ones. God does indeed work in mysterious ways.

And remember, too, that a man had two sons. The church, through her pronouncements, resolutions and statements, has said, "I go, Lord." But have we gone?

Well, all I have tried to say is that we have failed in our message on race insofar as we have failed in our message on redemption.

Now, of course, the obvious converse of what we are saying about the message of redemption is the often neglected message of the judgment of God.

Redemption has meaning primarily in terms of judgment. A great deal of our social action has the wrong subject and object. The suffering of the minority does not stand between him and his God, though God is certainly concerned with his suffering. Amos never proclaimed that the judgment of God would come to the Northern Kingdom because people were suffering. Rather God's judgment was to come because others of his children were causing them to suffer. In any concern for social justice the soul of the dispossessor must concern us as much as the suffering of the dispossessed.

But our weakness is that we timidly proclaim the message of redemption and apologetically proclaim the judgment of God.

A preacher of the deep South had labored long and hard with his middle-class and lily-white congregation about their relationship with all men. For many years he had pounded the pulpit in his proclamation that God had created all men, loved them, and made no distinction between them. Finally there came what was inevitable from the beginning-- a meeting of the governing body of his church which decided in the finest democratic tradition that it was clearly and unequivocally the will of God that the beloved pastor move on to richer fields of service. There came the last sermon for the preacher to this congregation to whom he had ministered for these many years. Obviously familiar with the homiletical techniques of Jonathan Edwards he meant to make this last shot count. His descriptive account of the wrath to come was vivid in every detail. "And you will be writhing and screaming in the bottomless pit of that eternal inferno and you will look next to you and see the seared and blistered skin of a black man, and on the other side you will hear the dreadful and eternal screams of a yellow man, and you will lift your eyes to paradise and there you will see, partaking of their everlasting joy, white men and black men and yellow men, and then it will occur to you that this ole preacher was right when he told you that God is no respecter of persons. And you will see God standing on the precipice of Glory with His hand on the big, forged door of eternity and you will cry out, 'Lord, we didn't know! We didn't know!' And then you will hear the clanging of the door, and the rattling of the chain and the snap of the lock and the last words of God to you--- 'Wal, YA' KNOW NOW!!"

Perhaps few of us in this room would look with favor on the scorched flesh policy of Jonathan Edwards' evangelism, but whether we would or whether we wouldn't , few of us would fail to hold some interpretation of the judgment of God.

And whatever our interpretation- whether we use the words to the hymn, "God, the All Merciful," or the more ancient ones, "God, the All Terrible," there has been a failure simply to point our people to the cemeteries.

Why, in God's name- any god- haven't we convinced our people by now of the simple truth with which the Bible is filled- that life is suffering and sorrow, that we all come forth like a flower and are cut down and are of a few days and full of trouble, and all flesh is like grass and we are all here dying together. This takes the wind out of our sails and even a racist god must see that.

So that no matter how high we rise, no matter the legislation we engineer, no matter the investigating committees we chair, no matter how loudly we shout, "Never!" and no matter how much we invoke the blessings of Almighty God upon the work of our hands--- the final outcome will be that of the mighty kings of

Judah recorded in the Books of the Chronicles and the Kings-- each one died and slept with his fathers and another reigned in his stead, and so will each of us die and sleep with our fathers and another will reign in our stead and history will record us in one sentence if we are terribly good or terribly bad and we will all sleep in this giant sepulchre together and be judged by one God. The best text on race relations is not from Acts, "God hath made of one," but from II Samuel, "How are the mighty fallen!" There rose up a man in Europe who shouted, "Never in a thousand years," and in one decade it seemed that he was right as he burned eight million of our brothers in incinerators and made lampshades of their skin and soap of their flesh but ere that same decade ended he died like a rat in a bunker and sleeps with his fathers and others reign in his stead.

Our sin has not been in neglecting to tell our people that "red and yellow, black or white, they are precious in his sight;" we have told them that. Our sin is that we have not told them what Isaiah said: that man is as grasshoppers. We have told man of his worth and dignity and perhaps rightly so. But we have not told him often enough of his insignificance in the total scheme of things. "It is God that sitteth above the circle of the earth...that bringeth princes to nothing; that maketh the judges of the earth as vanity...he bloweth upon them and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away as stubble."

What, now, shall we say? Is there a demon? Is there someone we can blame? Yes, I think there is and in testimony thereof, I make this final witness.

There is some virtue in honesty. And if prejudice is acquired in the manner described by the social scientist then I am sure that within me lie the vestiges of as much racial pride and prejudice as there is within anyone. They tell us we do not rid ourselves of it simply by intellectual declaration and I have no reason to disagree. But this sends us racing back over the years to David Lipscomb who saw that there was a difference between feeling and behavior- between prejudice and discrimination.

And during the past few years as it has been my ministry to move about the crisis areas of the South, I have seen those vestiges of the savage fade and grow dim.

With a pastor into what is left of his church after a sack of dynamite has been thrown into it in the dark of winter's night. And there are all the little brown faces outside, not allowed now into what is referred to as "their church." And I wonder what they are thinking as they see a white face crawl through the wreckage. And inside the debris the pastor picks up a small chalkboard which still bears, prophetically, part of last Sunday's lesson, written in what is obviously the handwriting of a child-- "God loves all the little children of the world." And remembering the faces outside for a moment I wonder about this "they are precious in His sight" business and if He really does have "the whole wide world in His hand." Maybe He is the demon to let this happen- to the children- to the little children. But then there are the familiar words, "Let the little children- all children- come unto Me, for of such is the Kingdom."

And somehow my Southern way of life seems like less than the Kingdom of God.

Or a mother is struck with a bottle as she takes her little girl to the school where the law of that city says that the child should go. And think-

ing for a moment as a Southern white man, I wonder why this is so important to her-- to take her child and herself into the face of death. And I am sorry for a mother who is hit with a bottle but then I recall some other words- "that men will come from the East and from the West and from the North and from the South and sit down in the Kingdom and the least shall be greatest.." And I am no longer sorry for her for somehow I have the feeling that at that moment I am looking at one of the greatest.

And those vestiges of prejudice grow still a little dimmer.

Or a pastor with the little brown hand of a six year old parishioner thrust trustingly in his is spit upon as he walks with her into the face of a screaming mob, and he makes no answer but enters as the crowd opens up. And again I am sorry for the man who is spit upon. But then the words, "If a man say to his brother 'racca' he is in danger of the judgment." And some have suggested that the word originally came from the noise made in the throat of one preparing to spit. H-a-a-r-c! And my sorrow for a man spit upon turns to stark terror and fright. But not fright for him alone now but fright for all that has produced and now sustains him.

And I remember who I am and what I am. A white man, a Southerner, a Protestant. And I cry out:

Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
Room 522 50 Whitehall Street Atlanta 3, Ga.

To Members:

The enclosed copy of a sermon by the Rev. Will D. Campbell is sent to you by courtesy of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

In the belief that you will want to read this I have furnished address labels for our membership for the Council to use in their distribution of the sermon.

Faithfully,

JOHN B. MORRIS

Executive Director

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1965
Christian Century, 2-3-65 "Testing of First Baptist" by Sue Nichols (Richmond, Va.)
_____ 2-10-65 "Are We Serious About Social Action" by Raymond Wilson

Commonweal, Dec. 1964, "Magnolia Ghetto," by John Beecher (New Orleans Catholics)

Newsweek, 3-29-65 "Selma, Civil Rights, & the Church Militant"

March 16, 1964

Mr. Robert H. Yoakum
Lakeville, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Yoakum:

We will have, in the next couple of months, a special report on "TheChurch and Race," and will send you a copy when it is released. If this is not soon enough for research for your book, please let us know and we will see what we can do.

In the meantime, we are sending you several things, and here are suggestions for both books and magazine articles:

Pettigrew, Thos. F. and Campbell, Ernest Q., Christians in Racial Crisis (a study of the Little Rock ministry). Public Affairs Press, 1959.
Race: Challenge to Religion (original essays, 1963 Conference on Religion and Race) 1963; Regnery (paperback)
Religion's Role in Racial Crisis, Nat'l Conference on Religion and Race, 289 Park Ave., S., New York 10, N.Y.
Campbell, Will D., Race and the Renewal of the Church. Westminster (paperback) 1962.
Haselton, Kyle, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective. Harper & Bros., 1959.
Sellers, James, The South and Christian Ethics. New York Association Press, 1962.
The Nation, 3-16-64, "Methodists: Crisis of Conscience," by Ralph Lord Ray.
Christian Century, Jan. 30, 1963, Haselden, Kyle, "Religion and Race: Report on National Conference of Religion and Race."
_____, Nov. 20, 1963, Samuel Southard, "Are Southern Churches Silent?"
_____, July 17, 1963, J. Oscar Lee, "Racism: Effects, Origins, Remedies."

April 8, 1964, Christian Obedience in a world gone Haiti Control," Paul Peachey
"As Negroes Seek Vote" Civil rights movement

Social Action (United Church of Christ magazine) September, 1963, "Inclusiveness in Churches."
Good Housekeeping, October 1963, George McMillan, "Mommy, Do White Puppies Like Us?" (Project Friendship, Knoxville)
The New Republic, April 13, 1963, Michael Novak, "Religion in the Public Schools: Catholic Children at Least Can Lose Their Faith."
Saturday Evening Post, May 31, 1961, Sessions, Robt. Paul, "Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?"

I hope you will find these references useful.

Social Progress Jan-Feb 1964 United Presby Church, 1109 Sloan St Crawfordsville, Ind.

Sincerely yours,

US News & World Report, 6-15-64 "A Silent Minister Speaks Up"

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

NY Times Mag. 8-2-64 - "11 AM Sunday Is Our Most Segr. Hour" by Kyle Haselden

Mailed separately:
The Other Mississippi
The Agony of the Southern Minister
New South: Jan. 1960, Will Campbell article

Christian Century Oct. 21, 1964 "The Backlash and Christian Faith," by Robert R. Parsonage
Aug. 26, 1964, "Justice & Love in the Racial Crisis," by Lonnie D. Kliever

Christian Century, 12-30-64, "The Sou. 'Establishment' by Samuel Southard (Traditional role as "Keepers" of a regional conscience hampers the southern churches speaking out on moral aspects of the race relations crisis).

Community, Oct 1964, "The White Priest in the Black Revolution"

Presbyterian Survey, July, 1963 "The Silent Church Is Stirring," by Sylvia Meyer

ROBERT H. YOAKUM
Lakeville, Connecticut

March 12, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am writing a book for Simon and Schuster on ethics in the United States. It covers a quarter of a century, from 1939 to the present, and it covers all areas of American public life. The issues of civil rights come into many chapters, naturally, and when I wrote recently to Dr. Martin Luther King to ask for material on the role of the southern white clergy in this struggle he suggested that I turn to you. Are there any articles or books that are both accurate and specific on this subject?

Yours sincerely,

Robert H. Yoakum

Robert H. Yoakum

RHY/ks

Books Sellers, James
The South & Christian Ethics
N.Y. Abingdon Press 1962

~~Conflict Resolution, Vol II, No 1 March 1958~~

Magazine Articles

The Nation, 3-16-64 "Methodists: Crisis of Conscience" by Ralph Lord Roy

Christian Century, Jan 30, 1963, Haselden, Kyle "Religion & Race: report on nat'l conf of R & R"
Christianity & Crisis

The New Republic April 13, 1963 "Religion in the Public Schools: Catholic Chil at Least Can Lose Their Faith" by Michael Novak.

Sat. Evening Post, May 31, 1961 Sessions, Robt. Paul "Are Southern Ministers Failing the Saints?"

Christian Century 11-20-63, Samuel Southard, "Are Southern Churches Silent?"

Social Action (United Church of Christ) Sept. 1963
"Inclusiveness in Churches"

Good Housekeeping, Oct 1963, Geo McMillan
"Mommy, Do White People Like Us?"
(Project Friendship, Knoxville, Tenn.)

Christian Century 7-17-63 Racism: Effects, Origins, Remedies, by Oscar Lee.

Black Religion

Joseph R. Washington Jr.

Beacon Press 1964

March 16, 1964

Mr. Jerry Butler
Speech Department
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Dear Mr. Butler:

Under separate cover we are sending you a few things which may be helpful to you. We will have, within a month or two, a special report on "TheChurch and Race" which will cover the statements and actions of the southern white ministry, and we will send you a copy. If this is too late, please write again and we will see what we can send you now.

As to suggestions for other reading, if you have not already read the following, I would recommend them to you:

Pettigrew, Thos. F. and Campbell, Ernest Q., Christians in Racial Crisis (a study of the Little Rock (Ark.) ministry), Public Affairs Press, 1959.

Race: Challenge to Religion (original essays, 1963 Conference on Religion and Race). 1963; Regnery (Paperback)

Religion's Role in Racial Crisis, Nat'l Conference on Religion and Race, 289 Park Ave. S., New York 10, N.Y.

Campbell, Will D., Race and the Renewal of the Church. Westminster (paperback)

Haselton, Kyle, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective. Harper & Bros., 1959.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
The Other Mississippi
Agony of the Southern Minister
Perkins School of Theology Journal: Christianity and Race; 1958

New South: Jan. 1960, June 1962

Jerry Butler
Speech Department
Southern Illinois Univ.
Carbondale, Ill.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master's degree at Southern Illinois University I am doing a thesis on the role of southern, white, protestant ministers on racial issues since 1954. I would appreciate it if you would send me any sermons or speeches which fit this description, or any other materials which you might deem valuable.

Your offices came highly recommended by Mr. Reed Sarratt of Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, Tennessee. If there are any charges incident to the receiving of these materials, I shall be happy to pay same.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry Butler

Jerry Butler

Encl:

The Other Press

Agony of Southern Minister

The Southern Minister Facing the South

NS - Jan 1960
June 1962

Pettigrew also said Campbell [illegible]

Book Christians - Racial Crisis (S.R. Ark)
Public Opinion Press

Sellers, Ron

The Sun Tempers — Chap 7 — on white women

Doubleday 1949 — 8 — white novelist

Campbell, Reid W

Lord's the Revival of the Church 1962

Westminster (paperback 1965)

Hazelton, Lyle

The Revival Prayer — Christian Perspective

Harper & Bros 1959

Rice: Christianity, Religion — paperback 1965

original essays, Cong on Religy & Rac

Regency

Religion, Race & Revival Crusade

Dell Cong on Religy & Race

288 Park Ave South, NY 10010 NY

Dear Sirs,

Mr. Jerry Butler is working on his M.A. thesis study under my direction. His motive in seeking material from you is solely to try to study the role of speech in dealing with the serious racial issues of our time.

Your cooperation with Mr. Butler will be appreciated by me personally and I can assure you that he will handle your materials responsibly. If you have any questions about his work, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Respectfully yours,

Don N. Dedmon

Donald N. Dedmon
Associate Professor of Speech
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Book!

This I Believe
NS - Jan. 1960
Racial Justice Now
NYT Reprint "Agony of Southern Minister"

April 9, 1965

Mr. Randall Krehbiel
Goering Hall
Bethel College
North Newton, Kansas:

Dear Mr. Krehbiel:

For your paper on the church and the "revolution" we are sending you a few things, and I am listing below some additional sources of information--most of which should be in your library.

Books

Pettigrew, Thos. F. and Campbell, Ernest Q., Christians in Racial Crisis (study of Little Rock ministers) 1959.

Race: Challenge to Religion (1963 Conference on Religion & Race) Regnery (paperback)

Religion's Role in Racial Crisis, Nat'l Conference on Religion and Race, 289 Park Ave., S., New York 10, N. Y.

Campbell, Will Do., Race and the Renewal of the Church, Westminster (paperback) 1962.

Haselton, Kyle, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective. Harper & Bros., 1959.

Seller, James, The South and Christian Ethics, New York Association Press, 1962.

Black Religion, Joseph R. Washington, Jr., Beacon Press, 1964.

Magazine articles

The Nation, 3-16-64, "Methodists: Crisis of Conscience," by Ralph Lord May.

Christian Century, Jan. 30, 1963, " Haselden, Kyle, "Religion and Race: Report on National Conference of Religion and Race.
Nov. 20, 1963, Samuel Southard, "Are Southern Churches Silent?"
July 17, 1963, J. Oscar Lee, "Racism: Effects, Origins, Reme
April 8, 1964, Paul Peachey, "Christian Obedience in a World We Don't Control," (civil rights); "As Negroes Seek to Vote"

Social Action, (United Church of Christ magazine) September, 1963.
"Inclusiveness in Churches."
Good Housekeeping, Oct. 1963, George McMillan, "Mommy, Do White Peoples Like Us?"
The New Republic, April 13, 1963, Michael Novak, "Religion in the Public Schools: Catholic Children at Least Can Lose Their Faith"
Saturday Evening Post, May 31, 1961, Robt. Paul Sessions, "Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?"
Presbyterian Survey, July 1963, "The Silent Church Is Stirring," by Sylvan Meyer
Social Progress (United Presbyterian Church) Jan.-Feb., 1964
U. S. News & World Report, 6-15-64, "A Silent ;Minister Speaks Up"
New York Times Magazine, 8-2-64, Kyle Haselden, "11 A.M. Sunday Is Our Most Segregated Hour"
Christian Century, 8-26-64, Lonnie D. Kliener, "Justice & Love in the Racial Crisis"
10-21-64, Robert R. Parsonage, "The Backlash and Christian Faith"
12-30-64, Samuel Southard, "The Southern 'Establishment'" (traditional role as keepers of a regional conscience hampers the southern churches).
Community, Oct. 1964, "The White Priest in the Black Revolution"
~~Presbyterian Survey July 1962~~
Ramparts, Dec. 1964, John Beecher, "Magnolia Ghetto" (New Orleans Catholics)
Christian Century, 2-3-65, "Testing of First Baptist," (Richmond, Va.)
2-10-65, "Are We Serious About Social Action" by Raymond Wilson
Newsweek, 3-29-65, "Selma, Civil Rights and the Church Militant"

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

April 5, 1965
Goering Hall
Bethel College
North Newton, Kansas

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen

I am a student at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Due to my interest in the Civil Rights movement I am enrolled in the course Church and Race Seminar. As part of the requirements of the course I am writing a paper on the church and the revolution: the involvement and noninvolvement of white and Negro church in the United States freedom movement.

I would appreciate any information concerning your organization and its role in the freedom movement. I am specifically interested in the church and its involvement in the movement.

Sincerely yours
Randall Krehbiel
Randall Krehbiel

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Relig

Leonard, Joseph T., S.S.J.

Theology & Race Relations

(Bibliography in back of book

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[redacted] EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 15, 1964

To: Les Dunbar From: Ed Stanfield

Subject: Attached church report.

I would like to have criticism from you and Pat before reworking this. I don't even know if the general approach is acceptable.

Most obviously, it needs cutting. Perhaps the section on "Some Issues Before the Church" should be eliminated entirely or drastically reduced and combined with "The Predicament of the Church."

I am particularly bothered by the scope of the subject. Should I limit it to "Protestantism and the Race Crisis" (which is still pretty broad)? Protestants have the weakest record on the issue, after all, and I have no competence beyond Protestantism. Generalizations about Protestants are perilous enough, and I fear that they get rather ridiculous when Jews and Catholics are included.

Combine, as Part IV, sections on "Predicament" and "Issues."
Conclusion should stress need for radical change.

Length
Overlap
Attack
Point of view

INTRODUCTION

Among southern cities, Charlotte, North Carolina, has a relatively good record of progress in race relations. This progress is generally credited to the leadership of the business and political power structures. Commenting on the role of the churches in race relations, one of Charlotte's business and civic leaders said, "I don't believe this is a church problem. It has to be solved downtown." He added that a church is a group of people who combine because they like each other socially. In practice, he continued, there had been no trouble at Charlotte churches. Negroes had come to services, been seated, and didn't return.[1]

This layman thus bore witness to a fact that churchmen have long recognized. George D. Younger, for example, has observed that the "power elite" of the urban power structure are to be found in business and politics. "The whole institution of the church as a part of society is peripheral to the mainstream of the city's life."[2] "It is hard to exaggerate," writes Elton Trueblood, "the degree to which the modern Church seems irrelevant to modern man."

> The Church is looked upon as something to be neither seriously fought nor seriously defended....the Church has only marginal relevance. We do not expect, for the most part, to find the gospel centered in a burning conviction which will make men and women change occupations, go to the end of the earth, alter the practices of governments, redirect culture, and remake civilization.[3]

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[1] Pat Watters, Charlotte. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1964, p. 23.

[2] "The Power Structures of Urban Life," Christianity and Crisis, 22:214.

[3] The Company of the Committed. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961, p. 17.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, the eminent leader of the Negro revolt has had this to say to his fellow ministers:

> There was a time when the church was very powerful. It was during that period that the early Christians rejoiced when they were deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed....
>
> .....
>
> Things are different now. The contemporary church is so often a weak, ineffectual voice with an undertain sound. It is so often the arch supporter of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's often vocal sanction of things as they are.
>
> Space But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If the church of today does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authentic ring, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. I meet young people every day whose disappointment with the church has risen to outright disgust.[4]

This report is an attempt to draw together and interpret some of the facts and phenomena of ~~the church's~~ organized religion's role in the current crisis in race relations in America. Why has the church not been in the vanguard of this struggle? What contributions has the church made? What impact has the struggle had upon the church? Is ~~Are~~ there evidence of change in the church as a result? What are the alternatives before white ministers -- particularly in the South? What role or roles might the church attempt in the future?

The word "church" is used herein interchangeably with "religious institution" and "organized religion." It includes Jewish and Unitarian, as well as Roman Catholic and Protestant, bodies. The hazards of using the word in such a way, to cover a multitude of

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4 "The Negro is Your Brother," The Atlantic, Vol. 212, No. 2, pp. 87-88.

differing theological viewpoints and interpretations, are recognized. It is recognized, also, that for many in the Judeo-Christian tradition some of the "religious institutions" with which we shall be dealing are, by definition, not the Church. But perhaps, with the assistance of modifying adjectives, the reader will understand what is meant at each particular point.

The reader is envisioned as either a concerned churchman, who is therefore interested in the human relations crisis, or as one particularly concerned with the human relations struggle, who is therefore interested in the church's effect upon it. Inevitably, much of the report will be familiar ground to one or the other or both.

THE DEFAULT OF THE CHURCH

This could be used, if desired, to strengthen point made in introduction.

The first chapter of Charles Morgan's book about Birmingham's racial strife is titled "The City of Churches." In it he tells of the Birmingham News' urging all Birmingham-boosters to tell everyone that "Birmingham has more than 700 churches and temples where weekly attendance is one of the highest in America." [1]

In Charlotte, where some civic leaders commended the churches for their "behind the scenes" contribution to the city's progress in human relations, Harry Golden, editor of The North Carolina Israelite, entered a demurrer: "It's a city with more churches than any other with the possible exception of Glasgow...without ever being moved by Christian charity...." [2] One Negro leader added, "Charlotte has not done all it should. Its church-going doesn't show up in its behavior." And his brother agreed: "Churches ignore the problem because if they faced it, they wouldn't be able to avoid their duty.... We don't have time for their hearts to change.... These influential people tell us inadvertently that they will do nothing unless forced to." [3]

In a History of Complicity (cut, cut, cut)

The sad truth appears to be that anything whatever that organized religion has done in recent years for racial justice in America has been an improvement on its record. As Kyle Haselden puts it, the major sin of the white Christian church is not its passive default on the

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[1] Charles Morgan, Jr., A Time To Speak. New York: Harper & Row, 1964, p. 1.

[2] Pat Watters, op. cit., p. 77.

[3] Ibid., p. 82.

racial problem, but "its direct, positive, and sometimes malicious contribution to the race-caste system in America." [4] He cites evidence to show that "it is a fact that Jim Crowism had some of its first expressions in the church" and that "long before the little signs--'White Only' and 'Colored'--appeared in the public utilities they had appeared in the church." [5]

This is to say that the persistent southern idyl which pictures Christian master and Christian slave worshipping together in filial affection, or their descendents bearing patiently the cultural circumstances which forbade expression of their hidden unity, needs to be seen for the myth it is. It is true that slaves were allowed or compelled to attend Christian services under the direction of a Protestant minister. Not infrequently Negro ministers preached to white congregations. But all of this took place in the master-slave setting and, indeed, served to enforce the paternalistic relationship. Negro members of the Sardis Baptist Church in Georgia, for instance, were listed on the rolls as "Harper's Hannah, Gibson's Sal, Callaway's Sip (Scipio), Ronton's Becky." [6]

There was, at first, considerable debate over the advisability of offering the gospel to slaves.

> There were some misgivings and in some instances strong opposition to acquainting the Negro with the Bible. This fear of teaching the slaves the Bible was tied up with the laws against teaching slaves to read and write.

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[4] Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Persepctive. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959, p. 13.

[5] Ibid., p. 29. [6] Ibid., p. 25.

> But it was also feared that the slave would find in the Bible the implications of human equality which would incite the Negro to make efforts to free himself. Opposition to teaching the Negro the Bible declined as masters became convinced that sufficient justification for slavery could be found in the New Testament. In fact, some masters became convinced that some of their best slaves--that is, those amenable to control by their white masters--were those who read the Bible.[7]

The purpose of spiritual concern for Negroes was seldom so explicitly stated as it was by Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in an address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society in 1829.

> Nothing is better calculated to render man satisfied with his destiny in this world, than a conviction its hardships and trials are as transitory as its honors and enjoyments; and that good conduct, founded on Christian principles, will ensure superior rewards in that which is future and eternal. A firm persuasion that it is both our interest and our duty to afford religious instruction to the blacks, induces me to dwell on this subject....[8]

The masters aimed to impress upon the slaves that the God of the Bible punished and rewarded black men as well as white men, and that only by accepting their God-given lot and practicing the virtues of obedience, honesty, truthfulness, patience, and meekness, ~~etc.,~~ could they hope for reward in the world after death. The ~~Christian~~ virtues of courage, perseverance, and the like were more suitable for the whites.

Well known are the magnificent specimens of rationalization exhibited in the pseudo-biblical arguments for slavery from such scriptural episodes as Noah's cursing of Ham and Paul's return of the slave ~~Philemon~~ Onesimus to his master Philemon. One of the more

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[7] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America. New York: Schocken Books, 1963, p. 10.

[8] Susan Markey Fickling, Slave Conversion in South Carolina 1830-1860, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1924, p. 12. Quoted by Haselden, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

amusing was the argument that the Negro had no soul: Since the Apostle Peter, being inspired of God, refers to Noah's Ark "wherein few, that is eight souls were saved," there were only eight souls in the ark, namely Noah and his wife and his three sons and their wives; and since the Negro obviously was on the ark (he being still on earth), God thus testifies that he had no soul.[9]

It is to the credit of the Methodist movement that, in its early days in this country, circuit-riding preachers were required to free their slaves, on grounds that slavery was contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature. In 1784 the Methodist conference took steps toward the abolition of slavery. And the Baptists gained even larger following among the slaves by their outspoken opposition to slavery in their initial preaching in this country. But both groups gradually withdrew from their anti-slavery position because of the general opposition to their stand on the question.[10]

This will serve to suggest our point that, however weak its leadership in race relations in the past decade, the church is not vulnerable to the charge of backsliding. [redacted] It is a point that needs clear understanding.

(Revise)

In the Current Event

At the Nashville Conference on the Ethical Demands of Integration, December 27-29, 1962, the Reverend Samuel Williams,

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[9]Joseph T. Leonard, Theology and Race Relations. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1963, p. 30.

[10]E. Franklin Frazier, op. cit., p. 23.

pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church and professor of philosophy and religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, read a paper on "The Role of the Church in Desggregation Efforts in Atlanta." Included in his remarks was the following:

> It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial. The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called for. ...The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it.

(shorten)

As of that date, that generalization was as true as any sweeping generalization about organized religion can be. ~~The bulk of the pronouncements by ministerial associations and ecclesiastical judicatories following the 1954 Supreme Court public school desegregation decision voiced utilitarian concerns.~~ Prior to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools, concern about racial discrimination and prejudice had scarcely been expressed in the church, except at the highest -- and most remote -- levels of church organization. At the meetings of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in 1928 and at Madras in 1938 segregation in the church was strongly condemned. In 1937 both the World Conferance on Faith and Order at Edinburgh and the World Conference on Life and Work at Oxford inveighed against racial discrimination. The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 went on record as follows:

> It (the church) knows that it must call society away from prejudice based upon race or color, and from the practices of discrimination and segregation as denials of justice and human dignity, but it cannot say a convincing word to society unless it takes steps to eliminate

> these practices from the Christian community because they contradict all that it believes about God's love for all his children.

A similar resolution was passed at the Second Assembly at Evanston in 1954 and by the Central Committee of the World Council at all of its meetings ~~in~~ between the assemblies.

The Federal Council, which later became the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, had renounced and denounced segregation in similar terms in 1946. But most of the constituent denominations continued the practice of segregation even at the administrative level. The Methodist Church had its Negro "Central Jurisdiction," the Presbyterian Church in the United States its "Snedecor Memorial Synod." And most denominations had departments or committees on "Negro Work."

Only after the 1954 Supreme Court decision did racial segregation become a live issue in lower church courts. Even then most of the pronouncements voiced utilitarian concern. Reading a collection of them, one gets the impression that disorder is more to be feared than unrighteousness -- and that enlightened self-interest is the highest motivation to be tapped. "Law and order" was the theme.

On November 3, 1957, for example, a statement concerning the "keep the schools open" crisis in Atlanta was signed by 80 ministers and released for publication. At the time, statements by public officials and conservative groups solidly opposed any desegregation. The ministers' statement set forth six principles: (1) Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved. (2) As

Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law. (3) The Public School System must not be destroyed. (4) Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified. (5) Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. (6) Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

A year later 312 ministers and rabbis of the same city, representing sixteen denominations, reaffirmed these "principles" and further called for "intelligent discussion of the issues" within the churches, "creative thought" on the part of state and community leaders toward maintaining public schools, and the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve harmony in the community. But the resolution was partially vitiated by the following:

> We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than by force.... We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

Similar statements came from 60 members of the Richmond Ministers Association; 31 Protestant ministers and two rabbis in Columbus, Georgia; 173 clergymen -- Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic -- in Houston, Texas; the Baptist Ministers' Union of Chattanooga, Tennessee; 76 members of the Norfolk Ministers' Association; and 300 clergymen in Dallas.

What was generally lacking was a clear, unequivocal statement of that which was not negotiable -- beyond the principle of negotiation itself.

There were gratifying exceptions. The Gainesville-Hall County Ministerial Association, in Georgia, adopted, on April 28, 1958, its Christian Guide to Race Relations. It declared that "as Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community in which we live." It clearly declared racial discrimination morally wrong and indefensible from the Christian point of view. Likewise, forty-eight ministers of Falls Church and Fairfax County, Virginia, declared, "Enforced segregation not only defies the basic law of the land but, more importantly, contradicts that very Gospel which we are called to preach. ...We state our conviction that enforced segregation in our schools on the basis of race is contrary to the will of God. We are opposed to all attempts to circumvent the law, including the use of church facilities as a substitute for the school system."

But the bulk of the appeals were for good citizenship and obedience "to the law of the land" -- and this from men who stood in a tradition which affirmed the ultimacy of no law but God's. And the appeal for law and order proved to be a trap, as Will Campbell has pointed out.[11] State laws in the South are often on the segregationists' side, and it can be argued reasonably that federal laws are no more sacred than state laws.

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[11]Will D. Campbell, Race and the Renewal of the Church. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962, p. 28.

But even the stronger pronouncements, more firmly based theologically, which began to be issued in the late ~~19~~ nineteen-fifties had little effect. At the level of the local church resistence to desegregation was increasing all over the South. The statements of governing ~~kudin~~ ecclesiastical bodies were plainly disavowed. Pro-segregation groups of laymen were formed to put pressure on local ministersx and churches. The Methodist Laymen's Union was organized in Birmingham on March 19, 1959. The Association of Catholic Laymen of New Orleans ~~kudxbann~~ was organized in 1957. A Dallas Pastors' Segregation Committee was organized in May, 1958. Concerned Churchmen, a pro-segregation group of Episcopal laymen, was organized in North Carolina in August, 1958. The Presbyterian Laymen for Sound Doctrine and Responsible Leadership was organized in Jackson, Mississippi, in October 1959, and chapters were opened in Memphis and ~~Sum~~ in Sumter, South Carolina.

A report in the New York Times for January 18, 1964 gives some dismal statistics on the ineffectiveness of high-level pronouncements and action. (These statistics happen to have been made available by the United Church of Christ. Their true significance probably lies in the fact that that denomination has an exceptionally good record of leadership and action on the issue.) "A survey by the United Church of Christ," says the report, "has indicated that the denomination's plea for integrated congregations is having little effect on the local level." Only 18 percent of 247 churches receiving denominational financial aid had members of both races by the end of 1963. Church officials

believed this percentage would hold for all of the more than 8000 churches of the denomination. There were no integrated congregations, within the group covered by the study, in the South. Only 6.6 percent in the Midwest, 11 percent in the East, and 15.5 percent in the West were integrated. A part of the trouble was the fact that so many churches were located in all-white neighborhoods. "This goes back to our segregated society," observed Dr. Truman B. Douglass, "--which is no excuse but a fact of life." On December 26, 1963, the denomination sent out an appeal to all 8,000 churches to adopt an "open membership" covenant. One-third of the churches had done so by March 3, 1964.

In general, progress -- or the lack thereof -- in doing away with racial discrimination in churches follows one of three patterns, according to the three basic forms of church government. Where authority is vested in a strong heirarchy, as in the Roman Catholic Church, there has been much desegregation, often over the protest of lay leaders, but without loss of membership. Where the government is congregational, e.g., the Southern Baptists, all-white status has been maintained and, on this basis, there has been little internal strife. The record is most ambiguous and the greatest internal turmoil has been experienced in churches in which authority is divided between clergymen and laymen, as in the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations.[12]

The Reverend John McKee Pratt, counsel to the commission on religion and race of the National Council of Churches, believes that "weaknesses in the structure" of the Protestant Churches

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[12] Cf. an analysis in The New York Times, January 5, 1964.

help to render Protestants ineffective on the race issue. He says that "...denominations which cherish the independence of the individual congregation have discovered all too often that their ministers are the slaves of their congregations' prejudices and, as such, have lost their power to preach the full gospel." [13]

Seward Hiltner has suggested that the dilemma of many Protestant churches results from their being neither purely a "sect" type church or a "church" type church. In Roman Catholicism the protection of the church is insured by discipline of the priesthood. The "purity" of the church is safeguarded in the focal point, but its field is open. Sect-type churches, on the other hand, protect their "purity" by limiting their field very strictly and at the cost of recognizing no degrees of becoming Christian. The problem of Protestantism is to remain open and eductive to all individuals, recognizing degrees of becoming Christian, and yet at the same time protect its own integrity. [14]

Switch to Chapter IV?

Haselden notes these handicaps to fast desegregation which Protestants have and Catholics do not: democratic polity and the horizontal relationship in worship. The fellowship hall is second in importance only to the sanctuary for Protestants. They cherish the church as a "larger family," and there is a tendency to extend to it the legitimate discrimination of the family relationship. He adds the value-judgment that this handicap may also contain an opportunity for Protestants: There is a temptation, in the face of the challenge of the race issue, to let go this familial quality

(summarize or omit)

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[13] The New York Times, January 8, 1964.

[14] Preface to Pastoral Theology. Abingdon Press, p. 212 passim.

and social function, broadening the fellowship -- but making it shallow. "If, however, the Protestant churches meet and accept the challenge of racial integration without altering their concept of the nature and role of the church, then the racial integration of Christians can find its fullest and most meaningful expression within the fellowship offered by Protestant churches." [15]

It should be added that the Roman Catholic record, while generally better, is also mixed. For instance, a news story in the Atlanta Journal on April 27, 1964, indicates that all Catholic schools in Alabama were ordered integrated in September of 1964 and that Alabama Catholics greeted this news with quiet acceptance. An article in the New York Times on the same day, however, reported that the Reverend Anthony S. Woods, S.J., had pointed out in a sermon evidence of backsliding on race relations among Catholic laymen: (1) Supporters of the Negro cause had been defeated in elections for the Boston School Committee in the largely-Catholic community. (2) There was a "considerable vote" for Geroge Wallace in "distinctly Catholic areas" of Wisconsin in the April 7 primary. (3) A Negro family who attempted to move into a "largely Catholic" community, Folcroft, Pennsylvania, had been stoned.

The true exceptions among organized religious bodies have been: first, the so-called "Negro churches" -- the phenomenon of whose existence is itself a rebuke to American Christianity; and, second, the decidedly "liberal" Friends and Unitarians -- whose

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[15] Haselden, p. 213.

exceptionally good records can scarcely comfort the "mainstream" of organized Christianity, since ~~the Friends~~ the "mainstream" allows the appellation "Christian" to the Friends with some misgivings and to the Unitarians not at all. The Jewish community, whose record in race relations is relatively good, although not immaculate, is in a class by itself because of its being itself a minority ethnic group, as well as a religious group.

Therefore we can only agree with Kyle Haselden when he points out that white American Christians have confused gentility with righteousness, manners with morals, and private preference with civil right.

> The church must...ask of itself whether it has generated, fostered, or permitted a concept of racial morality which is immoral; and to that question it must reply that it has. It must ask to what extent religion has been, not a solution, but 'a potent conservator' of those white ways which abuse the Negro, and it must confess in answer that religion more than any other single influence has given racial injustice its abiding power....for we have seen that the religion to which we should be able to appeal for a solution of the racial tensions and divisions has become itself a producer and protector of such tensions and divisions.[16]

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[16] Haselden, p. 63.

THE PROMISE OF THE CHURCH

II. ~~NURTURE FROM THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITION~~

"But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us." -- II Corinthians 4:7.

In effect we have been pointing out how earthen the vessel of organized religion is revealed to be by the racial crisis. This should come as no shock or threat to believers. As much has been suggested before -- by experts including all of the prophets of Israel and the Apostle Paul.

In Nurture From the Judeo-Christian Tradition

But fairness requires us to look not only at the clay pot, but also at the treasure it does contain. Will Campbell makes a point that is important:

> The point is that while Protestantism can and does plant seeds of revolution, it cannot see them through to fruition. To continue the struggle, its prophets and actionists often must turn to other vehicles. While it is true, however, that Protestant churches are not providing a leadership in race relations commensurate with the ideals and principles of Protestantism, it is equally true that they have produced many of the persons who are providing such leadership. Take a careful look at the reformers in the present crisis in race relations. Ask them where they got their start. Most of them will reply that it all began when they started to take seriously that which they had learned in religious training.

An illustrative case is that of a Protestant clergyman who is now the director of a Council on Human Relations in a southern state. (Perhaps it is significant that, at the present time, every male director of such councils in the South, save one, is a Protestant minister.) "I don't feel that I have left the ministry," he commented to a younger minister who was thinking of leaving the pastorate. "I think I've just found my ministry. You can't utterly condemn the church. The people who are concerned about this issue are,

after all, people who have been nurtured by the church's message. Take me, for instance. I grew up in a fundamentalist church in the deep South. They took me to Sunday School and Bible School and had me stand up and sing 'Jesus loves the little children, all the children of the world. Red and yellow, black and white, they are precious in His sight.' And 'In Christ there is no East or West, in Him no ~~North~~ South or ~~South~~ North....' They didn't think I would take it so seriously -- but I did!"

In Charlotte, North Carolina, much credit for the city's progress in race relations is given the mayor's committee on human relations. This committee is headed by John R. Cunningham, a Presbyterian minister, former head of Davidson College, who was, at the time, director of the Presbyterian Foundation. Dr. Cunningham's opinion (which, however, was not shared by all of his fellow citizens) was that the ministers had been a strong influence, although not a direct one. "Of our 27 members," he said, "if one of them is not a dedicated church member, I don't know it."

The story could be repeated in towns and cities all across the South. While the race-relations record of religious organizations as such is often very poor, and that the majority of church members worse, the record of the religiously oriented individuals is often heroic. In some deep-South states in which to be an integrationist is downright dangerous the bulk of local leadership consists of Catholic priests, Jewish citizens, and, to ~~a smaller~~ less extent, Protestant ministers.

These are people who have heard, out of their own scriptures, the prophetic warning against those "that trample the head of the poor into the dust of the earth, and turn aside the way of the afflicted." If the structured church has fallen short in matters of justice and right human relations, it has fallen short of a mark that is its own: "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality..." "If any one says, 'I love God,' and hates his brother, he is a liar; for he who does not love his brother whom he has seen, cannot love God whom he has not seen. And this commandment we have from him, that he who loves God should love his brother also." "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all." (Col 3:11)

However effective or ineffective their leadership, what is at issue could hardly be stated with greater clarity and power than it has been stated by religious leaders. Not to be overlooked are modern-day prophets like Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, who said, at the 1962 Conference on Religion and Race,

> "Perhaps this conference should have been called Religion or Race. You cannot worship God and at the same time look at man as if he were a horse.
>
> .....
>
> "What is an idol? Any god who is mine but not yours, any god concerned with me but not with you, is an idol.
>
> "...Racial or religious bigotry must be recognized for what it is: blasphemy.
>
> .....
>
> Prayer and prejudice cannot dwell in the same heart. Worship without compassion is worse than self-deception; it is an abomination."

The absurdity of segregated churches was well stated by the Reverend Dr. Ben Lacy Rose when, after recalling the New Testament teaching that Christ dwells within every believer, he wrote, "'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' If we segregate the least of his brethren in black skin, we segregate Christ himself."

Kyle Haselden, an American Baptist, made essentially the same point:

> The question as to whether or not a Negro should be admitted into the fellowship of other Christians should not even be debatable; if he applies as a Christian he does not apply as a Negro....To raise the question is to give ipso facto evidence that the conscience and the community have both surrendered their right to the appellation Christian.X

Our point is the simple and obvious one that any critics of the structured church's failure to measure up in justice and brotherhood should remember that, in Western culture at least, it is the church's tradition which provides the yardstick.

In this connection, the extremely important role of the Negro churches in the current Negro revolt should be recalled. It is true, from a theological point of view, that there should be no such thing as a "Negro church" at all. (The Southern Presbyterian Church pointed this out in the Reconstruction period when Negro Presbyterians asked for separate churches.) It is true that one motivation of whites for preaching the Gospel among Negro slaves was the abominable one of keeping them submissive. Yet it is also true that these

Two Frazier cards!

"Negro churches," which never should have been, have been the rallying centers of the current movement for racial justice. And it is also true that this Gospel, preached in the beginning with such unworthy motivation, provided at last the rationale for the struggle for just human relationships. "The Magna Charta of the Negro," writes Haselden, "is the declaration: 'I am a man whom God made and loves; nothing God intends for man must be denied to me.'" Franklin H. Littell reminds us that the Church has had a greater formative influence in the Negro community than in the white community.

> For this we may all be profoundly grateful. What would our situation be in America today, facing our most important internal crisis, if the Negro leadership were at the level of Ross Barnette, Orville Faubus, Jimmy Davis, and Edwin Walker? Where would we be if the Negro community were as violent and undisciplined as many whites have shown themselves to be?

That the Negro revolt has remained, for the most part, nonviolent; that, under the leadership of such Negro ministers as Abernathy and King, the Negro protestors have been able to return patience for persecution, self-control for harassment, and sometimes even love for hate; that the demand for justice has been tempered with a call for mercy toward the merciless; -- all this is fruit that the church has born almost in spite of itself.

Some there are who argue that the strategy of non-violence owes more to Gandhi than to Christ. Dr. King himself, however, is surely a product of the church. And he himself sees his strategy as the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian strategy.

It is also pointed out that more than half of the young Negroes in the non-violent action groups consider themselves non-~~Christians~~ religious. But, while they are non-believers in the traditional symbols of Judaism or Christianity, the precepts they cherish and the principles they attempt to practice are nevertheless the ideals of the Judeo-Christian faith -- brotherhood, humility, hope, and charity. It could be argued that they owe to the church the values which have led them to rebel against it. "One is sometimes struck," comments ~~[illegible]~~ Gayraud S. Wilmore of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, "with the amazing congruence between this secular understanding of the human situation, their passion for human freedom and justice, and that of prophetic Christianity."

In Prophetic Spirits

~~Perhaps~~ One of the ~~most~~ more important concepts of the Judeo-Christian tradition is ~~that~~ that of ~~the~~ "the remnant." "The remnant" is the faithful minority which God preserves to call back and redeem the faithless majority of His people. When Israel went "awhoring" after other gods and listening "with itching ears" to the cultic, false prophets, there always remained an Amos, a Hosea, or a Jeremiah, with a faithful few.

During the buildup of the present crisis there were many such voices crying in the wilderness. ~~Many~~ Their voices, along with their personal sacrifices, went largely unheeded. Space permits the mentioning of only a few, picked at random, ~~—~~ ~~who are~~ ministers, representative of many more, who ~~quietly [illegible] their [illegible]~~ saw and spoke the truth, — and suffered the consequences.

There was Robert B. McNeill, who in 1959 was dismissed as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Georgia, for his liberal views in regard to race. *It may be only a coincidence that he suffered a heart attack shortly after his dismissal.*

There were James Hand, Odie Gregg, and Preston Hughes, all of whom were driven from their pulpits in 1958 because of their activities as members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

There was J. G. Short, a Methodist minister who spoke out against the segregationist Methodist Laymens' Union and was transferred after suffering attack in the press, abuse over the telephone, and a cross-burning in front of his church by 100 Klansmen.

There was John Teeter, who resigned as pastor of the Church of the Good Shepherd (Episcopal) in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, after the vestry voted to instruct delegates to any meeting to vote against integration of anything.

There was Paul Turner, Baptist, who was beaten by a mob in Clinton, Tennessee, in 1959 when he escorted Negro children to a formerly all-white school.

There were W. B. Selah and Jerry Furr, pastor and assistant pastor of Galloway Methodist Church, Jackson, who in June, 1963, resigned after Negro visitors were turned away.

There was Cecil Robert Taylor, minister in the Christian Church, who was twice asked to leave pastorates (in Sandersville, Georgia, and Danville, Virginia) because of his views on race relations.

There were the 28 Methodist ministers in Mississippi who signed, in January, 1963, what came to be known as the "Born of

Conviction" statement, which proclaimed their belief in freedom of the pulpit and opposed racial discrimination. All were targets of segregationist reaction. A few suffered violence or threats. Tires were slashed, rocks were thrown at parsonages, and crosses were burned before at least two parsonages. All were harrassed by by telephone. The wife of one lost a teaching job, and another was dismissed from part-time teaching. Within a few months 12 had left the state, seven had been moved to other churches in Mississippi. Nine remained at their churches at least until the annual conference of 1964.

Daisy Bates, in a memoir ~~significant~~ appropriately titled The Long Shadow of Little Rock, tells a poignant story which reveals the depth of personal sacrifice that newspaper accounts can hardly fathom.* The Reverend Dunbar Ogden was pastor of Central Presbyterian Church, Little Rock, and President of the Greater Little Rock Interracial Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance in 1957. One of his sons, David, was a sensitive and intelligent young man in his early twenties, employed then by the Arkansas Highway Department and later by the YMCA. When Dr. Ogden, with some misgiving, agreed to walk with the Negro students entering Central High that September, David volunteered to walk with him.

The family were shunned and subjected to abuse. Members of Dr. Ogden's church withdrew personal and financial support. He finally resigned and went to a post in Huntington, West Virginia. David remained, but because of unpleasantness he was forced to leave his YMCA. job and take a job as a bookkeeper with a

*New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1962, pp. 189-195.

downtown firm. His "reputation" soon followed. Friends he had made before he was "found out" rejected him. One even went so far as to assault him when David ignored his taunts. The next day he resigned and went to his family in Huntington.

In Huntington he looked for a job, but was unsuccessful. He became depressed. But with care his spirits seemed to return, and when he spoke of visiting a friend in Tennessee his parents encouraged him. He set out, planning to stop at a motel en route.

And in that motel in Tennessee, on the night of June 22, 1960, David Ogden placed the muzzle of a shotgun on his chest and shot himself.

It is the kind of story that one hesitates to retell, for Dunbar Ogden is still a Presbyterian preacher and pastor.

But that is the point that must be made: Let any who would consign the whole "church" to hell remember that there are men like that inside.

(omit most quotes. Summarize.)

THE PREDICAMENT OF THE CHURCH

What seems to be emerging is the picture of a church that has far more to offer than it has in fact offered toward accomplishing the most urgent, present need of our society. The church is like a man with a great soul and a lot of powerful muscle -- encased in a ponderous, fatty, lethargic hulk of flesh.

The question arises, How did it get that way? Space permits only a mere outline of some of the external circumstances and internal disorders that have brought organized religion in America to its condition. The factors that we shall mention are all related -- a tangled mass that needs to be cut through.

Poor Adjustment to Industrialization and Urbanization

The church apparently has had difficulty in adjusting either its form or its symbols to the realities of an industrial and metropolitan society. Gibson Winter says that the pressures of rapid change turned Protestant churches in upon themselves, forcing them to concentrate on survival, rather than ministry.

> The scandal of the metropolitan churches is a reversal of the Gospel message. The churches now embody the brokenness of the metropolis rather than its promise of renewal, a fact most evident in the struggle of the churches to overcome internal forces of segregation, and in the failure of the denominations to mobilize a missionary force for their Negro and White fellow Protestants who are now flooding into central city areas. The denial of ministry to these groups, should it continue, will go down in history as one of the great catastrophes of American Protestantism. Within a score of years, Protestantism will be fatally weakened as a significant religious force in the United States.[1]

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[1] The Suburban Captivity of the Churches. New York: The Macmillan Company (Macmillan Paperbacks Edition), 1962, pp. 150-151.

With scriptures emerging from a pastoral culture and filled with its symbolism, having itself been formed when America was predominantly rural, still drawing most of its ministerial leadership from rural areas, American Protestantism has a rural bias. Since 1900 city churches have been closed by the hundreds and the church has moved to the suburbs, uncritically sanctifying its constituency's attempt to reclaim synthetically the values of village life and preserve a pastoral religion with a ranch-house facade.[2]

Littell says that the church has failed to face the fact of urbanization and religious pluralism. The challenge is to create a real community in a society in which inter-dependencies are bewilderingly complex. "The word on our wall is this: 'Communicate or perish!'"[3] For inter-dependency without real communication, that is, without real community, is a veritable hell.

One churchman of Britain (where the church is even more irrelevant than in America) suggests that one reason for the massive concentration on "foreign missions" of the past century was due to the fact that primitive, rural economies offered more familiar ground than the changed circumstances at home.[4] [go to "clear churches"]

Tpoint continued below p. 30

The church has continued, for instance, to preach and practice the Christian concept of love in terms of the intimate compassion and benevolence appropriate to the primary relations

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[2]cf. Jaroslave Pelikan, The Riddle of Roman Catholicism, p. 233, and Truman B. Douglass, "The Job the Protestants Shirk," in Cities and Churches, (Robert Lee, ed., Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), pp. 88-89.

[3]Franklin H. Littell, "Religion and Race: The Historical Perspective," in Ahmann (ed.), p. 49.

[4]T. Ralph Morton, The Household of Faith. Glasgow: The Iona Community, 1958, p. 75.

ships of rural life, rather than in the terms of justice in which it must be expressed amid the secondary relationships of urban life.[5] As Haselden points out, it is a great temptation to substitute "lavish and sentimental charity" for a concern for social justice. This accounts for the existence of genuine compassion and charity in personal, private dealings with Negroes -- side by side with total unwillingness even to rebuke those social customs which render Negroes continually in need of compassion and charity.[6]

A different tone in the preaching of the church is called for. "The characteristic urban form of religious leadership is prophetic," says J. V. Langmead Casserley. The gentle pastor for the country, the prophet for the city.[7] Peter Berger agrees:

> If we can imagine agape (Christian love) as a principle underlying empirical communities, we will have to imagine these communities as radically different from the normal social forms, not only in modern but in any society. We could even formulate this insight more sharply. Agape as a principle is destructive of community as empirically available....[8]

The Problem of Class Churches

Closely related to the problem of developing a capacity to minister in a metropolitan culture is the problem of "class churches."

> Association by likeness rules in the residential neighborhood and informs the life of the congregation; thus, the congregational fellowship ceases to be the reconciling encounter of differences and becomes a crystallization of estrangement.[9]

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[5]Kloetzli, pp. viii-ix.

[6]Haselden, p. 50.

[7]"The Children of God in the City of Man," Cities and Churches. (Robert Lee, ed.), p. 64.

[8]"Community in Modern Urban Society," Cities and Churches. (Robert Lee, ed.), p. 71.

[9]Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches, p. 90.

Aside from the fact that inclusiveness is intrinsic to any adequate conception of the nature of the Christian church, the emergence of class churches is a symptom and and aggravation of one of the sorest pathologies of our time. A loss of personal identity inevitably follows upon a failure of dialogue with those to whom our lives are bound. A white man insulated against contact with Negroes, a white-collar worker or business man insulated from personal relationships with laboring men, can no more know who he is than a child whose relationship to his parents is severed.

The church's problem concerning race relations is thus compounded. "That rare Negro who is accepted as an equal in the white Protestant church," write Haselden, "must first qualify socially or professionally. He escapes the stigma of race only by achieving the standard of class...."[10] Carlyle Marney expressed the fear that when the church of which he is pastor does become desegregated, it would be only by Negroes "of our class."[11]

Disunity and Denominationalism

Other challenges have already revealed to the church that its tragic fragmentation is a luxury that it can ill afford in the face of its avowed mission. The crisis in human relations in the United States has underscored the urgency of the ecumenical movement. Like the existence of class churches, the fragmentation of religious organization, especially among Protestants, but also among Jews and

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[10]Haselden, pp. 192-193

[11]Watters, p. 62.

Roman Catholics, casts grave doubt over the integrity of the church's offer of wholeness and personal integration through the worship of the one God.

Practically, with regard to race relations, this means that white Baptists cannot be effectively challenged to relate rightly to Negroes (or anyone else) because it is too easy for them to become Methodists, and vice versa. It's the restaurateur's refrain: "I would, but the others might not."

> In a polytheistic culture, the likelihood of the self becoming focused in decisions, either ethically or in worship, would be less certain than in a monotheistic faith. The individual when frustrated in his desires by one god, it seems, would tend to 'shop' the other gods for his own caprice... . Even within a nominally monotheistic culture, such as our own, the vast pluralism of our value systems, neatly compartmentalized from each other, indicates how shallowly our belief in God roots. To quote Niebuhr...'Our inner conflicts seem due to the fact that we have many sources of value, and that these cannot all be served.'[12]

Changed emphasis in theology, including prophetic voice and

The Tradition of Pietism

Protestantism, molded in America in the days of the old frontier, is handicapped by a hang-over from pietistic revivalism. Methodist circuit-riders and Baptist revivalists are not solely to blame for this. To some extent, at least, it is the result of over-emphasis on certain features of the creeds and confessions of older Reformed churches.

Joseph Sittler, among others, presses home the point that the traditional understanding of the predicament of man, as set

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[12] Wayne Oates, Christ and Selfhood. New York: Association Press, 1961, pp. 183-184.

forth in these standards, is not adequate for the present time. It is not that the gospel offered solely in terms of individual redemption is wrong. But if "the everyday stuff of which his misery as a social, economic and political creature is compounded" is not also vitally touched, the judgment is bitter and the hope only eschatological. Man is indeed a sinner, but it is not facing the realities of our time to elaborate the news of grace "Only on the sin-guilt axis." [13]

"Religion is now relegated to the sphere of personal emotional adjustment," writes Gibson Winter. "The metropolis perishes from the void in its public sphere; yet the pastors who sense this crisis are daily pressed more deeply into a private sphere of life, and end up tending the machinery of the organization and bandaging the bloodied heads." [14]

The tradition of pietism is represented in the Billy Graham approach to evangelism. On April 7, 1964, Graham opined that race problems "are not going to be solved by demonstrations in the street and not even by the civil rights bill." That may very well be true. But he added that the key to a solution was "great, mass religious gatherings on an interracial basis. It is at the foot of the cross of Jesus Christ where this problem will be solved."[15]

Yet it is in the revivalistic, pietistic Bible-belt that racial strife is greatest.

Winter deplores this approach. The pietism which, in the days

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[13]"Urban Fact and the Human Situation," in Challenge and Response in the City (Walter Kloetzli, ed., Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Press, 1962),p. 18, f.

[14]Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches, pp. 195-196.

[15]The Washington Post, April 8, 1964.

of the Methodist revival on the American frontier, represented vital concern for the masses now serves to divert energies from such concern, because the form of society has changed. The sort of piety needed will come as a result of mission, not as a cause of it, says Winter. "The Christian style of life is not the means to engagement in the world but the consequence of a ministry in the world." [16]

It is surely no accident that where this pietistic tradition is strongest the church harbours the most partisans of the economic, social, and political radical-right. The church, no less than society, as well needs protection from isolating and self-sufficient individualism as from enslaving collectivism. As Gustaf Aulen, the noted biblical theologian has pointed out:

> The watchword of individualism is liberty. And certainly liberty has a very precious value. But an individualism, endeavoring with every conceivable means to vindicate self-interest, is destructive to the life of Society, whether it is an individualism of the particular individual or a class individualism. Not every freedom is a glorious freedom, in any case not the liberty that lets greediness or power dominate over willingness to serve, and thus reveals in its actions the demon of power. [17]

The Breakdown of Church Discipline

(See p. 14 - special problem for Protestants.)

The phenomenon of extreme individualism in an institution supposedly composed of those who have made a self-renouncing commitment to purposes and ends infinitely more important than their own personal destiny suggests another problem of the church: the almost-total breakdown of discipline. Littell

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[16] Winter, The New Creation as Metropolis, p. 25.

[17] Gustaf Aulen, Church, Law and Society. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948, p. 86.

suggests that if a "church" practices racial discrimination it simply is not the Church at all. He argues that the churches could not have had a race problem, had it not been for an almost complete forfeit of systems of internal discipline. This was the fearful price that Protestantism paid for its amazing numerical growth in America during the past century.[18]

The atmosphere of easy righteousness in American religion, which someone has described as a "smug vulgarity that rises like a mist from the swamp of blessed assurance,"[19] is clearly a departure from the intent and teaching of every Protestant Father.

> The loss of the vision that made the Reformation conceivable and, within limits, successful, has resulted in a vast deterioration of the spiritual life of our tradition. It was one thing for a Reformation saint to claim knowledge of a better way of perfection than was provided in Benedict's Rule; it is a very different thing to despise the discipline of the cloister when the loftiest alternative you can propose is a life of well-organized humanitarian decency punctuated by a hebdomadal pilgrimage by automobile to an hour on your haunches with God.[20]

The church has simply failed to protect the integrity of its existence by not insisting that the right to participate in it inner life be taken seriously. The church should be a fellowship to which it members repair to find spiritual nurture, strength, wisdom, and courage for renewed service in "the world." But "the world" has infiltrated the church -- indeed, it frequently has a majority on the governing board! One aspect of the church's

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[18]Littell, op. cit., ppp 36-39, passim.

[19]William Muehl, in an address at the opening session of Yale Divinity School, 1959.

[20]Geddes Macgregor, The Coming Reformation. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960, pp. 45-46.

obligation to its members in the world, says Daniel Jenkins,

> ...is that the Church itself, in order to make its own vital and distinctive function clearly defined and to resist the false secularization which besets it as it does all other organizations, will be careful to specify its own institutional limits and the terms of membership within it. A church which sharply distinguishes membership within it from membership of other institutions of society is likely to be more effective than one where that distinction is not clearly made.[21]

Conclusion?

The Result: Cultural Captivity

The result of this convoluted confusion of factors is a church that is captive to its culture. When one considers the "organization church," introverted, preoccupied with its rituals and internal concerns, one ceases to wonder at its default of leadership.

> The due performance of the appropriate rituals, or the establishment and maintenance of a flourishing institution with the conventional round of activities which come to be expected of churches, quickly absorbs all the energies of religious life. And they no less quickly gather around themselves elaborate vested interests which are reinforced by the amazingly powerful drive of religious institutions towards conservative defensivenss once their vitality begins to diminish.[22]

Despite its claim to a unique revelation of the nature and destiny of man, the church is powerless to maintain any creative tension against its environment. For the values of the culture are not seen by the majority of church people as alien to those of the church. The church has nothing distinctive to offer.

If we think that the church as we know it is the church as it always has been and always will be, then it is hopeless.

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[21]Daniel Jenkins, Beyond Religion, London:SCM Press, 1962, p. 90.

[22]Ibid., p. 44.

And that is, indeed, the way most people inside the church, as well as outsiders, tend to think of it. Discussion tends to be concerned not with what the church ought to be, but with the limits within which it can act, being what it is. One sometimes catches a hint of an air of relief when the churchman asks: "What can the church be expected to do?"

Surely, the answer to that question is: As it is, -- practically nothing! If the church is ever to be relevant before the racial crisis, the church itself must change.

At a meeting of able clergymen, for the purpose of discussing evangelism, talk gravitated again and again to what was apparently their deepest concern -- the problem of converting those who had already become members of their churches. One quoted I Peter 4:17: "For the time has come for judgment to begin with the household of God...."

The word "crisis" comes from a Greek word meaning "judgment." Could it be that the hard fact of a crisis in race relations, in a nation in which the large majority of citizens are members of some church, will be the anvil against which the hammer of God can work to reshape and renew the church?

> No institution on earth can survive such a widespread loss of its own ideals of perfection. If it is a purely human institution, it will decay and die. If it is -- as we believe the Church to be -- the very handiwork of the living God, it may indeed decay through human sin; but He who created it will revive it, and for us this is only another way of saying that the next Reformation is coming. [23]

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[23] Geddes Macgregor, The Coming Reformation. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960, p. 46.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RENEWAL?

There are strong indications that something very like a new Reformation is stirring in the church. The race relations crisis is one of several things that have added to its momentum in America. There is evidence of shame, of a sense of judgment. There is evidence of genuine repentance. To those closely related to the church, significant ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ developments in recent years -- in biblical studies, in doctrinal theology, in the philosophy and techniques of pastoral leadership, and all across the broad front of social consern -- have made this an exciting time to be a churchman.

The winds of change, fanned from the seminaries by the the church's scholars, have blown through the church press, the courts and agencies, and have begun to be felt in the congregations. (Perhaps the "wind" figure is misleading: local church life normally lags ~~xxxx~~ 15 or 20 years behind the thought issuing from the seminaries.)

The Church "Under Conviction"?

Twelve years ago an eminent biblical scholar was writing like this:

> It is certain that by its limited righteousness this church will be judged. To pray, 'Thy kingdom come,' is to pray precisely that the rule of God triump everywhere. It is a prayer that simply cannot be prayed while we declare that there are areas of life where the will of Christ will not rule, but our ancient prejudice. The Church is to exhibit the righteousness of Christ not merely in private morality but in all matters of human relations. The church which 'sticks to the gospel' and utters no word of judgment or of exhortation to society's sin, is no prophetic church and, what is worse, is preaching an incomplete

gospel . The Kingdom of God is supreme over the earthly order and by its righteousness pronounces judgment and summons to penitence. The Church is the people of that Kingdom and must be its earthly voice. She will witness to her faith in the God whose Kingdom comes by going out to meet that God in obedience.

In any case, God help the church that so blends into society that there is no longer any difference! Such a church will produce no quality of behavior other than that which society in general produces. It will take on the prejudices of society, and even demand that its gospel support those prejudices. It will make itself a tool of society whose main business it is to protect and to dignify with divine support the best interests of its constituents. And that is stark tragedy! The end of it is a poverty-stricken church which utters no Word, states no demands, summons to no destiny -- but has a host of activities you would enjoy. And such a church is not the peculiar people of God's Kingdom: it has failed to be the Church and needlessly cumbers the ground. [1]

Such passionate thought soon is reflected in the national church press.

For example, the following is from the Christian Century, October 10, 1962:

...the dilemma turns into an agony in the hearts of Christians who have a conscience about the way the white church treats the Negro. They know that God has commanded us to love one another. They know that this command includes the Negro. They know that fulfillment of this command brings the Negro into the white church and vice versa. They know that ~~they are disobedient~~ you cannot love a person innately inferior. They know that they are disobedient, and they know that they stand guilty before God. It will be a tragic day for the Christian church if anything other than repentant obedience to the will of Jesus Christ takes away that agony.

And even in the church press of Mississippi:

The current crisis may well mark the end of our church as a vital force in our state. She faces devastating sins and ruthless foes, and (the) whole social application of her Gospel is challenged.

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[1] John Bright, The Kingdom of God. Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1953, pp. 262-263.

> Though we know that this happened in Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, we think such cannot happen to us; but it is happening and the extremists are not wholly to blame. If the church had not lost her regnerative, vital force of righteousness; if she had not lost her soul, unholy alliances would not be able to divide her members, tear down her ideals and make her a quasi-club of pseudo-saints.[2]

see p. 19

The sense of impending judgment was in the atmosphere of the Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago in January, 1963. It was voiced by the various speakers -- Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish leaders. Mathew Ahmann, conference leader, reported "a note of frustration and almost desperation," but also a note of determination.

Will D. Campbell told the conference:

> ...perhaps we are already irrelevant...maybe it is too late for us to be here at all. Perhaps God has already moved out of our houses erected in His name and...such inner life as we may now know is but the growth of a man's beard after he has been placed in the casket....if God be God He can move in whatever circles He chooses.
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> .....
>
> I would like to suggest that instead of seeking a solution to the race problem through the inner life of church and synagogue it would be more realistic to seek a true inner life for church and synagogue <u>through</u> the race problem. For here is an issue that is virtually absolute. Unlike any other social problem religion has ever had to come to grips with, here is one on which there is no room for argument.[3]

Rabbi Abraham Heschel agreed that "<u>the Negro problem is God's gift to America</u>, the test of our integrity, a magnificent spiritual opportunity."[4]

Franklin Littell also agreed. Where salvation is involved -- and it is on this issue -- the Church speaks and acts with in-

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[2]An editorial in <u>The Mississippi Methodist Advocate</u>, as quoted in the New York <u>Times</u>, Jan. 5, 1964.

[3]Ahmann (ed.), <u>Race: Challenge to Religion</u>, pp. 14, 16.

[4]Ibid., p. 68.

tegrity or else ceases to be the Church at all. The race situation has put this question to institutional religion: Are you, or will you be, the Church? In the religious arena, as in the political, "race is not the basic issue: it is only the moment of truth which exposes our nakedness." [5]

The Fruits of Repentance?

Perhaps that Conference on Religion and Race, as nearly as any other event, marks the point at which the stirring conscience of the church broke to the surface. 1963 and 1964 have been years in which the fruits of genuine ecclesiastical repentance have been abundant. Some definite action on nearly all of the Conference's recommendations has been forthcoming.

Despite threats of loss of their "tax-exempt" status from Southern politicians, despite warnings of reduced financial support from the South, and despite accusations of inviting violence, the National Council of Churches instituted its "Mississippi Project." Two-week orientation schools were set up to provide preparation for students working with civil rights organizations in Mississippi and other parts of the South. These courses included literacy-teaching skills, voter registration practices, nonviolent techniques, and instruction on the niceties of living in the Southern environment. This was part of a program expected to last for a decade or more and to cost several million dollars.

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church requested in January, 1964, that members be given a chance to contri-

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[5] Ibid., pp. 38-40.

butex financially to church programs "devised to extend civil rights, as well as to give financial support to persons caught in situations of racial crisis." A goal of $150,000 was set for medical care, vocational and legal help, and other forms of aid. Bishop Lichtenberger urged support.

Several other denominations provided for similar emergency assistance, where they had not previously done so. Although the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) turned down an overture urging it to do so, a group of ministers and laymen of that denomination had already formed "The Fellowship of Concern," each paying $25 membership dues for the purpose of aiding ministers forced out of their churches because of race relations stands.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (the largest Presbyterian denomination in the country) called for withdrawal of denominational investments in companies practicing racial discrimination. They also endorsed civil disobedience of unjust laws, commended Dr. Eugene Carson Blake (their Stated Clerk) for his participation in anti-segregation demonstrations, and elected a Negro, the Rev. Dr. Edler G. Hawkins, as their Moderator for the first time in history.

The 1964 General Conference of the Methodist Church made significant changes in the Methodist Discipline affecting race relations. The following statement was added: "The Methodist Church is a part of the Church Universal. Therefore, all persons, without regard to race, color, national origin, or economic condition, shall be eligible to attend its worship services, to participate

in its programs, and to be admitted into its membership anywhere in the connection." The following question was added to be asked candidates for the Methodist ministry: "Are you willing to relate yourself in ministry to all persons without regard to race, color, or national origin, including receiving them into the membership and fellowship of the church?"

Other provisions required operation of church properties in conformity with local laws, "providing that the services of worship of every local Methodist Church shall be open to all persons without regard to race...."

Somewhat weaker additions were made concerning church camps, hospitals and homes, and the appointment of pastors. It was required only that standards of church camps shall "contain a recommendation" that camps be open to all races. Connectional units were merely "urged" to make their hospitals and homes open to all . Bishops "shall seek the cooperation of cabinets and congregations in the appointment of pastors without regard to race or color."

A significant "lever" in the new rules was one ordering the Council on World Service and Finance to report to the Council of Bishops in 1966 and to the General Conference in 1968 on the racial policies of all institutions and agencies receiving financial support from the council.

These are only examples. Many denominations were already at work with concrete programs. At any rate, by 1964 at least 41 church or church-related agencies had offices in the Southeast, staffing fulltime workers with untold volunteer aid, working on race relations. The Society of Friends, the Anti-Defamation League,

of B'nai B'rith, the Unitarian Service Committee, and the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity are among many such which have long and honorable records in the field.

The 1964 record of two denominational conventions, particularly, is ambiguous. Both work mostly in the South. But a close observer of the proceedings could see, even in these, the operation of the forces of change.

At the 1964 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern), a proposal was rejected which would have established an emergency committee on religion and race, one of the purposes of which would have been to aid ministers in distress over the race issue. Because the Assembly had already contracted to meet in the Second Presbyterian Church of Memphis in 1965, the proposal of a policy of refusal to meet in any segregated host church was defeated. But the Assembly did say that all host churches must be integrated by 1967. Also, the Assembly, which has made some anti-segregation pronouncement at every meeting since 1954, ordered Negro Presbyteries dissolved and Negro churches made parts of white presbyteries. (Less than one percent of the members of the denomination are Negroes.

But even for this conservative denomination the handwriting was upon the wall. Dr. Carl R. Pritchett, a leader of the liberal forces declared, "I am weary of forbearing. In the name of God, I protest our silence, our inactivity, our obtuseness, our refusal to share the burden of guilt. I speak for those of us who would rather starve than yield our integrity. I speak for those of us who want to be able to look our congregations in the eye on

Judgment Day. I speak for those of us who want to be able to stand in the pulpit and be blunt." On the Sunday after the Assembly he flew, at his own expense, to Memphis where he attempted--in vain--to enter Second Presbyterian Church with an integrated group.

A Negro layman from Washington, D. C., said he felt "betrayed" by the Assembly's actions. "They are asking us not to be Presbyterians until 1967," he said.

But the Reverend Andrew Bullard, pastor of three white rural churches near Haynesville, Alabama, also felt betrayed. He slumped against a wall and stared at the floor after one of the Assembly's pro-integration actions. "They just don't seem to care about us any more," he said.

Of the major denominations, the Southern Baptists are the least amenable to change on the race issue. At their 1964 convention in Atlantic City all pro-integration proposals were rejected. These included a pledge to "support the laws designed to guarantee the legal rights of Negroes" and a proposed commendation of the very few integrated congregations in the denomination. For the latter was substituted a resolution, similar to the conservative ones passed since 1948, calling for prayer and work for a "peaceful Christian solution" to racial problems. A report which was merely "received as information" read, in part, "Our thunderous silence in the face of oppressive injustice for American Negroes has amounted to a serious complicity in the

problem. We have been part of a culture that crippled the Negro and then blamed him for limping."

The Southern Baptists noted a decline of 7 percent in the number of ~~members received from the~~ baptisms and a decline of 3.6 percent in the number of persons received from other churches. Some leaders attributed this to a loss of zeal in "personal witnessing." But others felt that the denomination's conservative theology and anti-integration stand had alienated many laymen, especially the young people. They felt that these views limited the Southern Baptists to a tightening circle of prospects.

So, even here, the winds of change are rising.

Without doubt, however, the best evidence of the racial crisis' impact on the church is the story of the church's influence on the successful passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

A report in the Washington Post, March 18, 1964, said, "The first wave of religious leaders advocating strong civil rights legislations swept through Capitol Hill yesterday." Reference was to more than 100 ministers and laymen of the United Church of Christ who visited their senators to urge support of the Civil Rights Bill. "Up until yesterday," the report added, "the Senate's attention has been directed more at lobbying against rather (than) for a Civil Rights Bill."

In April, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish theological students manned a continuous prayer vigil at the Lincoln Memorial in support of the civil rights bill. It was called the "Theological Students' Vigil for Civil Rights." It was maintained until the bill passed in the Senate.

Similar vigils were maintained in other parts of the nation. At Germantown, Pennsylvania, for instance, 200 members of six Episcopal churches began on March 31, at St. Luke's Church, a round-the-clock cycle of continuous prayer. Methodists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers -- of both races -- joined them. It too was continued until the bill passed.

The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice helped to mount the campaign. For instance, on May 27 a summary of the proposed amendments was sent out with a covering letter urging organization of telephone and letter-writing committees and attempts to secure editorials in diocesan newspapers in support of the bill.

On April 28 the National Interreligious Convocation overflowed the 3,800 seat McDonough Memorial Gymnasium at Georgetown University with 4,000 clergymen and laymen for a "witness to racial justice" gathering. The convocation was sponsored jointly by the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America. They heard Dr. Eugene Carson Blake declare, "We will win this contest. New federal legislation must and will be enacted, and the time is now." An advance report about plans for this convocation, printed in the New York Times on April 10, had said,

> Church historians of three faiths said that such a gathering, involving hundreds and perhaps thousands of churchmen of virtually all denominations, would constitute 'the first time in the history of Christendom that the church has spoken with one voice, if at all, on an issue of such contemporary social and political concern.'

Plans for the April 28 meeting and for simultaneous church-sponsored gatherings elsewhere in the country in support of the civil rights bill have been viewed with urgent interest by Administration leaders in and out of the Senate. This is because churchmen have demonstrated unexpected strength as a pressure group for passage of the legislation.

Several representatives have acknowledged privately that they would not have voted for passage of the civil rights bill in the House if they had not recognized the growing unity of church leaders of all faiths on the issue.

In a copyrighted "inside report" published on March 20, newsmen Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported, after examining "hundreds of letters in the offices of two Senators," that "the church...may make the difference" in the political struggle over civil rights. "Oldtimers on Capitol Hill never have seen anything like the political pressure now being exerted on Senators and Congressmen by Protestant pastors, Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis. Not since Prohibition has the church attempted to influence political action in Congress as it is now doing on behalf of President Johnson's civil rights bill." The constant appeals from churchmen and religious groups were having the effect of counteracting the all-out campaign against the bill that was mounted by far-right groups. "The campaign by the churches could, indeed, make the vital difference in what the Senate finally does."

Again, the one sour note came from the Southern Baptists.

On Good Friday President Johnson told a group of ~~Southern~~ Baptist clergymen, "No group of Christians has a greater responsibility in civil rights than Southern Baptists." He added that

the civil rights cause "demands prophets in our time, men of compassion and truth, unafraid of the consequences of fulfilling their faith."

Reaction to the President's appeal was mixed -- slightly.

"One hates to think the President should have to remind a denominational religious group what their responsibility is," said one leader, "but perhaps it was needed."

Another minister commented: "I don't care to get into a political situation but we have been and shall continue to work together with our neighbors of every race and every faith."

Another: "There will be many who go with him on his appeal and many who do not...."

Another, from Alabama: "Our President is obviously trying to coerce the people in the nation into backing his move to enlarge federal power to the point where our freedom to choose our associates and neighbors will be placed in the hands of the bureaucrats....We cannot in good conscience endorse this bill. We urge the 750,000 Baptists in Alabama to study its inherent dangers and decide for themselves."

Another Alabama Baptist minister said, "I am unalterably opposed to the civil rights bill in its form now....it is not a good bill for either race. This is an hour of political hysteria."

And another: "I think the President was out of order."

A former president of the Southern Baptist Convention said, "It seems strange that the President would ask ministers to use their high office for political purposes...to support him in some-

thing that is not as American as you might think.#

But a denominational executive commented, "As far as the race problem is concerned, I would agree with the participant in our meeting who said, 'It's time for Southern Baptists to join the human race.'"

Leaders of the interfaith lobby for the Civil Rights Act expressed surprise, after its passage, at "our political muscle." At a thanksgiving service marking the end of their "vigil," Robert W. Spike, head of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, said, "But the real truth is, that we who are churchmen and members of synagogues must feel a continual shame that we were so belated in asserting with vigor what we knew to be true in our hearts -- that discrimination because of color is not only un-American, it is a sin against the very God we profess to worship."

SOME ISSUES BEFORE THE CHURCH

In a conversation with the present writer, a minister long active in the struggle of organized religion with the race problem talked about the issues with which the present crisis had confronted the church. He virtually parsed the ~~problem~~ issues, making the following points:

(1) Too many religious leaders attempt to work at the race problem on a purely humanistic basis, assuming that people "are basically good" and, if informed about the situation, will move for justice. This is to underestimate the sinfulness of man.

(2) You only get justice when you get to "the people who hold the notes." It is foolish to think that the Christian community has any power to influence social decisions. Church people are beggars before the power structure, just like everyone else. Therefore, Christians must strive for justice by means of "pressure tactics" -- through frankly coercive measures. ~~("I myself operate with a sort of split personality.")~~ At the same time, we must realize that this is to operate on the basis of "a pagan ethic." It has nothing to do with Christianity. ("I myself operate with a sort of split personality.")

(3) To work on this basis can bring about <u>desegregation</u> and, for that reason, we must work on this basis. But it cannot bring about <u>integration</u>. It does not really improve the situation. "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees you shall not enter the kingdom of God."

(4) Unless a segregated congregation confesses that it is a field for mission -- not an agent of mission -- and therefore repents and therefore integrates, a minister must water down his proclamation to stay there.

(5) All this is to say that while justice in race relations is a valid concern of Christians, it is not their ultimate concern. The ultimate task of the church is still to preach the gospel. A right relationship to God is still the great and final need, and its attainment is not in human power. Only God can "integrate" mankind.

The tone of these remarks imply a point of view with which it is not necessary, of course, to agree. The point is that this minister raised some questions before the church of which both those inside the church and those outside should be aware.

The Problem of Communication

Churchmen, like everyone else, are giving more and more attention to the problem of communication. The inability of church leaders to communicate effectively on the race issue has served to make the problem more pressing. It is possible that radical changes are indicated -- in the form of local church structure, in the traditional forms of preaching, and in the traditional symbols.

Pronouncements are ineffective.

The record of the last ten years should make it clear that the dicta of church courts or heirarchies do not, by themselves obtain results. We have seen that the exertion of pressure,

such as financial strictures, is usually required to bring about change, even within the church. A denomination's top executive summarized the situation very well when he commented drily, "It should be evident by now that offical stands by the governing bodies of the church are singularly ineffective."

See quote from Sen. Russell

Is traditional preaching also ineffective? In 1963 Dr. W. B. Selah, pastor of the Galloway Memorial Methodist Church of Jackson, Mississippi, resigned after the church board turned away Negroes despite his recommendation that they be admitted. So did his assistant. He was succeeded by Dr. W. J. Cunningham, whose sermons are reportedly little comfort to segregationists. He emphasizes brotherhood and praises such organizations as the United Nations. One member of the church made this significant comment: "It's not hard to figure out what he's driving at. But this is no indication of any changes in the church policies any time soon." [1]

One is reminded of the story, current in church circles, of the minister who, when taken to task by a layman for "harping" on the race question, replied that he couldn't recall mentioning it within the last month. "Oh, you haven't said anything about the Negroes directly," replied his accuser. "But last Sunday you said, 'God is no respecter of persons,' and the Sunday before you said, 'We are commanded to love our neighbor as ourselves.' And we knew what you meant!"

The same church executive quoted above on the ineffectiveness of pronouncements went on to say, "In our time public address

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[1] The New York Times, Jan. 5, 1964.

is usually ineffective as a means of communicating the Gospel. The most effective communication of the Gospel is that which comes about through the pastoral relation. Preachers incorrectly assume a theologically apperceptive mass and proceed to preach the application of the Gospel to the problem of race relations. This is futile."

Authorities on preaching like H. H. Farmer [2] and David H. C. Read [3] seem to agree. Preaching "is not merely telling me somesomething." It is God's probing, challenging, calling for decision, in the midst of personal relationships. The preacher, his sermon, and his hearers are embedded in the larger system of personal relationships -- that is, of history -- "and what the preaching effects largely depends upon it." [4] While intellectual content, or "information about God," is implied at all stages, it is always subsidiary and contingent. [5]

This suggests that effective preaching will take the form of "theological reflection," probably in some dialogical form, upon present events in which the community of believers (and potential believers) are vitally involved. Too much "preaching" is a mere recitation of "saving events," which tends to convey the notion that the action of God is all in the past tense. Moreover, it usually takes place before a "confessional assembly," which, as Gibson Winter has observed, "is simply an impoverished setting for preaching."

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[2] The Servant of the Word. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942.

[3] The Communication of the Gospel. London: SCM Press, 1952

[4] Farmer, pp. 93-95, passim. [5] Read, p. 66.

Rollo May, the psychotherapist, observes that insight only follows commitment, not the reverse. One of the dangers of therapy, he says, is that the therapy itself will so reduce the patient's anxiety (a potentially creative tension) that he is never required to decide between authentic and inauthentic existence.[6] The same could be said of most current preaching. The Barthians say it should produce a crisis. It more frequently does the opposite, leaving the hearers to be asphixiated by the fumes that "arise like a mist from the swamp of blessed assurance."

Our point is only that the relative ineffectiveness of the church on the race issue has shown that the provision of insight has not resulted in commitment. And our purpose is simply to raise the question whether the vast amounts of time and energy that the army of preachers pour into sermonizing (if they are conscientious!) are not largely wasted. In the words of John Killinger:

> It may be that preaching must humble itself, must throw itself down from its tower of classical form, and once more give its message precedence over form, or else, like classical philosophy, remain scholastic and insular and professional.[7]

The Dilemma of the White Minister (Take a position.)

"The southern white minister is the most tragic figure in America today," said a conference speaker a few years ago. "Tragic, that is, in the classic -- the Shakespearean -- sense."

The most tragic figures among them are often the most able and sensitive ministers. There is no problem, of course, for those

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[6]Rollo May, Existence. New York: Basic Books, 1958, p. 89.

[7]John Killenger, "Existential Preaching," The Princeton Seminary Bulletin, Vol LV, No. 3 (Apr., 1962), p. 50. (Italics his.)

whom Ralph McGill described as "Bible floggers" and Ku Klux chaplains. Nor are the tragic figures, really, those who clearly perceive what all high religion calls for in race relations, speak out courageously, and find another pulpit or another vehicle for their vocation. The tragic figures are those (difficult to distinguish from the rationalizers, by the way) who have not only a sense of justice toward the oppressed but also a sense of mercy toward the sinners who do the oppressing, -- those who have the capacity to love even men who sin with a high hand. They know that they are most in need of the love and mercy of God who think God is a segregationist. As Will Campbell says, the Christian will, of course, leap to the aid of the oppressed. But he knows that this one's suffering does not separate him from God, while the sin of the oppressing majority does separate them from God. The church must maintain fully as much concern for the spiritual peril of the dispossessors as for the suffering of the dispossessed.

A reporter watched white men pummel three Negroes with folding chairs at a rally where all the hallowed words of the American experiment in democracy were invoked on behalf of last-ditch segregation. Afterwards he wrote, "In God's name, how can they be reached?" It is this question that produces "the agony of the southern minister." *How can men be reached when they simply have not been and will not be impressed by the suffering of Negroes?*

One church leader put it this way: "The white southern minister is caught in the middle. He is charged with the responsibility of communicating the gospel itself to his people, who have never really heard it. This he can do only by the slow process of establishing a pastoral relationship, a relationship of confidence and trust.

Yet, at the same time, he is charged with the responsibility of seeking the application of the gospel relative to the Negro minority, -- and this immediately. In such a situation he must come to know the meaning of the Cross, for all on both sides will call him something less than blessed."

A case in point is that of the Reverend Robert Collie of Kentwood, Louisiana. His article in the New York Times Magazine (May 24, 1964) was a reply to an article by George McMillan, "Silent White Ministers of the South," in the same publication (April 5, 1964), charging southern white ministers generally with moral cowardice. Unfortunately, the Reverend Collie muddied the waters somewhat, from most Negroes' point of view, by lamenting the passing of the days when paternalistic southern whites attended Negro graduation exercises and addressed elderly Negroes as "Uncle." Still, his genuine love for his parishioners, as well as his sense of their wrong-doing, is apparent. In reply to criticism of his article, he wrote(June 14, 1964):

> A minister can speak out, but he needs to know why and how. I act on the advice John Wesley's father gave him: 'Never carry more sail than you have to, but bear a steady course.' I press against segregation up to the degree where my leadership would be repudiated.

Is such a minister only and always the cowardly, silent, passive conservative described by the businessman and lay churchman quoted in the McMillan article?

> Give him a couple of years to get the highfalutin seminary ideas out of his head, let him get his family started, give him a decent salary and a nice parsonage, and a membership in the local country club, and he's got a good living and knows it. And when it comes to dealing with the colored folks, he's as likely to be conservative as any of us.

There are ministers in the South like Dr. Carlyle Marney, author of Structures of Prejudice. His church is not desegregated. Nevertheless he leaves no doubt in anyone's mind that he believes it should be. He "carries his resignation around in his pocket." And -- as long as there is no demand for that well-worn document -- he continues his mission to the sinners in his congregation. Dr. Marney has the advantage of a formidable physical presence and a charismatic demeanor. (One would as soon argue with Elijah or Peter!) There may not be many such in the South. But there are some. The point is: it is possible for a white minister who is perfectly aware of what justice requires to stay on in a segregated church because he knows it is a mission field and sees some hope that the people will repent.

Three kinds of people need to be aware of the white ministers' dilemma. First, the southern white minister himself needs to look to his own integrity in a matter in which comfort-loving cowardice and courage may seem about the same -- outwardly. Second, human rights workers should, perhaps, avoid wholesale condemnation. Third, denominational leaders should take further steps to protect ministers who suffer, along with their families, from reaction to forthright stands for human dignity. (Moves in this direction are among the more encouraging developments of the past year.)

To Be or To Do? (Take position)

Another issue with which the church is immediately confronted by the race relations crisis, and which the church has not yet

resolved, has to do with strategy. Should the church aim to bear its human relations witness by what it does in society or by what it is (or will be, when purified) in terms of the brotherhood manifested within its fellowship?

In general, Campbell seems to think it much more important that the church manifest the fruit of its gospel internally than that it work actively for justice and brotherhood externally.

> Still the question comes, what can we do? Although I insist that a more appropriate question is, 'What can we Be?' the question deserves treatment. But any treatment I give the question presupposes true renewal of church and synagogue in their inner life. Until we are able [to demonstrate what it means to be the household of God] there is nothing we can do, for we are too much a part of the culture in which we live.
>
> And I would say further that generally someone who has to ask doesn't really want to know. Often what we really mean is, 'What can we do to improve race relations and still maintain the strength and rate of growth of the institution?' The answer to that question is, 'Nothing!' ...even if we ask the question in all sincerity with a well-defined and established inner life we must understand that the secular agencies and government are better prepared to do most of it than we are. We must understand that our actions must be based, not on what we may be able to accomplish, but on the basis of what we are, and on the basis of our very nature.[8]

"It is dishonest and cowardly," Campbell writes elsewhere, "to assume that if we can make culture into what the church wishes it to be but isn't, the church can then be what it ought to be."[9]

Others are not so sure. There are barriers to integration within the church which cannot be surmounted unless something is done about conditions in the culture. Haselden, for example, lists three conditions upon which racial integration of the churches is contingent: (1) The solution of the problem of the existence of

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[8]Will D. Campbell, "The Inner Life of Church and Synagogue in Race Relations," Race: Challenge to Religion (Mathew Ahmann, ed. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1963), pp. 20-21.

[9]Campbell, Race and the Renewal of the Church, p. 85.

See additional cards

"Negro churches" depends to some extent upon the solution of the denominational fragmentation of Protestantism generally. (2) The need for separate Negro churches as the voice and instrument of the struggle for racial justice must be eliminated either by the achievement of full justice, by the whole church's taking up the fight of the minority group, or by waiting until this function of the Negro churches is displaced by "secular" organizations. (3) Those social and cultural barriers which make Negroes cherish "their own" churches for social reasons must be removed. The second point especially, but also the third, indicates that the church may not be able to save its own life without losing it in service beyond itself. [10]

Rabbi Morris Adler notes the dilemma of organized religion -- that it must become involved to be effective, yet, since compromise and prudence are inherent in political life, religion may cease to be religion if it becomes involved. Yet he favors involvement. The alternative, he says, is "the growth of civic non-denominational, non-traditional religion which must inevitably culminate in a national idolatry." [11]

The present writer would make three points -- for whatever they are worth:

First, the question may be moot. Organized religion seems to have launched upon a program of action in society during the past two years.

Second, it is not a question of either-or, but a matter of both-and. Niebuhr's classic dictum is, by now, axiomatic: "The Church exists

[10] Haselden, 214-216.

[11] "Relation of Church and Synagogue to Other Community Forces," in Race: Challenge to Religion (Matthew Ahmann, ed.), pp. 107-109.

by mission as fire exists by burning." The church is what it does. It is a group of people who, believing that God has rescued them, do and stand for those things which praise and bespeak a rescuing God. The best discipline now available to the church, by which it may be purified of its undisciplined elements, is engagement in the kinds of causes from which the dross will turn away.

Third, while no one social issue comprehends the total, or ultimate, mission of the church, the church's eternal Word must again and again be reincarnated in the flesh of temporal life. The message that God is bent on rescue has to be made visible where the peril is felt and seen.

The Theological Task. (I think this matter important, but am not happy with this treatment. Probably should be omitted. —ES)

The race relations crisis is among those events which have pressed upon organized religion an urgent theological task. The shrinking of the globe, industrialization, urbanization, religious and ethnic pluralism, the march of science -- all have combined to impose upon the church in the twentieth century a theological assignment of unprecedented magnitude and importance. The theological labors of recent years have been very fruitful, and the debate is pregnant with even greater possibilities. But the race problem, like the problems of the Ecumenical Movement and "missionary policy," shows that the job is not yet done.

Beginning in the 19th century, and reaching its fullest-flowering in the 1920s, Liberalism held the center of the stage in reaction to the old orthodoxy. A sort of theological Darwinism, Liberalism preached "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" and

the infinite possibilites of the human spirit.

World War I caused some doubts about the innate goodness of mankind. And with the rise of Facism, the Nazis, and the advent of World War II, the doubters became more vocal. Reaction took the form of "Neo-orthodoxy," a theological movement fathered by Karl Barth. Barth emphasized the sovereignty of God and the helplessness of man, who was seen as separated from God as by a chasm. "God is wholly-other." Man's spirit has no possibilities, say the Barthians, and no action will help except such as is initiated from God's side.

We see neo-orthodox influence in the thought of Will Campbell, who blames liberal theology for much of our difficulty in race relations. Liberalism, he says, stressed the possibilites of man and thus practically invited men to an exaggerated sense of their own importance. Only when men see themselves as "like grasshoppers" will racial differences become insignificant. Much good has been done by humanists in race relations, as in other concerns, but the church should avoid what he calls "the humanistic detour." [12]

Neo-orthodoxy has been challenged, in turn, by a coalition of thinkers including the disciples of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Paul Tillich, Rudolph Bultmann, and the so-called Cambridge Theologians of England. Bonhoeffer decried "cheap grace" -- the offer of "grace" in such a way as to absolve man even of the responsibility to respond. The doctrine that nobody is perfect may be interpreted as the believer's bed of thorns. But it may also be interpreted as the hypocrite's couch of ease.

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[12] Campbell, Race and the Renewal of the Church, Chapter 5. Cf. pp. 36-38.

Space (as well as lack of competence!) prohibits anything more than the briefest mention of the efforts of Bultmann and his followers, and of Tillich and the Cambridge Theologians to find a way, if possible, to express the essential Christian faith without resort to antiquated and--to modern man -- ~~meaningless~~ esoteric symbolism and mythology. (An excellent popular treatment of the matter can be found in J. A. T. Robinson's Honest To God.)

~~Suffice it to say that an increasing number of Christian thinkers~~ For to see a revelation of God and a representation of authentic human existence in Jesus of Nazareth is one thing; it is something else again to ~~question the legitimacy of the~~ claim that authentic human existence is contingent upon the event Jesus-of-Nazereth.

Why is this debate in the church important to the race relations issue? Because what is at issue is, in the last analysis, the question, What is really the basis of full, unconditioned communication between human beings? This is another way of asking, What is the real basis of communion? Where is the point at which we can stop thinking in terms of "We-They" or "I-He" and begin thinking "I-Thou"?

Is there, in orthodoxy and neo-orthodoxy, a built-in refusal of dialogue? Is there the assumption, behind all gracious courtesies, that in any confrontation of man with man everything of ultimate significance passes in one direction only? -- for the one man is the channel of God's Word, however humble that channel, while the other cannot be? Is the condition of genuine dialogue with Christians the identifying of oneself by Christian symbols?

Suffice it to say that one effect of their program is a modification of the extreme Christocentricity of orthodox and neo-orthodox Christianity — which has amounted to a unitarianism of the Second Person. This effect is of great consequence to human relations in a shrunk and crowded world.

There is much that is of ultimate significance that traditional Judeo-Christian symbols are an attempt to express. What can be questioned is whether this essential content is best communicated by insisting on these symbols.

Even if one's answer to the last question were Yes, there is, as we have seen, no real basis for discrimination against Negroes. But the tradition of thinking in terms of "we and they" easily spills over, however illogically, from one category to another, as -- in this instance, -from the religious to the racial. As Dr. Wilfred Cantwell Smith has remarked, "The treatment of Jews and Negroes shows that at home also we have not yet learned to practice Christian love, nor even fully to believe in it. For it is not merely a question of practice falling short of ideals. It is the distorted ideal itself -- the basic doctrine that we are saved, outsiders are damned." [13] (Italics added.)

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[13] In an address given at the 28th Annual Couchiching Conference at Geneva Park, Lake Couchiching, Ontario. Date not available.

CONCLUSION

(This seems weak - ES)

There was a certain sadness in the tone of a church leader as he remarked, "Any action the church takes in the race situation now will be bad -- bad because it is wrong, or bad because it is late."

But surely the mercy of God extends even to the church.

The church is not dead yet. We have seen that reports of its death are greatly exaggerated. And there remains much to be done that a penitent church could do.

As Haselden points out, equality is not enough. Men can be equal in isolation one from another. Tolerance is not enough. "Tolerance is merely controlled antagonism." Justice and Law can put Negroes and whites in physical proximity, but it cannot "restore the broken kinship." It cannot make them want to be together.

> ...desegregation can be viewed as progress toward human harmony only if it is seen as the penultimate stage in human relationships, a stage where the demands of racial justice are met whatever may happen to racial peace, but, nevertheless, a stage which is dangerously occupied if it is considered permanent and final. The gains of desegregation are always themselves in jeopardy unless racial progress is moving beyond desegregation toward integration, beyond animal equality toward the spiritual expressions of the basic animal oneness.[1]

[1] Haselden, p. 161.

The church, in spite of -- and perhaps because of -- its sin of omission, can surely serve to remind all on both sides that what we want is not only justice, but mercy. The spiritual bankruptcy of the majority by no means guarantees the solvency of the minority. The jealousy, pride, and infighting among the various leaders and agencies of the Negro protest movement make it clear that they too are sinners in need of redemption. Lillian

Smith writes:

> I want no world where only civil rights are observed -- however fairly they are observed. We need both our rights and the mercy of others; we cannot live as human beings in a world without mercy. (Right here is the fatal flaw in communism, which theoretically says mercy, grace, and generosity in human relations are not needed.) But neither can men live as men without their civil rights. There is no "either-or"; there must be both. [2]

In other words, there no doubt will be some work of reconstruction after this war. And the church, just because it is incorrigibly conservative, has considerable facility for this task. This is not good. Will Campbell suggests that it would be a case of God's using even sin for his own purposes. Even the church's "greed and ambition, our fondness for the status quo, our desire for bigness and success, our concern for membership statistics," God can take and use "in a manner we could never have imagined." [3]

At the very least the Church and its role in race relations should be seen in historical perspective. Those who look backward to a "Christian America" are indulging in wishful thinking. Littell points out that in 1800 only 6.9% of the population of the United States were church members. This percentage grew steadily until it was nearly 70% in 1960. This means that most American church members are first, second, or third generation believers. They are, therefore, like the new converts of Gaul in the 9th and 10th centuries or those of Africa fifty years ago: they retain pagan practices like polygamy and blood

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[2]Lillian Smith, "A Strange Kind of Love," Saturday Review, October 20, 1962, p. 19.

[3]Campbell, Race and the Renewal of the Church, p. 81.

vendettas and racism. He suggests that we look forward with hope rather than backward in despair, for, "American churches which practice racial discrimination do so with a bad conscience: they know that they are denying their own commitment to liberty, to missions, to Christian universalism." [4]

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[4]Franklin Littell, "Religion and Race: the Historical Perspective," in Race: Challenge to Religion (Mathew Ahmann, ed.), p. 38.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

January 8, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I am returning some things you probably never expected to see again.

I have had these on my conscience for over two years, not only because of Ed but equally as much because of Montez. You may recall that Ed first did the report enclosed here with his memo attached; you and I made some comments about it, and he rewrote as per the other report included here. At the time of my leaving I still had not acted on it, and I left with the promise that I would. Montez had also done the document "The Church and Race" and, as I recall, we had circulated it to John Morris, Will Campbell, and a few others for comment. I also recall we had made a tentative plan to bring Ed's report out whenever it was finished, as a special issue of New South (i.e. the old New South).

In partial attenuation of my neglect, I collapsed from fatigue, as you may have heard, in Charlotte -at Ray Wheeler's home- on my way up from Atlanta that September. I never seemed to get back on planned schedule. I got to this city, worked two or three weeks in a strange job and took off for the University of Michigan to give those lectures, which themselves were at the time far from complete. I got back here in early November, and somehow prepared a docket for my first board meeting in early December. Along the way, I persuaded Stephen Currier to join with us in support of a renewed Voter Education Project. By the end of 1965 I was hopelessly off schedule, and that is no proper apology for Ed and Montez but an explanation to you.

At any rate, I got all this out again and read through it. There is no point now in trying to do anything of an editorial nature with it. I still believe a publication along this line for S.R.C. would be of great value; perhaps I believe that more than ever. I think, however, the report would have to be updated, and in some measure even redirected, and whether Ed and you will want to tackle that I don't know.

January 8, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters

I do believe also that Ed, at the time he wrote this, was not fully sure of his own viewpoint, of his own likes and dislikes, and I imagine he would now bring a sharper analysis to the subject.

It would seem to me that a report now would confront and deal with such issues as the disintegration of the National Council of Churches operation so quickly (one civil rights person put it to me, "they were with us from the March on Washington to Selma"). It would have to look at the decay of the Delta Ministry, the irresponsible attack on the Moynihan report, the Black Power fad that has gone through the denominational civil rights bureaucracy and has come to its absurd culmination in the black caucus within the Unitarian Church. It would have to deal with the emergence of the Committee of Southern Churchmen, with the constructive work of the Presbyterian Church in Mississippi, and with a great many other such things.

Again, I am sorry.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
Encs.

original + green copy
to HCF - 8-22

August 22, 1960

Miss Virginia H. Ellison
Executive Director
Civil Liberties Educational Foundation
Room 428
527 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Miss Ellison:

In reply to your request of August 16, we are mailing you today our reports dealing with civil liberties and civil rights. We are also placing your name on our mailing list to receive subsequent research reports.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

a
Mailed separately:
The Negro Voter in the South
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
School Desegregation: the first six years
Racial Crisis and the Press
New South, April 1960, Sept. 1959
A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61
The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960
Lunch-counter Desegregation in Corpus, Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas
Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy

Do we need any of these? JC
LWD

United Steelworkers of America

I. W. ABEL
SECRETARY-TREASURER

DAVID J. McDONALD
PRESIDENT

HOWARD R. HAGUE
VICE-PRESIDENT

Committee on Civil Rights

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING · PITTSBURGH 22, PA.

GRANT 1-5254

THOMAS SHANE
CHAIRMAN
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JOSEPH H. NEAL
BOYD L. WILSON
FRANCIS C. SHANE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 10, 1960

RECEIVED OCT 12 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of the Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Resolution which was passed by the United Steelworkers of America at its recently concluded Biennial Convention.

I am also enclosing a copy of the Baltimore Urban League - USA community project report and a reprinted pamphlet "1960 Program on Civil Rights" which was originally distributed by the Leadership Conference. Additional copies of these two items can be had by writing me.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis C. Shane

Francis C. Shane
Executive Secretary

FCS:bp
Encls. (3)

See little need for many as I assume these were widely distributed to labor and probably to our labor list. We might use a dozen or two for request concerning labor participation in civil rights
JC

✓ 10-28-60 MA

MA - send for 2 or 3 copies of 1960 program + $10 to Baltimore Urban League report

MM file — Letter returned to MA for files

Civil Rights

December 6, 1960

Mr. Kenneth Peterson, Director
Legislative and Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
1126 Sixteenth Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Peterson:

We are mailing you under separate cover a selection of materials which you may wish to consider for the kit to each delegate.

The ACCA pamphlet is not ours; we are not sure it is still available in quantity, but will be glad to inquire if you are interested. Georgia's Divided Education is not ours, although we have participated in the preparation and distribution. It is available in quantity.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Mailed separately:
McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
Spearman & Meyer, Racial Crisis and the Press
Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Price, The Negro Voter in the South
Georgia's Divided Education
Acca, A Second Look at Atlanta
School Desegregation: the first six years
Report L-17: Desegregation and Academic Achievement
A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61
New South: Oct. 1959, "A Chronology of Segregation Court Cases"
April 1960, "A Solid South...or Else"
September 1960, "Biracial Conventions and the South"

LABOR LOOKS AT...

Civil Liberties

Communists Describe Labor Leadership as 'Reactionary'

Survey Spikes Accusation That Union Leaders Mislead Workers

(Editor's Note: This series of four articles on "Labor Looks at Civil Liberties" was written by Benjamin D. Segal, trade union consultant to the Fund for the Republic and Harry Fleischman, director of the National Labor Service, exclusively for *Labor's Daily*. The articles appeared in the issues of July 13, 14, 15 and 19, 1955.)

By BENJAMIN SEGAL and HARRY FLEISCHMAN

One of the most hackneyed themes of world Communist propaganda has been the charge that labor's leadership is reactionary, and is always holding back (misleading is the term the Reds prefer) the progressive rank and file.

At one time, the claim may have sounded plausible to a lot of Americans, but there is one thing wrong with it. When put to the test, it falls flat on its face.

The survey discussed in these articles would indicate the union rank and filer knows what he is doing when he chooses his union leaders. He picks those whom he believes are, on the whole, better educated and capable of wiser and more tempered judgments than he is.

He figures that this will enable him to get a better economic deal —and it does.

But his choice of union leaders seems to have paid another bonus —an unexpected one. It gives him leaders who are aware of the dangers of war and Communism, but still remain concerned with the civil liberties of nonconformists with whose views they may disagree.

Who's Worried?

Are American workers today worried?

"Worried? Sure, I'm worried. I'm worried about making a living. My kids are sick. Paying the mortgage on the house is tough. Communism? Oh sure, it stinks, and every Red oughta be put in jail. But I'm too busy worrying about other things to get excited about it."

That, in essence, is the way a great many American workers answered some 500 Gallup and National Opinion Research Center interviewers who conducted, for the Fund for the Republic, a $125,000 survey of American attitudes toward Communism, conformity and civil liberties.

Five thousand rank and file citizens and 1,500 community leaders were covered by the survey, whose results are included in a fact-packed book, "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties," by Samuel A. Stouffer (Doubleday—$4.00).

Data on the 750 rank and file union members, 687 wives of union members and 107 presidents of local unions included in the survey has been made available exclusively to the authors of this article. These local union heads come from cities whose populations range from 10,000 to 150,000.

The average American worries about money and health. Only 8 per cent worried about war. Less than 1 per cent mentioned either Communism or civil liberties as among their headaches.

What Is Tolerance?

And this despite the fact that the survey was taken in the summer of 1954, the period of the Army-McCarthy hearings!

Local union presidents as well as other community leaders were far more concerned about world affairs (22 per cent) and Communism and civil liberties (5 per cent).

Far more disturbing, however, is the indication that most Americans are not very tolerant of other people whose ideas and opinions differ from their own. This goes not only for Communists, but also for atheists, socialists and persons who deny accusations of being Communists. And trade union rank and filers share the views of the rest of the community.

What do we mean by "tolerance?"

It does not mean approval.

It means that, even if we disagree with other people's opinions, we uphold the civil liberties extended to them by the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

We discover that education, or formal schooling to be more exact, is an extremely important factor to consider in connection with tolerance. In the following tables, all trade unionists who did not graduate from high school are listed under "high school minus."

Those who graduated from high school, in addition to those who attended college for a while, or graduated, are listed as "high school plus." Wherever the percentages do not add up to 100 per cent, the missing percentages represent "don't know" replies.

Let us consider unionists' tolerance for an individual who favors government ownership of railroads and all big industries—a socialist.

Should he be allowed to speak in your community?

Should he be allowed to teach in a college?

Should a book favoring his ideas be removed from your public library?

This is what union men say about this subject:

	1—Speak Per Cent		2—Teach Per Cent		3—Book Per Cent	
	Allow	Not	Allow	Not	Keep	Remove
Rank and File Unionists						
High school minus	55	38	33	58	51	40
High school plus	76	22	46	48	68	26
Union Leaders						
High school minus	77	21	49	47	69	29
High school plus	85	15	55	43	78	15

Atheists

Curiously enough, more Americans seem to equate Communism with atheism than with political dictatorship or economic radicalism. This being so, it is not surprising to find the following answers to these questions.

Should a person who is against all churches and religion be allowed to make a speech in your community?

To teach in a college?

Should a book favoring such ideas be removed from your public library?

	1—Speak Per Cent		2—Teach Per Cent		3—Book Per Cent	
	Allow	Not	Allow	Not	Keep	Remove
Rank and File Unionists						
High school minus	33	64	9	89	29	67
High school plus	53	44	24	73	54	44
Union Leaders						
High school minus	57	39	21	75	54	44
High school plus	63	37	32	65	52	48

'Controversial Persons'

What about a man whose loyalty has been questioned before a congressional committee, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist? He is certainly a "controversial personality" even if the accusation against him turns out to be false.

Should he be fired from a defense job?

From a job as a clerk in a store?

	Defense Job Per Cent		Store Clerk Job Per Cent	
	Keep	Fire	Keep	Fire
Rank and File Unionists				
High school minus	74	18	81	13
High school plus	80	14	90	7
Union Leaders				
High school minus	92	5	93	4
High school plus	89	11	93	7

A huge majority of all trade unionists oppose penalizing controversial figures, and are willing to give the benefit of the doubt to a man who swears under oath that he has never been a Communist.

Many Can't Even Define Communism

Attitude of Trade Unionists Toward Admitted Communists

These exclusive articles are reporting the specific findings on the attitudes of trade unionists which were gathered in a survey conducted by the Fund for the Republic and resulted in the publication of the book, **Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties,** by Samuel A. Stouffer.

Today's article is devoted exclusively to the attitudes of trade unionists toward admitted Communists.

First of all, how about Communists as workers?

Should a man who admits he is a Communist be fired from a defense job?

From a job as a clerk in a store?

Overwhelmingly all union men say "yes" to the first, but the degree of education changes the picture sharply with regard to the store clerk.

	Defense Worker Per Cent		Clerk in Store Per Cent	
Rank and File Unionists	**Keep**	**Fire**	**Keep**	**Fire**
High school minus	7	90	20	76
High school plus	8	89	33	63
Union Leaders				
High school minus	18	82	44	52
High school plus	13	83	50	50

Tolerating Communists

Should an admitted Communist be allowed to speak in the community?

If he wrote a book, would you want to remove it from your public library if someone made that suggestion?

	Speak Per Cent		Book Per Cent	
Rank and File Unionists	**Allow**	**Not**	**Allow**	**Not**
High school minus	25	73	18	76
High school plus	36	61	37	57
Union Leaders				
High school minus	43	54	38	54
High school plus	48	52	63	35

Put Reds in Jail?

Should an admitted Communist be put in jail?

Or should he have his American citizenship taken away from him?

	Jail Per Cent		Citizenship Per Cent	
Rank and File Unionists	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**
High school minus	31	59	11	83
High school plus	43	46	17	78
Union Leaders				
High school minus	59	31	26	69
High school plus	70	26	44	54

A distressing part of the Stouffer survey is the lack of knowledge of "what is a Communist."

Eighty-seven per cent of the people interviewed claimed they never knew anybody whom they even suspected of being a Communist.

Three per cent said they knew an admitted Communist.

Ten per cent said they knew persons they suspected of being a Communist.

Here are some of the reasons given for suspecting someone of being a Communist:

"He was always talking about world peace."

"Would not attend church and talked against God. He was always against local politics."

"I saw a map of Russia on the wall of his home."

"I suspect it from his conversation and manner. He was well educated and had a high disregard for the mentality of others."

"Her activities in distributing literature about the United Nations."

'Didn't Believe in Bible'

"Didn't believe in the Bible and talked about war."

"He wrote his thesis in college on Communism."

"He aimed all his talk toward betterment of people through government ownership of property."

"In my college days in the depression a group of young men and women lived together in a large home and called themselves Socialists."

"He was a radical who wanted to change everything in the country—it fits the picture."

"Just his slant on community life and church work. He was not like us."

"The literature they read and the way they talk—atheists."

"I just knew. But I wouldn't know how to say how I know."

"He brought a lot of foreign-looking people into his home."

"He didn't believe in Christ, Heaven, or Hell."

To judge by some of these answers, a good case could be made out for an extensive education program on "the nature of Communism."

Greatest Danger

A convincing case can be made for the proposition that the greatest danger facing America today from internal Communists is their potentiality for spying, or, for crippling sabotage in case of war.

Yet, the Stouffer book indicated that only 8 per cent mentioned anything that could be catalogued as fear of spying or sabotage.

What seemed to be on the minds of a much larger number was the **danger of Americans today becoming converts to Communism or Communist ideas.**

They saw perils of subversion of our youth in schools and colleges and of adults such as workers in factories, Negroes and other minority groups, government employes, etc.

Tolerance Increases Sharply With Education, Study Shows

As we have seen, tolerance increases sharply with education. The more schooling, the more willingness to respect the rights of others.

This fact is borne out when we look at ranking of community leaders in their tolerance of nonconformists and Communists.

Of the 14 arbitrarily selected categories of civil leaders polled, local union presidents ranked eleventh.

The 14 groups of civil leaders ranked according to Stouffer's "tolerance scale" are as follows:

1—Newspaper publishers.
2—Community Chest chairmen.
3—Library board chairmen.
4—County bar association presidents.
5—Republican county central committee chairmen.
6—Parent-Teacher Association presidents.
7—Chamber of Commerce presidents.
8—Democratic county central committee chairmen.
9—School board chairmen.
10—Mayors.
11—Labor union presidents.
12—Federated Women's Clubs presidents.
13—DAR regents.
14—American Legion.

Certainly one of the possible reasons for the ranking of the local union presidents would be that most other groups of community leaders had far more formal schooling.

Union Vs. Business

Among the local union presidents the figures show a decided difference between those with little schooling and those who had the opportunity to go on through high school.

Illustrating this point is a comparison of the attitude of local union presidents with "high school plus" education and "college educated" businessmen.

Both were asked identical questions, such as:

Should a person who favors government ownership of all railroads and all big industries be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Should such a person be allowed to make a speech in your community?

Should a book favoring such ideas be removed from your public library? (see chart below)

The whole labor survey also stresses the importance of intensifying our trade union educational programs to compensate for the lack of formal education.

The authors of these articles can both speak from years of practical experience in trade union education. They are convinced that providing an educational opportunity for union members through the various union educational institutes and conferences pays off in better understanding of these difficult issues and problems that we have been discussing—not to say anything about resulting in better union members.

The great need is for an expansion of the educational program and facilities of the unions. The great hope is that this need will be recognized and acted upon very soon after the merger has taken place.

Readers of Labor's Daily might be interested in seeing the attitudes of trade unionists on a few other issues besides Communism and civil liberties.

Child-Rearing Attitudes

Many psychologists and sociologists have pointed out that authoritarian and conformist attitudes toward child-rearing lead to intolerance. People who are prejudiced tend to look at all issues dogmatically, in black and white terms.

Again, the greater the education, the greater the tolerance of human differences, whether ideological, racial or cultural.

Take the answers to this proposition: "If a child is unusual in any way, his parents should get him to be more like other children."

Rank and file unionists:	Disagree	Agree
High school minus	25%	69%
High school plus	49%	46%
Union leaders:		
High school minus	26%	69%
High school minus	54%	46%

Or consider this statement: "A child should never be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them."

Rank and file unionists:	Disagree	Agree
High school minus	25%	72%
High school plus	41%	56%
Union leaders:		
High school minus	30%	62%
High school plus	52%	48%

It is interesting that only among the union leaders with the most education was there a majority which disagreed with what we consider conformist and authoritarian approaches to child-rearing.

This chart indicates that labor leaders are more tolerant than businessmen with the same amount of schooling. And even where businessmen have more schooling, labor leaders have virtually the same tolerance percentages.

	TEACH Per Cent ALLOW	TEACH Per Cent NOT	SPEAK Per Cent ALLOW	SPEAK Per Cent NOT	BOOK Per Cent ALLOW	BOOK Per Cent NOT
BUSINESSMEN						
College Educated	59	33	85	15	79	19
Others	34	58	65	31	58	36
LABOR LEADERS						
High School Plus	55	43	85	15	78	15
High School Minus	49	47	77	21	69	29

How 'Union Maid' Stacks Up in Attitude Toward Civil Rights

How does our Union Maid compare with Joe Worker in regard to attitudes concerning civil liberties? Let's take a look.

(In the following tables, those who did not graduate from high school are labeled "high school minus" while those who graduated high school in addition to those who attended college are listed as "high school plus." We are here comparing over 750 rank and file unionists with the answers of 687 union wives and other female unionists.)

How do men and women unionists feel about a Socialist—a man who favors government ownership of railroads and all big industries?

Should he be allowed to speak in your community? To teach in a college?

Should a book favoring his ideas be kept in your public library?

	Speak Per Cent		Teach Per Cent		Book Per Cent	
High School Minus	**Allow**	**Not**	**Allow**	**Not**	**Keep**	**Remove**
Joe Worker	55	38	33	58	51	40
Union Maid	52	31	28	52	45	36
High School Plus						
Joe Worker	76	22	46	48	68	26
Union Maid	68	23	34	52	61	27

In other words, men are more tolerant of Socialists than are women of the same educational background. But education is very important. Better-educated women are more tolerant than less-educated men.

Atheists

Women are reputed to be more religious than men. That goes for women unionists, as well as the wives of union members.

For instance, let's look at the answers to questions as to whether an atheist should be allowed to speak in your community, teach in your college, or have a book favoring his ideas in your public library.

	Speak Per Cent		Teach Per Cent		Book Per Cent	
High School Minus	**Allow**	**Not**	**Allow**	**Not**	**Allow**	**Not**
Joe Worker	33	64	9	89	29	67
Union Maid	29	69	7	90	23	73
High School Plus						
Joe Worker	53	44	24	73	54	44
Union Maid	48	49	12	84	44	49

Again the same pattern prevails. Men are more tolerant than women. And the more schooling for either men or women—the more tolerance.

Communists

What about Communists?

Should a man who admits he is a Communist be fired from a defense job?

A job as a radio singer?

	Defense Worker Per Cent		Radio Singer Per Cent	
High School Minus	**Keep**	**Fire**	**Keep**	**Fire**
Joe Worker	7	90	24	71
Union Maid	5	90	22	70
High School Plus				
Joe Worker	8	89	38	56
Union Maid	6	91	35	60

Overwhelmingly, all unionists—male and female—say that a Communist has no place in a defense plant. But the percentage in favor of allowing a Communist to keep a job as a radio singer rises sharply with education.

Boycott Soap

But suppose the radio program the Communist singer is on advertises a brand of soap.

If somebody in your community suggests that you stop buying that soap, what would you do? Since women do most of the household buying, this question affects them more directly than some others.

	Not Stop Per Cent	Stop Per Cent
High School Minus		
Joe Worker	51	44
Union Maid	53	37
High School Plus		
Joe Worker	67	29
Union Maid	69	28

For the first time, we find the responses of women unionists and union wives more tolerant, even if only slightly, than union men of comparable schooling.

Does this suggest that the more we know of a particular subject, the more tolerant we become? The evidence may not yet be conclusive, but it is certainly worth further exploring.

We don't want to start a new battle of the sexes, but show this article to your wife. Labor's Daily would like to know how she feels about it. And so would we.

Labor's Civil Liberties Score Sags

Last July, Labor's Daily carried our series of four articles on "Labor Looks at Civil Liberties." The articles were based on a survey of more than 6,000 Americans conducted by the Gallop and Roper polls for the Fund for the Republic. The results of the survey were summarized in a fact-packed book, "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties," edited by Samuel A. Stouffer.

The Stouffer poll showed that local union leaders are far more concerned with the civil liberties of non-conformists, with whose ideas they may nevertheless disagree, than is true of the average rank-and-filer. But it also showed that local union leaders ranked 11th in a tolerance scale of 14 groups of community leaders.

Ranked ahead of them were newspaper publishers, Community Chest chairmen, library board chairmen, county bar association presidents, Republican county central committee chairmen, Parent-Teacher association presidents, chamber of commerce presidents, Democratic county central committee chairmen, school board chairmen and mayors. Falling below them were only federated women's clubs presidents, regents of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and American Legion commanders.

Lack of Schooling

Since the poll indicated that tolerance sharply increases with education, certainly one of the reasons for the ranking of the local union presidents might be their comparative lack of formal schooling.

Publication of the series created a keen interest in labor circles, curiosity as to whether the pollsters had gotten accurate samples of union opinion, and the desire to find out how to improve education of union members on civil liberties matters.

Responding to the "Do-It-Yourself" vogue, we conducted our own polls of union leaders at the 14 union leadership training institutes and conferences during the summer of 1955. Questionnaires were filled out by 647 union shop stewards, committeemen, local union presidents and other union leaders. They were filled out before any discussion took place, to get the unionists own views.

SOCIALIST

It may be of interest to compare the results from both polls. Take the poll of local union leaders on tolerance for an individual who favors government ownership of railroads and all big industries—a Socialist.

Should he be allowed to speak in your community?

Should he be allowed to teach in a college?

Should a book favoring his ideas be removed from your public library? This is what the two polls show about this subject.

Included in the questionnaire, but not in the Gallop-Roper poll, was the question, "If he is a member of your local union, should he be expelled?" The answer was No—75 per cent, Yes—22 per cent.

In other words, more than a fifth of the union leaders attending summer schools favored expelling an avowed Socialist, not for any union acts, but merely for his view!

ATHEISTS

As was pointed out in the Labor's Daily series, more Americans seem to equate Communism with atheism than with political dictatorship or economic radicalism. This being so, it is interesting to look at the following answers to these questions.

Should a person who is against all churches and religions be allowed to make a speech in your community?

To teach in a college?

Should a book favoring such ideas be removed from your public library?

Interestingly, the summer school union leaders appear to be perceptibly more tolerant than those in the Gallop-Roper polls on atheists teaching or keeping such books in a library.

Included in the summer school questionnaire, but not in the Gallop-Roper poll, was the question, "If he is a member of your local union, should he be expelled?" The answer was No—77 per cent, Yes—19 per cent.

CONTROVERSIAL PERSONS

What about the man whose loyalty has been questioned before a congressional committee, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist? Even if the accusation against him appears to be false he is certainly "a controversial personality."

Should he be fired from a defense job?

From a job as clerk in a store?

On these questions, reversing the trend on the atheist questions, the Gallop-Roper unionists appear more tolerant than the summer school union leaders. Neverthless, a huge majority of all local union leaders oppose penalizing controversial figures.

Included in the summer school questionnaire, but not in the Gallop-Roper poll, was the question, "If he is a member of your local union, should he be expelled?" The answer was No—80 per cent, Yes—8 per cent.

COMMUNISTS

How about the attitude of union leader's towards admitted Communists?

Should a man who admits he is a Communist be fired from a defense job?

From a job as a clerk in a store?

Overwhelmingly, union leaders say "yes" to the first, but many change their attitude in regard to non-sensitive jobs, such as clerking in a store.

TOLERATING COMMUNISTS

Should an admitted Communist be allowed to speak in the community?

If he wrote a book would you favor removing it from your public library if someone made that suggestion?

Here we find a majority of local union leaders fearing not only Communist deeds, but words.

REDS IN JAIL?

Should an admitted Communist be put in jail?

Or should he have his American citizenship taken away from him?

This was one of the few questions where there was a substantial difference between the Gallop-Roper poll and the summer school poll, with the latter decidedly less tolerant. In both polls, however, local union leaders failed to realize that American-born Communists cannot constitutionally have their citizenship stripped from them unless convicted of treason.

Included in the summer school questionnaire, but not in the Gallop-Roper poll, was the question, "If he is a member of your local union, should he be expelled?" The answer was No—20 per cent, Yes—76 per cent.

(See chart on next page)

LABOR'S DAILY, Thursday, April 5, 1956

Political Naivete Plagues Unionists

A distressing part of both the Gallup-Roper survey and the summer school questionnaires was the lack of knowledge of "what is a Communist?"

Some of the reasons given by unionists polled by Gallup-Roper for suspecting someone of being a Communist are:

"He was always talking about world peace."

"Would not attend church and talked against God. He was always against local politics."

"I saw a map of Russia on the wall of his home."

Watch That UN!

"Her activities in distributing literature about the United Nations."

"Didn't believe in the Bible and talked about war."

"He wrote his thesis in college on Communism."

"He aimed all his talk toward betterment of people through government ownership of property."

"He was a radical who wanted to change everything in the country—it fits the picture."

"Just his slant on community life and church work. He was not like us."

"He brought a lot of foreign looking people into his home."

"He didn't believe in Christ, Heaven, or Hell."

Same Reasons

Reasons adduced by some of the summer school unionists were in the same category:

Talked against God. Did not believe much of the American way of life. Never talks about his past life.

The way he was downing everything that I thought was good for me and the people of my community.

Admitted he thought his race might be protected by Communists.

I could tell by the way he criticized the American Constitution, the American way of life.

Advocated socialism which is only one step from Communists.

His way of always slanting the conversation a little to the left of center.

Rich Men Only

By his or her conversation and his disapproval of the American way of life and his general behavior.

Rich men only in their government. Government owns everything.

Another interesting response to the summer school questionnaires came to the question: "In general, what is your opinion of congressional committees investigating Communism?" The answers were: very favorable, 39 per cent; favorable, 32 per cent; unfavorable, 13 per cent; very unfavorable, 7 per cent. In short 71 per cent looked favorably on the work of congressional committees headed by men like McCarthy and Velde.

Viewed as Challenge

Union educators and research directors, viewing the results of these polls have not only expressed concern and dismay but view the polls as a challenge.

One wrote, "The one uncomfortable, distasteful but nonetheless persistent fact about local union leaders was not the distance between them and the rank-and-file (all community leaders showed this) but the relative intolerance of local union leaders in the scale of community leaders. Until this finding of the poll is more widely discussed, nobody will realize how bad the unionists looked."

Age Factor, Too

He went on, "Of course, if you do not accept the accuracy of the poll, you do not have to accept this or any other finding. But you seem to be saying that this was a pretty good sampling and we should pay some attention, at least to the results, in which case your series neglected to point to the most significant of the findings.

"You point to the lack of education as a reason for the low batting average, and I agree that it certainly has a bearing (as an education director, I should disagree?) But so is age, which one might expect to find the union presidents doing better than average," he wrote.

The union educator concluded, "I feel, somewhat desperately at times, that we need to do something about this. But first we must look the facts in the eye."

A top research man put it this way:

Running Afoul

"If someday you do a rewrite, it seems that the result of a poll might have an even more dramatic impact, if you placed above it some reference to what the Constitution says. This would be particularly startling with regard to the very narrow attitude of almost everyone on the question of the right to be non-religious.

"I think, if I recall correctly, those who would outlaw the folks who profess not to believe in God are running afoul of the Constitution."

Another research leader praised the series but then added:

"I do think that we now need some more analytical work on the meaning of the results. We've simply got to find out how our people get the notions that they have and, more importantly, how they can be counteracted. I am sure that the work that both of you are doing will help us get these answers."

SOCIALISTS	Speak Per Cent		Teach Per Cent		Book Per Cent	
Local Leaders—	Allow	Not	Allow	Not	Keep	Remove
Gallop-Roper	80	19	52	45	73	23
Summer Schools	78	22	47	45	79	19

ATHEISTS	Speak Per Cent		Teach Per Cent		Book Per Cent	
Local Leaders—	Allow	Not	Allow	Not	Keep	Remove
Gallop-Roper	60	38	26	71	53	46
Summer Schools	60	38	37	57	60	37

CONTROVERSIAL PERSONS	Defense Job Per Cent		Store Clerk Job Per Cent	
Local Leaders—	Keep	Fire	Keep	Fire
Gallop-Roper	91	7	93	5
Summer Schools	75	15	90	6

COMMUNISTS	Defense Job Per Cent		Store Clerk Job Per Cent	
Local Leaders—	Keep	Fire	Keep	Fire
Gallop-Roper	16	82	47	51
Summer Schools	14	82	40	48

TOLERATING COMMUNISTS	Speak Per Cent		Book Per Cent	
Local Leaders—	Allow	Not	Allow	Not
Gallop-Roper	45	53	49	46
Summer Schools	39	55	36	57

REDS IN JAIL?	Jail Per Cent		Citizenship Per Cent	
Local Leaders	No	Yes	Keep	Remove
Gallop-Roper	64	29	34	63
Summer Schools	44	42	20	71

for additional copies, write to NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Fourth printing, November 1956

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Loyalty Oaths Under the National Defense Education Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 7, 1960

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, last week I referred on this floor to widespread dismay inside the academic community, and especially at my district's world-famed University of Wisconsin, over the imposition of certain loyalty statements upon persons receiving loans or other aid under the National Defense Education Act. I have recently received from a committee of the faculty of the university a full statement of the faculty position. Before I put this statement into the RECORD at this point, I should like to add that the regents of the university have adopted precisely the same position as the faculty. I call my colleague's attention to this statement as one of the clearest, most excellent explanations of what is wrong with the disloyalty disclaimer that I have ever seen in so few words:

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL,
Madison, Wis., February 17, 1960.

Hon. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KASTENMEIER: The undersigned are a committee of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, appointed to communicate to the Senators and Members of Congress from Wisconsin the views and hopes of that faculty on the disclaimer-of-belief affidavit under the National Defense Education Act.

As you know, that act requires that anyone (whether student or teacher or research worker) either receiving pay or borrowing money under any of the act's provisions execute two sworn statements: (1) an oath of allegiance in the form that all of us who have been in the military service know so well, and (2) an affidavit that he does not believe in violent overthrow of the Government, etc., etc., nor support any organization that does so believe or teach.

Our faculty, after extended consideration and debate at two meetings a month apart voted on January 4 last to announce its unalterable opposition to the affidavit requirement of the NDEA, that is, to the second requirement above listed, the one that asks a man to swear that he does not believe in certain things. The faculty's reasons for this position are, as simply as possible, these:

(1) The conviction that belief is a private matter. Government, we say, has a legitimate interest in a man's actions, and sometimes in his words or his associations. But his beliefs are private: about them the government of a free country has no business asking questions.

(2) The difficulty of understanding the particular form of words that NDEA requires. Suppose a man believes, as we certainly do, that General Washington, although a revolutionary and no doubt a traitor by King George's law, was nevertheless a moral man and a great patriot. Or suppose he thinks, as many do, that the Government of the United States is in fact in danger of violent overthrow—namely by atomic attack from the Soviet Union. Can a man holding either of these beliefs honestly sign this affidavit?

(3) The conviction that the affidavit is useless. Its purpose, we suppose, is to exclude subversives from these programs. But who will be so quick as a subversive to sign anything whatever? A big lie in the cause is to them an act of duty.

(4) The feeling that the requirement discriminates against college people. No one else engaged in nonsecret work, if we understand the situation rightly, is asked by the Government to sign a document like this. (Labor union officers were asked to under the Taft-Hartley law, but the requirement was repealed in 1959.) Are college people, faculty and students, really so much less reliable than all the other Americans who have dealings with the Government?

(5) The conviction, as President Eisenhower has put it, that the oath of allegiance ought to be enough. When a man has sworn to bear true faith and allegiance to his country and to defend its Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, it is merely insulting to ask him in the next breath whether he thinks that country and that Constitution ought to be violently overthrown.

Whatever different men may think of the first four reasons stated, it seems to us that this last one ought to be conclusive. The oath of allegiance is an effective, comprehensive and clear statement of patriotic duty, hallowed by long use and by the lives of many men. No one can be asked to swear to it without an inner thrill. To follow it with complicated jargon about what a man believes cheapens the whole performance. The President is right: the oath of allegiance is enough.

A bill, S. 2929, to repeal the affidavit requirement (leaving the requirement for the oath of allegiance in the act) has been reported out by the Senate committee in charge. Similar House bills are in the hands of the Committee on Education and Labor. The matter, we believe, is strictly nonpartisan: at least leading members of both parties have supported the repeal. We hope that the repeal of the affidavit requirement may have your support and your vote.

Respectfully,

F. H. HARRINGTON.
J. O. HIRSCHFELDER.
R. K. HUITT.
F. I. OLSON.
EDWIN YOUNG,
CHARLES BUNN,
Chairman, Faculty Committee on the Disclaimer Affidavit.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1960

COVERING LETTER FOR CONGRESSIONAL RECORD REPRINT

May 16, 1960

Dear Colleague:

We hope you will be interested in the enclosed reprint of a letter which our Special Committee on the Affidavit of Disbelief has sent to the Wisconsin members of Congress. In the letter we tried to present fairly the sentiments endorsed by an overwhelming majority at the Faculty meeting in January and strongly supported by our Board of Regents.

As perhaps you know, the affidavit of disbelief has been protested by more than fifty institutions in 21 states. National leaders who have called for its repeal include President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Secretary Flemming, and virtually all the Democratic aspirants for the presidency.

If you would like to have a summary of this information, or perhaps more copies of the committee's letter, you can call or send a card to Ralph Huitt, South Hall (Ext. 3744).

Sincerely,

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AFFIDAVIT OF DISBELIEF

Charles Bunn, Chairman
Fred H. Harrington
J. O. Hirschfelder
Ralph K. Huitt
Frederick Olson
H. Edwin Young

August 5, 1960

To The University Faculty:

Your ad hoc committee on the Disclaimer Affidavit now (1) reports the current status and chances of legislation for repeal and (2) expresses its views about the merits of the pending bill, and (3) recommends individual action by members of the Faculty.

I

Status and Prospects

On June 15 last the Senate passed S.2929 as amended, being the repealer bill with the Prouty amendment. The bill as passed:

(1) repeals the requirement for the disclaimer affidavit altogether;

(2) makes it unlawful for any person to "apply for or receive any grant, payment or loan under this Act (the N.D.E.A.) while he is a member of the Communist party or any other organization having for one of its purposes or objectives the seizure or overthrow of the government of the United States (or of any State or local government) by the use of force or violence, and has knowledge of such purpose or objective of that party or other organization";

(3) makes it unlawful for any person who within five years has been a member of such Party or other organization to apply under the Act unless his application is accompanied by a full sworn statement about such (former) membership;

(4) makes it a federal crime knowingly to violate subsection (2) or (3) above.

This amended bill, as stated, passed the Senate June 15. On June 22 the House Sub-Committee on Education held a one-day hearing on the Senate bill. President Pusey of Harvard was the principal witness. Speaking "as spokesman for the members of the Association of American Universities" he said:

> "we find acceptable Senator Prouty's change in the wording of the amendment under consideration"

(that is to say, the Senate bill as passed) and urged the House to "now act quickly in the current session" to complete the repeal.

The House committee took no action then, and the recess for the national conventions followed before it or the House took any.

There is some chance of House committee and House action when the session of Congress resumes after the conventions. That action, if it occurs, will be on the amended bill that passed the Senate, which is outlined above. There is no chance of any action at this session on anything more favorable to our position than the bill that passed the Senate.

(We think also, though of course with less assurance, that the chances in the new Congress for any action more favorable than the bill that passed the Senate in this one are virtually nil. The Senate has now considered the subject twice; it has passed a bill that most Senators regard as meeting our views in a reasonable way; the chance that it will do more later is remote. And the Senate has from the beginning been more friendly to our position than the House.)

Needless to say, the Committee still believes that the disclaimer affidavit should be repealed outright. We object to the imposition of a requirement on students and other persons in education which is not imposed on other recipients of Federal aid. We object to the vagueness which still plagues the definition of organizations one should not belong to. We fear that students may be discouraged from joining any but innocuous organizations. But, we repeat, outright repeal is not a viable legislative alternative.

The practical choice before this and other faculties is therefore, in our judgment, either repeal of the disclaimer affidavit with the Prouty Amendment (the Senate bill that passed this year, outlined above) or no repeal.

II

The Committee's Views

On the alternatives so stated your Committee believes that the bill that passed the Senate is a very great improvement over no repeal. Our reasons are that the bill that passed the Senate:

(1) repeals entirely the requirement for the disclaimer affidavit;

(2) eliminates all inquiry into belief;

(3) makes illegality depend on overt acts - applying for money "while he is a member of the Communist Party" or other organization described, or within five years thereafter without disclosure;

(4) limits the other organizations described to those whose purposes include the seizure or overthrow of government by force or violence, and eliminates the present language about "other unconstitutional or illegal means";

(5) limits offenders to those who "willfully" violate the prohibitions stated, and to one who "has knowledge of such purpose or objective" of the organization of which he is a member;

(6) confides administration (by making it a criminal law) to the Department of Justice, United States attorneys, and Federal courts and juries throughout the country.

The last point is important. It means that if a person is thought to have committed a crime under this Act, the burden of proof will be on the government. The accused will have all the classic guarantees of criminal justice in a Federal court. Moreover, the Department of Justice and individuals within it can win kudos only by winning the cases they bring. There are therefore strong incentives for responsible administration of any Federal criminal law, whichever party is in power.

For these reasons your Committee thinks that enactment during the resumed session of the bill that passed the Senate in June (S.2929, as amended) would be a major victory for the Faculty's position. As stated above, it is the only victory which is in any way possible at this session of Congress, and probably the only victory possible in the foreseeable future.

III

Recommendations for Individual Action

Notwithstanding these views, your Committee has not felt free to give its support in the name of the Faculty to the bill passed by the Senate, since it has no mandate from the Faculty on anything except simple repeal.

We urge however those individual members of the Faculty who agree with the views expressed above to communicate with members of the Congress whom they know, in favor of House passage at this session of S.2929 as amended.

The persons whom it is important to reach are:

All Wisconsin members of the House of Representatives; (list enclosed)

Congressman Graham A. Barden, Chairman of The House Committee on Education and Labor;

Congressman Carl Elliott, Chairman of The Sub-Committee on Education.

To be useful, communications should reach the persons addressed as soon as possible, since the session of Congress resumes on August 8.

Ad Hoc Committee on the Disclaimer Affidavit

Charles Bunn, Chairman
Fred H. Harrington
J. O. Hirschfelder
Ralph K. Huitt
Frederick Olson
H. Edwin Young

WISCONSIN MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ARE:

Gerald T. Flynn (Dem., First District)
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Dem., Second District)
Gardner W. Withrow (Repub., Third District)
Clement J. Zablocki (Dem., Fourth District)
Henry S. Reuss (Dem., Fifth District)
William K. Van Pelt (Repub., Sixth District)
Melvin R. Laird (Repub., Seventh District)
John W. Byrnes (Repub., Eighth District)
Lester R. Johnson (Dem., Ninth District)
Alvin E. O'Konski (Repub., Tenth District)

MA

107 Highland Ave.
Bastrop, Louisiana
May 29, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Please send the free pamphlet, The Commission, May 1942 containing the article on "Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs".

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. L. D. Starke

6-7-60
Seg. Decisions
What the Supreme Court Said
Public opinion & Civil Rights

New South

If you have later data, please send.

Apr '60 — A Solid South — or Else
Dec '59 — Georgia Responsibility —
Oct 59 — Dixey. Resistance Slows Negro Vote
Chronology Seg. Cases
Sept. 59 Chester Bowles, "A Fresh Look at Race Relations"
July Survey of Voting Rights Legislation
Aug. 59. Crossing Liberties

March 15, 1961

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

Thank you for sending me a reprint of The Supreme Court and Constitutional Liberty at Mid-Century: The 1958-59 Term as a Key. I have now read it with great interest. It is a fine job. In a few paragraphs toward the end, you have done the best and most incisive critique I have seen of the Frankfurter position. It seems to me you reached the nub when you, on page 122, say "the masses did not create due process of law nor freedom of dissent nor freedom of religious conscience. Is it not too much to ask that the masses see to their preservation?"

On this matter of "balancing of interest" I once tried my hand with a piece in the Virginia Law Review. So far as I know, no one ever paid any attention to it and it undoubtedly left behind a lot of free-wheeling gnats and undigested camels. One or two things in it seemed, and seem, to be valid. In the old game of tit for tat I am enclosing a copy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure

March 16, 1961

Mr. William P. Miller
6318 Walhonding Road
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Mr. Miller:

We have mailed you today, under separate cover, some materials which we believe will be helpful during the preparation of civil rights legislation for the mock legislature held by the American University Civil Rights Committee in April.

Best wishes for a successful session!

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

P.S. In case you are interested, our report on violence, intimidation and reprisals in the South was reprinted in full in a government publication which should be available in your library: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Congress. Part 3--Appendix, pp. 1573-1603. (Published by U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1959.). Our supply is exhausted.

Mailed separately:
Federal Executive and Civil Rights
Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61
School Desegregation: the first six years
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
The Negro Voter in the South
McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
New South, Oct. 1959; April 1960

March 21, 1961

Miss Margaret Townsend
829 Shaler Boulevard
Ridgefield, New Jersey

Dear Miss Townsend:

Under separate cover we are sending you some materials which you may find helpful in your history term paper on civil rights. In them you will find information on those who are concerned with civil rights and some of the progress made. Perhaps your library will have the 1959 and 1960 reports of the Civil Rights Commission, and this will give you additional information.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure: SRC statement
Mailed separately:
New South, April 1960, "A Solid South...Or Else"
Sept. 1959, "A Fresh Look at Race Relations"
"A Survey of Waiting Room Facilities"
Oct. 1959, "Desegregation Resistance Slows Negro Vote"
"Chronology of Segregation Court Cases"
July-Aug. 1960, "Standing Up for American Dream"
January 1961, "The South &Civil Disobedience"
February 1961, "Higher Education Desegregation"
"Civil Rights Commission Report"

HF
MA

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 3, 1959

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In reply to your letter of May 27 to Mr. Thomas W. Young, I am happy to send the enclosed copy of the hearing of this Commission's request for an appropriation of $288,000 for Fiscal Year 1960 before Subcommittee #5 of the House Appropriations Committee on April 30.

Personal business reasons have made it necessary for Tom Young to devote the majority of his time to the affairs of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. He only spends occasional days working for the Commission now.

Sincerely,

Carol Arth

Mrs. Carol Renner Arth
Executive Secretary
to the Commission

Enclosure

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MM

MA - for file

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 23, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for sending me the report on Louisiana which looks excellent. I am writing immediately to beg from you similar reports on your other states. They would be most handy for my writing on these problems at Notre Dame, and I know that Father Hesburgh would be interested.

As ever,

Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
Legal Assistant to
Father Hesburgh

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 27, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Reference is made to our earlier correspondence which resulted in your furnishing us certain written materials relative to the administration of justice in the South.

The staff of the Commission would be very interested, in connection with its pilot study in administration of justice, in conferring with you and examining any unpublished materials which you may have collected and any factual data which you may have compiled through field research. May I suggest, therefore, that a staff member come to Atlanta for this purpose within the next few weeks? If this would be convenient for you, we shall phone you to arrange a mutually agreeable date for the visit.

Your assistance in this matter of mutual interest would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

David B. Isbell

David B. Isbell
Acting Assistant
Staff Director

May 3, 1960

Mr. David B. Isbell
Acting Assistant, Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Isbell:

We have your letter of April 27. Your staff member would be welcome at our offices to examine any of our files. I think most any date this month would be convenient except May 12 and 13.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

HF ✓
LD ✓

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 10, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 3. Mr. A. William Mottolese, a staff attorney, will be in Atlanta some time on the morning of May 16th, and will contact you beforehand for the purpose of arranging to examine your materials.

Your assistance is, believe me, much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

David B Isbell

David B. Isbell
Acting Assistant
Staff Director

LWD

file

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 9, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I feel somewhat apologetic for not writing earlier to thank you for the gracious assistance which you provided while I was at your office on my last trip. However, I delayed until a decision was reached concerning the methodology to be employed in our administration of justice study. You can be assured that the time we spent together was extremely helpful and has provided guidance for our study.

In a separate letter to Harold I have explained the intended course of our administration of justice study. In a word, we have decided to place rather heavy reliance on your collective judgement in recommending the areas which in your opinion warrant intensive study. Because we are anxious to get our fact-gathering activities underway we should very much appreciate having your thoughts at the earliest convenient date. I made it clear to Harold that one of the principal factors influencing our selection of study areas is the probability of success in obtaining information concerning them.

As I indicated to you previously we are in need of new contacts, both white and Negro, throughout the South in connection with all of our studies. Therefore, the names and addresses of individuals, regardless of their location, who would be willing and able to cooperate would be of immeasurable value.

I hope that you will not be unduly inconvienced by this request.

Thank you again for your offer of continued cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

A. William Mottolese
Staff Attorney
Administration of
Justice Section

file

Via Air Parcel Post

July 1, 1960

Mr. David Koonce
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Koonce:

I am enclosing such information as we have in the Council's research library in reply to your request to Mr. Fleming.

The number of local interracial committees formed or utilized in connection with the student sit-ins is estimated by Margaret Price (page 2, "Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy," enclosed) to be at least 30. Sixteen more were forming as this report was released in late May (see page 12).

The various additional items which are enclosed may be of some help in your research into progress made within the past generation in inclusiveness in professional associations and public office. The thermofaxed news clips, plus pages 102-105 of "Integration -- North and South," enclosed, indicate trends from 1954 to the present in professional associations. Unfortunately, we have no material covering the situation a generation ago. Various sources in our files dealing with discrimination in the mid-thirties make no mention of professional associations; however, I would imagine this is an indication of an overwhelming prevalence, rather than a paucity, of discrimination in this area.

For recent progress in the election and appointment of Negroes to public office, see pp. 68-71 of "Integration, North and South." This covers 1954-1956. The thermofaxed "Elections and Appointments" attempts to update this data with those elections of Negroes reported in the major Southern newspapers. Mr. Fleming advises that in the Deep South and

mid-South states the first elections of Negroes to public office within the last generation occurred around 1944.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/sm
Enclosures: "Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy"
"Integration, North and South"
News clips

July 21, 1960

Mr. A. Wm. Mottolese
Staff Attorney
Administration of Justice
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Here are some names which we have pulled together quickly. We have not done any telephoning to other people, such as Ruby Hurley, because I assume that you will be in touch with her and other NAACP officials and staff. Similarly, we have listed Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, and South Carolina directors of our state groups and so have not communicated with them or other local names. All the people listed below are persons we are confident can give you trustworthy information:

Georgia

Mr. Lucius Pitts, executive secretary, Georgia Education and Teachers Association, 201 Ashby Street N. W., Atlanta, Georgia;
Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean, Morehouse College, 223 Chestnut Street, S. W., Atlanta 14, Georgia;
D. U. Pullum (the Negro farmer in Dawson who has been in the news);
C. B. King, Negro attorney, Albany (office in rear of Cochran Record Shop);
Dr. E. D. Hamilton, Negro dentist, office 221 S. Jackson, Albany, Georgia.

Alabama

The Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Room 1218, Comer Building, Birmingham;
Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Durr, 17 Molton Street Bldg., Montgomery 4.

Florida

The Rev. Wm. K. Williams, executive director, Florida Council on Human Relations, 213 N. E. Second Avenue, Miami, Florida;
Mrs. Mabel Reese, editor Mt. Dora newspaper, Mt. Dora, Florida;
Gadsden county is adjacent to Tallahassee, where you might see Professor A. L. Kidd, Florida A. & M.

Mississippi

P. D. East, editor The Petal Paper, Box 349, Hattiesburgh, Miss.;
A. E. Cox, Delta Foundation, 913 Chambliss Rd., Memphis, Tenn.;
Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, The Lexington Advertiser, Lexington, Miss.;
Rabbi Charles Mantinband, 808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg, Miss.

Tennessee

Miss Louise Young, executive director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, 2001 Division Street, Nashville, Tenn.;

Louisiana

No one to suggest; might call on Professor William McIntosh at nearby Grambling College.

South Carolina

Miss Alice Spearman, executive director, South Carolina Council on Human Relations, 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, South Carolina;
W. E. Solomon, executive secretary, Palmetto State Teachers Assn., 1719 Taylor Street, Columbia, S. C.;
H. W. Walker, Jr., McCormick (Negro undertaker).

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

****

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 21, 1960

To: LD From: PR

Subject:

Shortly before leaving town Harold received a call from William Mottolese (?) of the Civil Rights Commission. The man listed the counties where the Commission plans to concentrate investigatory activities in the area of violations of civil liberties. The CRC wants the names of reliable contacts in these states and areas and realizes the need for caution in approaching local people. Harold asked that we pool names of contacts and that you then answer Mottolese as soon as possible. Like today. The counties and my only suggestions (and some of PA's)are as follows:

Georgia ~~(Terrell, Laurens, Baker Co.)~~

~~Terrell, Laurens, Baker~~
Lucius Pitts, B.R. Brazel
D.W. Pullum (the Negro farmer in Dawson who has been in the news)
C.B. King, Negro atty, Albany (office in rear of Cochran record shop)
Dr. E.D. Hamilton, Negro dentist, office 221 S. Jackson, Albany.
Rev. M.S. Adams, Negro minister, 416 Lincoln, Albany

Alabama
Jefferson County - ~~Bob~~ Hughes
Montgomery--Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Durr
Dallas County
Marengo

Florida ~~Bill~~ Williams
Lake County--Mrs. Mabel Reese, editor Mt. Dora paper.
Gadsden--(the county, in adjacent to Tallahassee, where you might call Prof. A.L. Kidd, Florida A&M.)

Mississippi --P.D. East
Holmes--A. E. Cox, Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
Coahoma
Humphries
Forrest - Rabbi Charles Mantinband, 808 Mamie St., Hattiesburg
Pearl River

Tennessee --Louise Young
Heywood County

Louisiana
Caddo Parish (no one to suggest. might call on Prof. William Tate of Grambling College)

South Carolina
Dorchester, McCormick
Alice Spearman
W.E. Solomon (Palmetto Teachers Assn)
H.W. WALKER, Jr. Tuc Cormick (Negro undertaker)

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 8, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Commission on Civil Rights' Information Section is anxious to obtain 6 copies of your recent publication entitled "Racial Crisis and the Press" by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer. As you probably know, Mr. Meyer is the Chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Commission. We are, therefore, especially anxious to have a small supply of these pamphlets available in our offices.

MA
9-14-60

I do not find a price listed on the pamphlet, however if there is a charge for this material, would you be good enough to enclose a bill to the Commission on Civil Rights at the above address with the materials. A mailing label is enclosed for your convenience.

Your help in this matter is appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Garland W. O'Donnell

(Mrs.) Garland W. O'Donnell
Commission Librarian

/gwo

The Presbyterian Outlook

Continuing The Presbyterian Tribune

PRESBYTERIAN POLITICAL FORUM . . . Grier . . . Turck

REALIGNMENT OF MISSIONS . . . . David L. Stitt

MARTIN COLUMN . . . 6

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME (1) . . . . . Kenneth J. Foreman

NEWS . . . W. Va. Church Adds Negro Member . . . . . UPUSA National Missions Staff . . . . . .

VOLUME 142 SEPTEMBER 26, 1960 NUMBER 34

Pg. 5 + pg. 1

- One man's natural law is all too often another's poison. For Socrates there was a higher law whispering to him from outside the cave of this world that told him it was the nature of man and the first principle of the teaching profession to ask questions—to question everything—and that therefore he should not obey the edict of Athens abridging his freedom of speech.
- There is implicit in each law the alternative of obedience, or of civil disobedience with full acceptance of the consequences. . . . Civil disobedience, as I see it, is a kind of persuasion, the persuasion of last resort, within the boundaries of the law, sometimes the only kind available.
- Civil disobedience is within the legal pale . . . because it involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violate the law or try to evade it or violently seek to overthrow it, that would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when we openly disobey a law that we hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that we belong in jail until it is changed.
- We all engage in civil disobedience in the form of jaywalking or speeding, to name only two popular varieties. But we hesitate to resist an unjust law. We do not take personal responsibility for injustice.

Excerpts from

THE LAW AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

By Harris Wofford, Jr.

See page five

The Law and Civil Disobedience

By HARRIS WOFFORD, Jr.

A CASE could be made for civil disobedience based on St. Augustine's description of the "melancholy and lamentable judgments"—the injustices—inherent in the law in this sinful City of Man. With pacifism as a check on the commission of new injustices, a call could be issued for peaceful resistance to unjust laws.

It is a good American case, defended and demonstrated by Thoreau and by a whole generation of abolitionists. "Unjust laws exist," said Thoreau. "Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked, as I think we each must ask. His answer was: "If this injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go; perchance it will wear smooth . . . but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine." So he advised the abolitionists not "to wait till they constitute a majority of one." It is enough, he said, "if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one."

And he went to prison for refusing to pay taxes to a government that was upholding slavery by imprisoning and returning runaway slaves. He said that "under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also prison." But people did not understand and a distant aunt paid his taxes for him and he was put out of prison after only a one-night stand. Still, I think, his apochryphal answer to Emerson made an imprint on the American mind. When Emerson asked him why he was in jail, Thoreau replied, "Why are you outside?"

No Anarchist

But I do not think I am a pacifist and I know I am not an anarchist and I did pass the bar. So I want to make a lawyer's case for civil disobedience. We have been reading Justice Holmes in my class, and as always he has renewed my passion for this jealous mistress, the Law, whose loyal lover I claim to be even as I here advocate civil disobedience. By the way, there is a Thoreau text for this, too: "They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

MR. WOFFORD is an attorney in Washington, D. C. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago and of the Howard and Yale Law Schools. An Episcoplian, he has served as a professor in the Notre Dame Law School and as legal adviser with the Civil Rights Commission. He is a student of Gandhi's life and activities, visiting India in 1949 and 1957.

Now I realize that this involves a paradox—a central paradox of natural law jurisprudence—that for many people spells anarchy. One man's natural law is all too often another's poison. For Socrates there was a higher law whispering to him from outside the cave of this world that told him it was the nature of man and the first principle of the teaching profession to ask questions—to question everything—and that therefore he should not obey the edict of Athens abridging his freedom of speech. But the Athenians who served him the hemlock were also obeying the highest law they knew, the need to preserve their society from subversion. I think you will agree with me that at least this one act of civil disobedience proved to be effective. For out of the cheerful prison-going and death of Socrates we learn academic freedom and I would say that Socrates also teaches us the first principle of any republic, the principle established for this republic by the First Amendment.

I suppose that almost everyone would agree that civil disobedience would be justified toward any man-made law prohibiting the public worship of God.

St. Thomas said that human laws contrary to divine law ought nowise to be obeyed. The church has gone to the catacombs before in its exercise of the freedom of religion. And the lives of many martyrs and saints should be enough to convince you of the educational potentialities of such civil disobedience. The question is, Where else in the field of law and on what other occasions is civil disobedience also necessary and proper?

Two Other Areas

I would cite the second part of the First Amendment, freedom of speech, and the principle of equal protection of the laws in the Fourteenth Amendment as two other areas where any laws in conflict with these commands of the natural law, according to my view of man's nature, ought to be civilly disobeyed.

But as soon as I say this, I have opened a Pandora's box from which many furies may fly, including the present disobedience of the Supreme Court's school decisions by many white citizens in the South. If you doubt that the white resistance to desegregation is based, in part at least, on a firmly-held and often conscientiously-held, though to me wrong-headed, view of natural law, then listen to this colloquoy from the Congressional Record for last September 14, 1959. Senator Eastland asked: "Is not the segregated way of life a better life? Is not that the law of nature?" And Senator Thurmond replied: "Well, that is the way God made the races. I presume it is."

And yet, despite the risks involved in letting loose differing ideas of natural law to contend with each other, I believe that there is a great hope for the law, particularly for the law of a republic, at the bottom of this Pandora's box. That hope is embodied in a view of law that transcends the old idea which says that law is nothing but the command of the sovereign. In a republic, or with men who like Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee have the idea of a republic in their heads, every command of the law should be seen as a question.

A Socratic philosopher of the law, Scott Buchanan, has stated this thesis to show how "law teaches those who make and obey it"—and I would add, disobey it. "Laws," he says, "are questions asked by God, history, nature, or society to be answered by men individually and collectively. This formulation penetrates the heart of human freedom. It says that no law, not even divine law, cancels out human freedom; the answer can be Yes or No or something else. It also tacitly warns of consequences of the answer. But primarily it forces the human being to think about ends, or purposes."

In this view, there is implicit in each law the alternative of obedience, or of civil disobedience with full acceptance of the consequences.

Once we no longer see law as a mechanical thing, once we free ourselves from the idea that as good citizens we have no choice but to obey any law passed by the legislature, no matter how bad, then of each law we must ask ourselves, is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform?

So you see we are back with Thoreau, but with a difference. He thought in terms of disobedience serving as a counter friction to stop the whole machine of the law. I am presenting civil disobedience as a natural and necessary part of the great Due Process of our law, that process of persuasion through which we govern ourselves. Civil disobedience, as I see it, is a kind of persuasion; the persuasion of last resort, within the boundaries of the law, sometimes the only kind available.

Prohibition Laws

Of course any kind of disobedience of law may have the effect of persuasion, just as force can at times be a powerful persuader. The disobedience of the prohibition laws was violent, secret, rather cynical and largely uncivil, yet it finally led to the repeal of the 18th Amendment.

Presbyterian Outlook

But this kind of disobedience was truly beyond the legal pale. By teaching disrespect for this one law, it was indeed subversive of the law.

To have been *civil* disobedience, the resistance to prohibition would have had to be open, in the sight and knowledge of the authorities, and those thus disobeying the law should have not only been prepared to accept the consequences, but should have deliberately invited them. If those who considered the 18th Amendment a violation of their natural right to drink had courted the jails in protest, if they had, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, entered the prisons "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber," I think the 21st Amendment would probably have come sooner. Certainly it would have come better. I do not think we would have had the organized crime that came in the wake of the less respectful forms of persuasion that were used.

CIVIL *disobedience is within the legal pale—within the Canons of Ethics of our profession, I would say—because it involves the highest possible respect for the law.*

If we secretly violate the law or try to evade it or violently seek to overthrow it, that would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when we openly disobey a law that we hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that we belong in jail until it is changed. Thus Socrates refused to listen to his friends' plan for his escape from the verdict of Athens but chose instead peacefully to drink the hemlock, giving the respect he considered due to the state and to the laws in which he had lived and had his being.

Is this anarchy? I hope not, for I agree with Justice Brandeis that our government is "the potent, the omnipresent teacher" that "teaches the whole people." And I do not agree with Thoreau that "the law will never make men free." It is through law that we, like Socrates, find our freedom. But the law will play its full role as teacher only when we look upon it as a question. For it is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue.

A Choice for Freedom

If the proposition to which we are dedicated is self-government, then we must respond to the law, resist it, change it, and fulfill it, even as it challenges, changes, and educates us. Civil disobedience is one way in which we can exercise the choice that law gives us. It is the choice that makes us free.

Now I have not even come to Gandhi, and all I will say here about him is that he, too, was a lawyer—trained in London's Inner Temple—and I think he always saw civil disobedience as a constitutional form of persuasion, as a way to reach and move the minds and hearts of people and thus to mould the law.

Nor have I tried to consider the many uses and abuses of this theory. I recall a Kentucky mayor who called on his people to adopt Gandhi's method of fighting injustice, as the only remaining form of resistance to court-imposed integration. The mayor added that of course the white people wouldn't want Gandhi to come to their town, however useful his idea of civil disobedience might be for their purposes.

This doesn't disturb me. For the beauty of civil disobedience is that, in part at least, it answers a problem of law that has bothered people from St. Thomas to the present. Aquinas held that laws contrary to human good are not binding in conscience except in order to avoid "scandal or disturbance." Since violent disobedience, in the violent centuries that followed, did indeed often cause scandal and disturbance contrary to the common good, St. Thomas's exception has generally proved to be the rule, at least the rule for lawyers.

But CIVIL *disobedience by its nature avoids the kind of scandal or disturbance that St. Thomas rightly feared.*

In fact, what is wrong with the theory of civil disobedience in this country is not that our jails would fill. For jail-going is not the natural disposition of most men. A little jail-going against some of our laws might be good yeast to leaven the lump of our modern Leviathan. Civil disobedience could be an antidote to the centralization and standardization of our life, to the sense of fatality of the multitude as well as to the tyranny of the majority. We certainly need some kind of Socratic gadfly to stir society from its dogmatic slumbers.

No, the problem, I fear, is rather that by nature we seem more inclined to disobey not unjust laws but just ones. We all engage in civil disobedience in the form of jaywalking or speeding, to name only two popular varieties. But we hesitate to resist an unjust law. We do not take personal responsibility for injustice. Instead of taking Socrates straight, we seem to prefer the comic version. I am referring to Aritophanes' portrayal in *The Clouds*, where the student of Socrates says, "But I wish to succeed, just enough for my need, and to slip through the clutches of law." But there again, we are free to choose which Socrates—which inner light or higher law—to follow, and it is the choice that makes us free.

WHY IS IT that it takes us so long to believe in this democracy we give lip service to? Let's stop participating in the undoing of our fellowman! Let's give everyone around us—rich or poor, white or Negro—room enough to reach for fulfillment. For what sin can be greater than to cause a man to miss his own life?—PAUL GREEN.

FROM MY STUDY WINDOW

By W. B. J. Martin

MONDAY • One of my literary discoveries this summer was Robert Penn Warren's novel-length poem, *Brother to Dragons*, which is an account and a criticism of Thomas Jefferson, the father of the American Dream. Faced with tragedy in his own family, Jefferson is challenged to examine anew his own concept of the nature of man. The poem is well worth reading if only for the lines:

> I think I begin to see the forging of the future.
> It will be forged beneath the hammer of truth
> On the anvil of anguish.

TUESDAY • Some years ago Professor G. E. Wright examined 1,845 published sermons written between 1914 and 1942 to discover what use they made of the great eighth-century prophets. He was disconcerted to discover that only 74 of them contained enough material to be used in the analyis. I wonder if the position is any better today? I have yet to hear a single sermon from members of my homiletics class dealing with those towering figures.

WEDNESDAY • There are always people who ask, like the disciples, "Tell us plainly." Kierkegaard must have known many of them, for he says, "The time will come when it will be considered just as bad taste to give results as it was at one time to point a moral. The man who cannot discover the result for himself with the help of the road never discovers it at all, he only imagines he does."

THURSDAY • The best definition of evangelism I have encountered in a long time is that put forward by the commission of evangelism of the National Council of Churches. It runs: "Prophetic and homiletic witness; theological clarification, inquiry and defence; formal and informal nurture; Biblical and catechetical teaching; corporate and individual counseling—all to the end that God in Christ may be more clearly, fully, and powerfully known. These are corporate responsibilities, and the church must sustain them as a corporate body."

FRIDAY • I like the idea, put forward by some scholars, notably E. D. Burton and Benjamin W. Robinson, that the Fourth Gospel is not a chronological account of the life and teaching of Jesus, but in reality a collection of sermons delivered to the congregation at Ephesus. Robinson thinks that the key to the book is the sermon we now know as chapter 6, where John takes as his text the feeding of the multitude and preaches a sermon on "Jesus, the Bread of Life," a sermon obviously spoken on Communion Sunday

file

Re 7-8200
2168

Oct. 3, 1960

Mrs. Tilly Leslie Dunbar

Civil rights

The Department of Justice has brought voting suits under the Acts of 1957 and 1960 against the following counties:

Terrell County, Ga.
Macon County, Ala. (both the Macon & Terrell have been once to the Supreme Court)
Dem Elec Ct
Fayette County, Tenn. (settled out of court)
Heywood County, Tenn.
Bienville Parish, La.
Washington Parish, La

The Department of Justice has required the production of voting records, under the Act of 1960, in the following counties:

Alabama: Wilcox County, Montgomery County, Sumter, County

Florida: Union County

Georgia: Webster County, Early County, Fayette County, Gwinnett County

Louisiana: East Carroll Parish, Ouachita Parish, East Feliciana Parish

Mississippi: Bolivar County, LeFlore County, Forest County

South Carolina: McCormick County, Clarenden County, Hampton County

The Commission on Civil Rights has held voting hearings in Montgomery, Ala.; New Orleans, La.; and tried to do so in Shreveport, La.

H.F. - Do we want to accept further material which is restricted?

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 6, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please forgive us for the delay in responding to your letter of November 28. The reason for the delay is that your letter raises a very knotty problem for the Commission. Information of the kind which Reverend Murray Cox provided the Commission concerning registration in Mississippi is provided for Commission use in the preparation of its report to Congress. The Commission has an obligation not to release such information for general publication prior to the submission of its report to Congress.

The Commission staff have found the publications of the Southern Regional Council extremely valuable and have appreciated your generous spirit of cooperation. Therefore, we labor under a heavy incentive to respond to any reasonable request which you might make of us. I wonder if you will be so kind as to write me further concerning the nature of the use to which you would put the data concerning registration in Mississippi if we were able to provide it to you. It does not seem to me that we can release the material if it is for publication prior to the completion of the Commission's September 1961 report.

Best wishes.

Very sincerely,

Cornelius P. Cotter

Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director

December 12, 1960

Mr. Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cotter:

Thank you for your letter of December 6. I regret that my inquiry about the Mississippi voting information has caused you and the staff difficulty.

As you know, we attempt to keep informed of these matters and this was the motive for my request to you. I think it would probably be best, however, under the circumstances, for you not to share the report on Mississippi with us. We are accustomed to maintaining confidential information in our files when it has to do with personalities and developing situations. Factual data is another matter, however, and we would, frankly, prefer not to have it on a restricted basis.

We are sincerely grateful for your consideration and your willingness to meet us far more than halfway. I think you will understand why it is better for us to withdraw the request I made on November 28. We are just glad to know that someone knows something about Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

December 28, 1960

Mr. Harold Flemming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

I have just finished reading the publication "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" by George McMillan which was published by your organization. In my opinion it is an excellent piece of work. As you are perhaps aware, one part of the present administration of justice study is interracial violence. That is, we are interested in those instances of interracial violence where there is some police involvement such as a failure to protect people or actual assistance to the assailants. Mr. McMillan's study, therefore, fits in very much with our work.

Are there additional materials gathered by Mr. McMillan for this study which might be made available to us? I could promise to return them directly in the event that there were only single copies. I would also be most interested in speaking to Mr. McMillan or yourself about this matter in the event that either of you are ever in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold S. Trebach

Arnold S. Trebach
Chief, Administration
of Justice Section.

(To be routed in order numbered)
Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

→ LWD Can we send him anything?

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

RHA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

January 10, 1961

Mr. Arnold S. Trebach
Chief, Administration of Justice Section
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Trebach:

We copied your letter of December 28 and forwarded it to Mr. McMillan. He wrote to you direct on January 4 and since then has written to us on January 9. This correspondance is enclosed and is, I think, self-explanitory.

We do not have in our files any other data on his investigations. This was an assignment which we commissioned and the author kept all of his own material. We do have extensive files on law enforcement questions, but I think these have already been consulted by Mr. Mottolese and others on the Commission's staff. Please let us know, however, if we can be of any other help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

(WD

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D. C.

CCR #131

FOR RELEASE IN A.M.'s OF MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1961. TV AND RADIO HOLD UNTIL 1 A.M., EST, MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1961.

Tuffano

WASHINGTON-- The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights today said that the Federal Government itself had been "a silent partner in the creation and perpetuation of separate colleges for Negroes."

In a report entitled "Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960," the six-member, bipartisan Commission recommended that Federal funds for assistance to publicly controlled colleges and universities be disbursed only to institutions that do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin.

The Commission also recommended:

. That Congress consider authorizing the use of three-judge courts "in cases presenting a substantial factual issue as to whether persons are being denied equal protection of the laws with respect to public education."

. That, when requested by a State, the Federal Government sponsor programs to assist public school teachers "and students of native talent and ability who are handicapped professionally or scholastically as a result of inferior educational opportunity and training."

The report, the result of a 12-month study, stated that discrimination in higher education centers on the Negro and that the heart of the problem lies in the Southern States. It added, however, "The public colleges of the Northern and Western States are not free from suspicion of discrimination

(MORE)

against Negroes. Some 20 percent of the public institutions in those States inquire as to the race of an applicant or ask for a photograph, or both ..."

In its State-by-State study of public higher education the Commission noted that the Nation "may desperately need additional trained manpower in the physical and natural sciences, in engineering, and mathematics, but to a great extent the South offers only history of education and teaching methods to its Negro youth. The potential physicist, chemist, mathematician, psychologist, sociologist among the Negroes of the South is lost to the Nation ..."

The Commission found that deprivation at the high school level leads to deprivation at the college level. The report noted that the public high schools in six "resistant" States -- Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia -- "present a picture of deprivation varying in degree from a low of 2.6 percent Negro high schools approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools as compared with 52.4 percent white in Mississippi, to a high of 53.9 percent Negro and 84.1 percent white high schools so approved in Florida."

In this regard, the report observed:

"This inferior preparation of the Negro high school student in the segregated high school of the South helps perpetuate the problem of segregation and discrimination at the college level. Proportionately fewer academically talented Negroes have the educational foundation required for success in a first-rate college. The graduates of segregated and inferior high schools tend, therefore, in overwhelming numbers to attend segregated and generally inferior colleges."

In recommending that the Federal Government consider withholding assistance funds from public colleges and universities that discriminate, the Commission emphasized that "in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that

(MORE)

no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof."

The only dissent from the recommendation for withholding funds came from Commissioner Doyle E. Carlton, who said: "I cannot approve the withholding of money, coming as it does to the Federal Government from the taxpayers of the several States, as a club to forge any fixed pattern set forth by a Federal agency."

The recommendation for the use of the more expeditious three-judge courts was based primarily on two considerations:

(1) A finding that the average length of almost all lawsuits to secure admission to a public college or university is 2½ years. The Commission said that "an individual should not be subjected to such delay in securing a judicial determination of his constitutional rights."

(2)Agreement by a majority of the Commission that the determination of factual issues of constitutional deprivation involves a Federal-State relationship of importance equal to the determination of constitutionality of a State statute, where a three-judge court is now required.

Vice Chairman Robert G. Storey and Commissioner Carlton filed dissenting statements to this recommendation.

Two proposals offered by Chairman John A. Hannah and Commissioners Theodore M. Hesburgh and George M. Johnson failed to win majority approval when they met with objections from Vice Chairman Storey and Commissioners Carlton and Robert S. Rankin.

One would have recommended that Federal funds for assistance to private, as well as public, colleges and universities that discriminate be withheld.

(MORE)

The other would give to the Attorney General authority to institute or intervene in civil actions to prevent the denial of equal protection of the laws with respect to higher public education.

The report was prepared under the direction of Dr. Elizabeth R. Cole, head of the Commission's Public Education Section and member of the Maryland State Board of Education.

##########

February 6, 1961

The Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

May we request a copy of your recent report, "Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960".

If available, we should also be very interested in having a copy of Mr. Gordon Tiffany's final report to the President.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

file

March 24, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I had hoped to have confirmation of your availability for our January 16th meeting on this mail. Better luck tomorrow!

In reply to your request for suggestion concerning an SRC Director of Research, I am requesting Courtney Siceloff to share with you a list which we recently compiled in South Carolina. It represents our best thinking.

I was impressed last summer, in discussing with Dr. Charles Gomillion of Tuskegee the research work done there, by statements he made concerning the effective participation of young members of the faculty. A contact with Dr. Gomillion concerning the SRC staff need may prove helpful.

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Alice N. Spearman by ap

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS:ajp

March 28, 1961

Mr. Berl Bernhard
Director U.S.
Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

Mrs. O'Donnell, of your staff, telephoned yesterday seeking information regarding employment of Negro police in the South. I told her that we had such information but it was in manuscript form and we were not free to release it. Some months back we cooperated with Professor Elliott Rudwick, now in the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern Illinois, East St. Louis, Illinois, in furthering his efforts at surveying the employment and use of Negro police. From his study, which was carried out through a mailed questionnaire, Professor Rudwick has written three articles: one is titled "The Negro Policeman of the South" and has been published in the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, July-August, 1960; this article contains no detailed statistics. A second one, titled "Negro Police Employment in the Urban South," will be published in the Spring issue of the Journal of Negro Education. I am forwarding to Mrs. O'Donnell several pages of statistics from this article. The longest table, however, which is Table I, Mr. Rudwick informs me will not be used by the Journal. A third article is titled "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender." This is being considered for publication by the same journal. I am also forwarding to Mrs. O'Donnell a table headed "Arrest Power" from this article.

The purpose of this letter is to let you know that Professor Rudwick, while glad to make this information available to the Commission, desires that it not be used in any public release or made generally available until such time as it appears in print. I told Mr. Rudwick that I was

confident you would honor his wishes. I would assume that by the time your next report is to be published all of his material would be in print, and that you would be free to use any of it you might care to have.

If you or your staff have any questions regarding the statistics, I would suggest that you take them up directly with Professor Rudwick.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures to Mrs. O'Donnell:
verifax copies Rudwick Negro police tables
CC: Rudwick, Elliott
O'Donnell, Mrs. Garland W. (Librarian)

STAFF DIRECTOR

MA - return for Rudwick + file

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 3, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, # 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of March 28, 1961, and for the statistical information regarding employment of Negro police in the South which was sent directly to Mrs. O'Donnell.

This material has been transmitted to Dr. Arnold Trebach, Chief of our Administration of Justice Section, who feels it will be of considerable value to him in the preparation of his overall study in this area.

You can be assured that the material will be used only in accordance with the wishes of Professor Rudwick and that any further questions which should arise regarding the study or its use will be referred to him.

Let me thank you again for your help and cooperation in making the material available to the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Berl I. Bernhard

Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director-designate

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

File

April 10, 1961

Dr. Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Neil:

I am enclosing material received from Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council and Alger Fowler of the Advisory Committee in Columbia.

The material sent by Dr. Dunbar is a breakdown by race after the registration in 1958. You may realize that registration in South Carolina is once every ten years, so that there probably is relatively little change since then.

Mr. Fowler has contacted the Secretary of State. I am enclosing the number of registered voters by county, as of November 8, 1960. Unfortunately, this is not broken down by race. I am likewise enclosing the report from the Secretary of State to the General Assembly on the results of the November 8 election by county, on all candidates and constitutional amendments. The Secretary of State did inform Fowler that they do not have the list of registered persons broken down between Negro and white.

If any additional material is forthcoming I will, of course, forward it to you.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Courtney Siceloff, Secretary
South Carolina Advisory Committee

cs/cs
enclosures

Many Thanks Neil!

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Alger Fowler
I. D. Newman
Alice Spearman

MA file

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 2, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of April 28, regarding voter registration statistics.

Our voting people--and I--are off today to Louisiana to hold hearings in New Orleans, but when we return next Monday I shall look to the matter of sharing our information with you.

Sincerely yours,

David B Isbell

David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans & Research Division

Arnold Trebach
Chief, Administration of Justice Section
U S Commn C R

2 copies
Bryan (report 8-24)
6-5-61

IM

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 26, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your letter of the 22nd, and the Tennessee figures. We will have more to send you shortly.

Sincerely yours,

David B. Isbell

David B. Isbell
Assistant Staff Director
Laws, Plans and Research Division

MA

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.:

17 July 1961

Dear Dunbar,

Thank you for sending me the letter from Benjamin Muse with his valuable suggestions to the Civil War Centennial Symposium. Please express my appreciation to him and to other members of the Symposium.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Frank Graham

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LWD

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 1, 1961

Dear Mrs. Albright:

This is to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letter of August 29 and the enclosures to President Mays. He is out of the city until September 11. (Civil War Centennial)

Sincerely yours,

Butler T. Henderson

Butler T. Henderson
Assistant to the President

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Rec'd 8/10/64

August 7, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed are the up-to-date Advisory Committee lists of southern states which I promised to send you. I hope they will be of some help, and will endeaver to keep you informed of changes.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Field Representative

MA - please take responsibility for correcting mailing lists

Enclosures

GEORGIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

	Telephone
Sylvan H. Meyer, CHAIRMAN The Gainesville Times Gainesville 30501 Editor, The Gainesville Daily Times.	(404) LE 2-6211 (Bus.) LE 2-2078 (Res.) LE 2-6212 (Call after 6 PM Office)
L. D. Milton, SECRETARY Citizens Trust Company Atlanta 30303 President, Citizens Trust Company.	524-0614 (Bus.) 794-0178 (Res.)
Professor Clarence A. Bacote Atlanta University Atlanta 30314 University professor.	JA 3-6431 (Bus.) (Ext. #4) JA 1-1249 (Res.)
James S. Childers Tupper & Love, Inc. 3030 Peachtree Road, N.W. Atlanta 30305 Publisher and writer.	CE 7-4006 (Bus.) GL 7-9026 (Res.)
The Reverend A. Nelson Daunt 212 North Jefferson Street Albany 31701 Episcopal Priest in Holy Orders. Rector, Saint Paul's Episcopal Church.	436-0196 (Bus.) 435-8556 (Res.)
F. D. Funderburg, M.D. P.O. Box 309 Monticello 31064 Physician.	468-6156 (Bus.) 468-6457 (Res.)

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L. D. Milton, SECRETARY Citizens Trust Company Atlanta 30303		524-0614 794-0178	(Bus.) (Res.)
President, Citizens Trust Company.			
Professor Clarence A. Bacote Atlanta University Atlanta 30314		JA 3-6431 (Ext. #4) JA 1-1249	(Bus.) (Res.)
University professor.			
James S. Childers Tupper & Love, Inc. 3030 Peachtree Road, N.W. Atlanta 30305		CE 7-4006 GL 7-9026	(Bus.) (Res.)
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The Reverend A. Nelson Daunt 212 North Jefferson Street Albany 31701		436-0196 435-8556	(Bus.) (Res.)
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F. D. Funderburg, M.D. P.O. Box 309 Monticello 31064		468-6156 468-6457	(Bus.) (Res.)
Physician.			

Telephone

The Reverend Charles S. Hamilton
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Augusta 30901
724-1230 (Bus.)
724-8303 (Res.)

Minister, Tabernacle Baptist Church.

on list ✓Miss Johnnie Hilbun
922 S.F.C. Building
Augusta 30902
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Insurance counselor for Mutual of New York.

on list ✓Reverend James L. Hooten, Sr.
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Minister, First Christian Church.

Sam Massell, Jr.
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Atlanta 30303
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Realtor. President, Atlanta Board of Aldermen-Vice Mayor.

on list ✓Arthur J. McClung
521 9th Street (YMCA)
Columbus 31906
322-8125 (Bus.)
MU 9-7279 (Res.)

YMCA executive secretary.

In St. Council list Mrs. Frances F. Pauley (William C.)
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 30303
525-6468 (Bus.)
DR 3-6735 (Res.)

Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations

	Telephone	
on list #3 Morgan C. Stanford 1431 Candler Building Atlanta 30303 Attorney.	JA 3-2525 377-8845	(Bus.) (Res.)
The Right Reverend Monsignor John D. Toomey 8412 Whitfield Avenue Savannah 31406 Roman Catholic Priest. Pastor, St. James Church.	355-1523 355-1523	(Bus.) (Res.)
on list #10 Guy H. Wells, M.D. Statesboro 30458 Former president, Georgia State College for Women, and Georgia Southern College.	764-3214 746-2161 (Dillard and Mountain City)	(Bus.) (Res.)
Horace T. Ward 859-1/2 Hunter Street, N.W. Atlanta 30314 Attorney.	525-8372 525-8807	(Bus.) (Res.)
on list #8-2 Mrs. Prentiss Q. Yancey 1740 Simpson Road Atlanta 30314 Housewife.	749-2149	(Res.)

CCR/SAC/pbn/7-16-64

Mr. Mitchell

SOUTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

on list

E. R. McIver, CHAIRMAN
Box 255
Conway 29526

249 - 6629 (Bus.)
248 - 2464 (Res.)

Manager, building and supply company. President, South Carolina National Guard Association. Chairman, Agricultural Committee and Chamber of Commerce. Member, board of directors, South Carolina Tuberculosis Association.

on list

Thomas Carr McFall, M.D. VICE CHAIRMAN
85 Morris Street
Charleston 29403

RA 3-1628 (hospital)
RA 3-2182 (residence)

Physician. Medical director and administrator, McClennan-Banks Memorial Hospital. Member, South Carolina Hospital Advisory Council.

on board list

Courtney Parker Siceloff, SECRETARY
Penn Community Services, Inc.
Frogmore 29920

JA 4-4337 (Bus.)
524--4347 (Res.)

Director, Penn Community Services, Inc., a self-help project. Active in social service work in the South.

on board list

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c/o The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw 29520

LE 7-7287 (Bus.)

Editor and publisher of The Cheraw Chronicle.

on list

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Physician. Member of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Telephone

√Ira Kaye — RESIGNED 6/26/64
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Sumter 29151 — 773-7279 (Res.)
on list

Attorney. Executive committee member, South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Cooperating attorney, American Civil Liberties Union and Chairman, Sumter Jewish Welfare Fund.

√Reverend Gordon Krahe, O.F.M.
307 Gower Street — GE 3-7717 (Rectory)
Greenville 29611 — 233-9767 (Res.)
on list

Catholic priest. Member, Greenville Council on Human Relations (1958-). Served as Council's chairman (1961-62). Pastored Negro parishes in Asheville, North Carolina, Pensacola, Florida, and Greenville, since 1942.

√Reverend James Herbert Nelson
Route 1, Box 1574 — 534-8907 (Res.)
State College
Orangeburg 29115
on list

Presbyterian minister. Chaplain at State College.

√Sinway Young
2006 Sumter Street — AL 6-0392 (Bus.)
Columbia — AL 3-9537 (Res.)
on list

President, South Carolina Labor Council. Business manager, Local Union #382, IBEW (a mixed local union). Secretary, Columbia Building Construction Trade.

CCR/SAC/2-28-64/jeh

Mr Mitchell

ARKANSAS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

on bd. list

James E. Youngdahl, CHAIRMAN
1330 Tower Building — FR 4-8293 (Bus.)
Little Rock 72201 — LO 5-6434 (Res.)

Attorney. National Committee Member, League for Industrial Democracy (1952-). Vice chairman, Labor-Management Relations Committee. Arkansas Bar Association (1960-61). Published articles on Labor and other social problems in The Progressive, The Nation, the New Republic, and various law journals and union publications.

Mrs. Ruth Arnold
219 Linwood Court — FR 4-4521 (Bus.)
Little Rock 72205 — MO 4-2053 (Res.)

Program assistant, Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Member and president, Little Rock League of Women Voters. Chairman, Freedom Agenda, and Bulletin editor. State correspondent, American Civil Liberties Union, and member of its State steering committee for acquisition of voting machines.

Reverend David Albert Boileau
2500 North Tyler — MO 3-1630 (Bus.)
Little Rock — MO 3-4011 (Res.)

Roman Catholic priest. Professor at St. John's Seminary and at Little Rock University. Member, Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Co-founder, Greater Little Rock Conference on Religion and Human Relations. Board of Directors, Arkansas Urban League. Chaplain, Catholic Interracial Council.

Fred K. Darragh, Jr.
P.O. Box 86 — FR 5-8164 (Bus.)
Little Rock 72203 — CA 5-4750 (Res.)

on list as Fred Darragh Rt. 5, Box 339

President, Darragh Company. Member, Little Rock Airport Commission. Former president, Little Rock Urban League and Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Former director, Southern Regional Council.

Telephone

on list ✓John Gammon, Jr.
Route 1, Box 252 — PE 9-3594
Marion — (Res. & Bus.)

Farmer. Former employee (Washington, D.C.) Resettlement Administration, Rural Rehabilitation, Veterans Administration. President, Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation (Negro Division). Member, Arkansas Council Human Relations (Little Rock) and Arkansas Rural Development Committees.

on list ✓Steele Hays
825 Pyramid Life Building — FR 6-2326 (Bus.)
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Attorney. Delegate, Interracial Conference, Montreat Assembly Grounds, Montreat, N.C., sponsored by Christian Action Committee, Board of Education, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., with view to determining Christian responsibilities in the matter of desegregation.

on list ✓H. Solomon Hill
President, Shorter College — FR 4-6305 (Bus.)
North Little Rock — FR 4-6994 (Res.)

Minister and College president. Member, North Little Rock Housing Authority. Former chairman, Housing Committee NAACP (Oakland, Calif.) NAACP, president (New Jersey Branch).

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Professor of law. Associate Justice, Arkansas Supreme Court, and Chairman, Arkansas Statute Revision Commission (1945-54). Dean, School of Law, University of Arkansas (1943-54).

Telephone

(Mrs.) H. P. McDonald (Margaret B.)
822 North 9th Street
Fort Smith 72901

Sunset 2-7490 (Res.)

Housewife. Member, Council on Human Relations, League of Women Voters, NAACP. Board of directors, Ft. Smith Family Service Agency.

Lyell F. Thompson
412 I la.
Fayetteville 72701

HI 3-4511 (Bus.)
Ext. 371
HI 2-9215 (Res.)

University professor (Agronomy). Chairman, Services Committee, Fayetteville Human Relations Association. Member, Advisory Council, Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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on list ✓J. Francis Paschal, CHAIRMAN
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School of Law
Durham

681-0111 (Bus.)
Ext. 3289
489-2958 (Res.)

Professor of law, Duke University (since 1954). President, Duke University chapter, American Association of University Professors. Former chairman, North Carolina United World Federalists. Former Research director, North Carolina Commission for the Improvement of the Administration of Justice.

on list ✓Asa T. Spaulding, VICE CHAIRMAN
President
North Carolina Mutual
Life Insurance Company
Durham 27702

682-9201 (Bus.)
681-4580 (Res.)

Director, Mechanics and Farmers Bank. U.S. Delegate to Inauguration of the President of Liberia (1956) and U.S. Delegate to UNESCO, 9th General Conference, New Delhi, India.

on list ✓Mrs. Neal Austin, SECRETARY
1117 Cedrow Drive
High Point 27260

844-8429 (Res.)

Housewife. Former member, board of directors, High Point Family Service Bureau and the League of Women Voters of North Carolina. State president, League of Women Voters of North Carolina (1958-62). Member, Regional Peace Education Committee, American Friends Service Committee (1962-).

on list ✓Millard Barbee
2603 Ashe Street
Durham

3-4012

President, North Carolina Federation of the AFL-CIO.

Telephone

✓Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr.
830 Insurance Building
P.O. Box 2454
Raleigh 27602

833-9711 (Bus.)
787-4129 (Res.)

on list

Trustee, vice chairman of executive committee, and attorney for St. Augustine's College. Former part-time U.S. Referee in Bankruptcy.

✓S. E. Duncan
President
Livingstone College
Salisbury 28144

636-3062 (Bus.)
633-0358 (Res.)

on list

Educator. Vice president, North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Member, North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Board of North Carolina Council of Churches, and the Commission on Church-State Relations, Protestant. Life member, NAACP. Past member, executive committee, Southern Regional Council and Advisory Committee to the North Carolina Board of Correction.

on list ✓Curtiss Todd
P.O. Box 2242
Winston-Salem 27101 1721 First St. NE

Park 2-8700 (Bus.)
Park 4-2615 (Res.)

Attorney. Precinct chairman. Member, executive committee of the Urban League, and of North Carolina Human Relations Council Day Care Board.

CCR/SAC/2-19-64/jeh

MISSISSIPPI ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

CHAIRMANSHIP (Vacancy)

Dr. A. D. Beittel, SECRETARY (Resigning) — Code 601 thru Jackson
Tougaloo College — 366-3425 (Bus.)
Tougaloo 39174 — 366-8242 (Res.)

Educator. President of Tougaloo College. Board member, Mississippi Council on Human Relations. National secretary for the United Negro College Fund. Former president of Talladega College, Alabama. Former chairman, Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council (1945-52).

Rabbi Ben-Ami (see below)

Albert B. Britton, M.D.
527-½ North Farish Street — FL 3-0997 (Bus.)
Jackson — FL 5-0351 (Res.)

Physician. Member of board of directors, YMCA. Secretary, Legislative Assembly of the Mississippi Medical and Surgical Association.

Mrs. Martin L. Harvey (Clarie Collins)
415 North Farish Street — 355-2377 (Bus.)
Jackson 39202 — EL 5-3239 (Res.)

Mortician and business manager. Active in civic and religious work for the past twenty years. Has traveled extensively as national representative to international conferences. Participated in Women for Peace Pilgrimage to the Vatican, Geneva, and Paris (1963). Secretary of General Board of Christian Social Concerns, The Methodist Church (Washington, D.C.) and member Division of Peace thereof since 1960.

Rabbi David Z. Ben-Ami, ACSW — Area Code 601
P. O. Box 409 — 583-0375 (Bus.)
Hattiesburg, 39401 — 582-5717 (Res.)

Clergyman and trained social worker giving signally courageous service to the civil rights cause in an area of great resistance.

Telephone

Very Reverend Robert C. Hunter
201 Ruella Avenue
Bay St. Louis 39520

RESIGNED PER 7-20-64

HO 7-4322 (Res.)

on board list

Catholic clergyman. Provincial superior of the Society of the Divine Word, Southern Province including Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. Directed Southern Province (1958-62) and the Eastern Province (1946-55). Former school principal and high school teacher.

Reverend Charlemagne P. Payne, Sr.
725 Watson Street
Jackson

353-3102 (Res.)

Methodist minister. Member, Mississippi Conference (1943-61). Chairman of Conference Board of Missions, Board of Ministerial Training. Former member-delegate, Human Relations Conference executive committee.

George E. Powers, D.M.D.
202 Anderson Building
Gulfport 39501

UN 3-1911 (Bus.)
GL 2-2465 (Res.)

on list

Dentist. Secretary-treasurer of the Gulfport Dental Society (1957-59).

Mrs. Price (see below)

Reverend Wofford K. Smith
P.O. Box 326
University 38677

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234-5177 (Res.)

Episcopal Chaplain at the University of Mississippi.

Mrs. J. H. Price (Elizabeth A.)
308 Clark Avenue
Magnolia 39652

783-2357 (Res.)

Housewife active in community organizations and member of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

CCR/SAC/2-16-64/pbn

LOUISIANA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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on list ✓Honorable J. D. De Blieux, CHAIRMAN
105 Courthouse Building — DI 4-2686 (Bus.)
233 St. Ferdinand Street — DI 3-0337 (Res.)
Baton Rouge 70801

Attorney. Former Louisiana State Senator. Member, Chamber of Commerce, Baton Rouge Bar Association, Louisiana Bar Association, and the American Bar Association.

on board list ✓Dr. Albert W. Dent, VICE CHAIRMAN
President — 94 XXX 3-8861 (Bus.)
Dillard University — 94 XXX 7-4217 (Res.)
New Orleans 70122

University president.

deceased 1964 Mrs. Moise Cahn, SECRETARY
40 Versailles Boulevard — Deceased 4/14/64 — UN 6-6282
New Orleans 70125

Housewife. President, Urban League of New Orleans (1948-51), National Council of Jewish Women (1954-59). Member, national board, American Red Cross (1959).

on list ✓Bernard Raynal Ariatti
Institute of Industrial Relations — UN 6-5471 (Bus.)
Loyola University — 288-5612 (Res.)
New Orleans 71018

Labor representative, New Orleans AFL-CIO. Former president, AFL-Labor League for Political Education. Former business agent for Glass Workers Local #936.

on list ✓The Reverend W. T. Handy, Jr.
149 North 14th Street — DI 2-3163 (Bus.)
Baton Rouge 70802 — DI 4-3677 (Res.)

Minister, St. Marks Methodist Church.

Telephone

on list

Harold I Lief, M.D.
1430 Tulane Avenue
New Orleans 70112

Area Code 504
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899-2878 (Res.)

Professor of psychiatry at Tulane University. Member, Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, and the board of directors of "Save Our Schools, Inc."

on board list

John P. Nelson, Jr.
702 Gravier Building
535 Gravier Street
New Orleans 12

Area Code 504
~~529-2656~~ (Bus.) 523-6504
UN 6-2153 (Res.)

Attorney. Former Assistant District Attorney, Orleans Parish. Vice chairman, "Save Our Schools, Inc." New Orleans. Member, Young Men's Business Club, and Junior Chamber of Commerce.

on board list

The Right Reverend Monsignor Alexander O. Sigur
P.O. Box 532
University of Southern Louisiana Station
Lafayette 70506

CE 4-2331

Priest, Catholic Student Center.

CCR/SAC/2-19/64/jeh

Mr. Mitchell

TENNESSEE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

on list ✓ H. O. Forgy, Jr., CHAIRMAN
H. O. Forgy & Son, Inc.
P.O. Box 792
Jackson 38302

Burton St

427-6784 (Bus.)
427-8147 (Res.)

Vice president, H. O. Forgy & Son, Inc. President, Jackson Community Relations Council. Member, Jackson-Madison County Chamber of Commerce and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

on list ✓ Mrs. Tom Ragland, VICE CHAIRMAN
3821 Abbott Martin Road
Nashville

CY 8-1247 (Res.)

Homemaker. Member, State board, and membership chairman, Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

on list V.I.P. ✓ George E. Barrett, SECRETARY
618 Stahlman Building
Nashville 37201

615-244-2202 (Bus.)
269-0438 (Res.)

Attorney. Former associate of Office of Public Defender (1962). Member, Austin Club and Mayor's Biracial Committee (1960). President, Nashville Community Relations Conference (1959-61) and the Tennessee Council on Human Relations (1961-).

on list ✓ Honorable Hobart F. Atkins
410 Cumberland Avenue, S.W.
Knoxville 37902

523-4848 (Bus.)
523-1655 (Res.)

Attorney. Member, State Executive Committee. Served two terms as Tennessee State Senator.

on list ✓ James C. Blackburn
1140 Sterick Building
Memphis 38103

JA 6-7461 (Bus.)
274-3529 (Res.)

Attorney. Past director, Citizens Association of Memphis and Shelby County. Member, Memphis and Shelby County Bar Association.

Mr. Mahlon J. Griffith
1401 South Street
Nashville 37212

256-3470 (Bus.)
AL 4-7931 (Res.)

Postal Employee and former president, National Alliance of Postal Employees. Chairman, Labor and Industry Committee, NAACP. Active in a variety of community and vocational guidance organizations.

Telephone

Professor Vivian W. Henderson
University of North Carolina
School of Agriculture
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

on list #7

83 TE 4-5211 (Bus.)
Ext. 597
833 836-6292 (Res.)

On 1-year leave of absence from Fisk University. Vice president, Nashville Community Relations Council (3 years). Chairman, the executive committee of the Nashville NAACP (2 years). Co-founder and member, Nashville Community Conference on Employment Opportunity.

✓Honorable John R. Jones
113 North Main Street
Erwin 37650

on list

PI 3-4911 (Bus.)
PI 3-4441 (Res.)

Attorney. County Judge of Unicoi County. Clerk and Master, Chancery Court (Erwin) for 6 years, and Tennessee General Assembly for 3 terms. Member, board of directors, Erwin YMCA for 10 years.

✓Matthew Lynch
Tennessee State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
226 Capitol Boulevard
Nashville 37219

on list

AL 6-5687 (Bus.)
CA 8-2826 (Res.)

Secretary, State labor union.

✓David E. Rogers, M.D.
Department of Medicine
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 37203

on list

AL 4-5411 (Bus.)
Ext. 6626
CY 8-2023 (Res.)

Professor of medicine. Member, Association of American Physicians, American Society for Clinical Investigation, and Nashville Human Relations Council. Chairman, Staphylococcal Commission of the Armed Forces Epidemiological Board. Recipient of the Junior Chamber of Commerce award as one of the Ten Outstanding Young Men of the Year 1961.

on list ✓Seamour Shavin
1433 Market Street
Chattanooga 37402

4120 Ringgold Rd.

MA 2-2195 (Bus.)
MA 4-8591 (Res.)

Operates building materials business. Member, Chattanooga Community Relations Conference and Tennessee Community Relations Council.

✓ Russell B. Sugarmon, Jr.
588 Vance Avenue
Memphis 38126

JA 5-8333 (Bus.)
BR 6-2968 (Res.)

on list

Attorney. Member, Memphis branch NAACP executive board, Tennessee Voting Registration League, Memphis Non-Partisan Registration Committee, and board member of the Memphis Community Relations Committee.

Mr. Mitchell

FLORIDA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chm. 11/10/64 Paul Walker, 1 Northeast 2nd St., Miami, Fla.

Telephone

on list ✓George Lewis II, CHAIRMAN — Resigned as Chairman
P.O. Box 750 — 224-2121 (Bus.)
Tallahassee 32302 — 385-1835 (Res.)

Banking. Finance Committee Chairman, Suwannee River Area Council Boy Scouts of America, and past Council treasurer. Treasurer, Tallahassee Council for International Friendship. Past chairman, (Florida Branch) United World Federalists. Member, Tallahassee and Florida Councils on Human Relations.

on board list ✓I. H. Burney II, VICE CHAIRMAN
Afro-American Life Insurance Company — EL 6-0441 (Bus.)
101 East Union Street — EL 4-1593 (Res.)
Jacksonville 32203

Insurance Company executive. Member, Southern Regional Council. Board member, Jacksonville Urban League. Vice president, Florida State Council on Human Relations. Chairman, Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations.

on list ✓Mabel Norris Chesley, SECRETARY
Associate Editor — CL 2-1511 (Bus.)
Daytona Beach News-Journal — 255-4629 (Res.)
Daytona Beach 32015

President, Florida Council on Human Relations, and Daytona Beach Open Forum. Winner, Lovejoy Award for Courage in Journalism (for work in the field of race relations).

on board list ✓The Reverend Caxton Doggett
504 South Lake — MI 4-2906 (Bus.)
Lakeland 33801 — NI 4-3623 (Res.)

Minister, Winter Park Methodist Church. President (two years) Florida Council on Human Relations, and Greater Miami Chapter of American Association for United Nations. Member, Committee of 100 in support of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia.

New Chm. Mr. Paul S. Walker, CHAIRMAN
1 N.E. 1st Street — PI 1-5792 (Res.)
Miami, Florida — FR 9-4311 (Bus.)

Manager of the Richards Department Store and an active worker in the area of civil rights in Miami.

on list ✓Professor Hal G. Lewis
College of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville 32601

FR 6-3261 (Bus.)
Ext. 2170
FR 6-5866 (Res.)

University professor. President, Gainesville Council for Human Relations and Florida Council for Human Relations. Member, board of directors, Southern Conference Education Fund.

on list ✓The Right Reverend Henry I. Louttit
P.O. Box 597
Winter Park 32790

MI 4-6581 (Bus.)
MI 4-2439 (Res.)

Bishop of the Episcopal Church. Chairman, General Commission on Chaplains, Washington, D.C. Member, Florida Council on Human Relations, and the Division of Cultural and Racial Relations of the National Council of Churches.

on list ✓Honorable Stanley Milledge Resigned 4/8/64
601 Flagler Building
111 Northeast First Street
Miami 32

373-2137 (Bus.)

change address

Retired Circuit Judge (Florida) and professor of law. President, Dade County Bar Association (1941-42). States attorney 11th Judicial Circuit of Florida (1943-45). Circuit Judge (1945-58).

Reverend Louis L. Mitchell, Jr. Resigned
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach 32014

255-5881 (Bus.)
677-9596 (Res.)

Episcopal clergyman. Executive director, Florida Council on Human Relations. Vice president, Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Vice president, Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Former therapist, conducting group program at two Alabama State Prisons.

Telephone

✓Tobias Simon
223 Southeast First Street
Miami 33131
(305) 373-0481 (Bus.)
FR 7 - 4627 (Bus.)
PL 4 - 9943 (Res.)

on list

Attorney. Member, American Jewish Congress and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Reverend E. C. Tillman
1031 22nd Street
West Palm Beach
TE 3-2915
(Res. and Bus.)

Minister, Mt. Bethel Baptist Church. Member, Fowler Commission on Civil Rights, Florida. President Interracial, Interdenominational, and Interfaith Ministerial Association (Halifax Area). Board member, State Human Relations Council and NAACP.

on list as Miss Mayme Williams"

Mrs. Charles L. Williams
14261 Madison Street
Miami 33158
FR 7-2536 (Bus.)
CE 5-4320 (Res.)

Assistant principal for Guidance. Board member, Florida Council on Human Relations. Life member, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, and the National Council of Negro Women. National chairman, Intergroup Relations Committee. Member (Florida region), National Conference of Christians and Jews. Member, board of directors, Greater Miami Urban League.

James E. Workman, Jr.
117 Federal Building
Jacksonville 32201
EL 4-7111 (Bus.)
Ext. 420
EV 7-1468 (Res.)

Postmaster for the city of Jacksonville.

Mr. Mitchell

VIRGINIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

CHAIRMANSHIP (Vacancy)

on list ✓ Edgar P. Phillips, VICE CHAIRMAN — Resigned 7/1964
3223 Hawthorne Avenue — CO 6-2406 (Bus.)
Richmond

Businessman. Phillips Machinery Company executive.

on list ✓ (Mrs.) Katherine Clark Gibbons, SECRETARY
510 Queen Street — DU 3-~~7219~~ 5985 (Bus.)
Alexandria — (D.C.)
King 8-1091 (Res.)

Special Assistant to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Community Advisory Services.

Former Congressional liaison officer, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. ~~Former~~ Field secretary to Honorable W. Pat Jennings. Board member, Washington County Chapter, American Cancer Society and Virginia Highlands Arts Festival. Secretary, Washington County Committee for Public Schools.

Harold B. Boyd
President, Virginia State AFL-CIO — MI 4-2996 (Bus.)
102 N. Belvidere Street — BE 2-5280 (Res.)
Richmond 23220

Union official. Former president, Virginia State Federation of Labor. Chairman, Southern Labor School and National AFL-CIO advisory committee on civil rights.

on list #8 ~~7~~ Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 3183, University Station — 293-8683 (Res.)
Charlottesville

Nonfiction writer for national magazines. Vice president, Council on Human Relations. Former board member, Charlottesville NAACP. Published two books on human rights.

Telephone

Honorable John A. K. Donovan
106 Little Falls Street — JE 2-2770 (Bus.)
Falls Church — JE 2-6050 (Res.)

Attorney. State Senator. Lions State parliamentarian. Member, Ferrow Commission on Public Education (ended "massive resistance"), Knights of Columbus, Interstate Potomac River Basin Commission, and Virginia Commission on Interstate Cooperation.

in board list

Honorable Edward E. Haddock, M.D.
1133 West Franklin Street — EL 9-3229 (Bus.)
Richmond — EL 8-1632 (Res.)

Physician and State Senator. Board of directors, Richmond Urban League and Virginia Council on Human Relations. City councilman. Former mayor of Richmond. Lay leader/associate lay leader in the Methodist Church (Richmond District).

on list

Alan J. Hofheimer
402 National Bank of Commerce Building — MA 5-5357 (Bus.)
Norfolk — JU 8-2641 (Res.)

Attorney. Past president of Reform Temple, Leigh Memorial Hospital and the Norfolk Servicemen's Club. Past chairman, Norfolk City Recreation Commission.

on list #3

Reverend Heslip M. Lee
17 East Cary Street — 648-4445 (Bus.)
Richmond 23219 — 703-644-7733 (Res.)

Minister. Social welfare executive. Serves as executive director, Virginia Council on Human Relations, Civic and Social Relations Committee of the Richmond Ministers Association, and the Richmond International Council. Chairman, committee on travel for Richmond International Council. Former staff member, Mercer University (Macon, Georgia) serving as director of religious activities.

Telephone

The Right Reverend William H. Marmion
P.O. Box 2068
Roanoke

DI 2-6797 (Bus.)
DI 3-0256 (Res.)

on list #7

Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, St. John's Episcopal Church. Board of directors, Virginia Council on Human Relations, and Roanoke Interracial Commission. Former chairman, Alabama Committee on Interracial Cooperation. Chairman, Birmingham (Alabama) National Conference of Christians and Jews.

on list #17

Professor Tinsley L. Spraggins
Virginia Union University
Richmond

EL 5-2382 (Bus.)
Ext. 54
MI 3-7253 (Res.)

College professor. Professor of American History and Negro History for 17 years. Contributor to historical and educational journals. Member, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Virginia Social Science Association, Virginia Teachers Association, Virginia Council on Human Relations, Racial Study Commission of the Diocese of Virginia (1959-61), and Richmond Strategy Committee of the Board of Missions, Diocese of Virginia. Chairman, Research Committee, Crusade for Voters (Richmond, Virginia).

on list ✓

Professor David Worth Sprunt
Associate Dean of Students
Washington and Lee University
Lexington

HO 3-2181 (Bus.)
Ext. 282
HO 3-3092 (Res.)

Professor of Religion and University Chaplains. Member, Virginia Council on Human Relations and local and State mental health associations. Honorary chairman, local United Fund Campaign. Chaplain, United States Navy. Fellow, National Council on Religion in Higher Education.

Telephone

Mrs. Kathryn H. Stone
1726 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

DI 7-0205 (Bus.)
Washington, D.C.
OT 4-0878 (Res.)
Arlington, Va.

Virginia State legislator (served five terms in Virginia General Assembly), and director, Human Resources Program, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies. Former vice president, League of Women Voters USA, and member League's subcommittee on Women in Federal Employment (Commission on Status of Women). Chairman, Governor's Committee for Youth (Virginia).

Webb (see below)

on board letter

Thomas W. Young
The Norfolk Journal & Guide
719 East Olney Road
Norfolk

MA 5-3686 (Bus.)
MA 2-2254 (Res.)

Newspaper executive. Member, Southern Regional Council. President, Norfolk Council on Human Relations. Director, Virginia Council on Human Relations, and of the Blue Ridge Assembly (Conference Center, Southern Area Council on YMCAs).

John Coburn Webb
110 N. Payne Street
Fairfax

273-5500 (Res.)

Attorney. Member, Fairfax County Council on Human Relations. Former member, General Assembly of Virginia--strongly opposed to "massive resistance" in Virginia.

####

CCR/SAC/2-11-64/jeh

ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman. (Vacancy)

Telephone

*Dr. Raymond Ettinger
1151 Brook Hollow
Huntsville 35805

876-9035 (Bus.)
539-7928 (Res.)

Research scientist and part-time teacher and consultant at Alabama A&M College for Negroes at Normal.

already on list ✓ Dr. E. B. Goode, VICE CHAIRMAN
1072 Davis Avenue
Mobile 36603

432-5132 (Bus.)
432-3971 (Res.)

Physician. Member, Southern Conference on Human Relations and the Masons.

already on list ✓ Mrs. Vera Foster, SECRETARY
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee 36088

Area Code 205
727-0550
Ext. 204 (Bus.)
727-3722 (Res.)

Social worker. Case supervisor, Veterans Administration Hospital, Tuskegee. Member, National Association of Social Workers, Alabama Council on Human Relations, Advisory Board (Southern Region) National Student YWCA, National Board, YWCA, World Council YWCA. Director, Jane Addams Peace Association.

already on list ✓ Louis Eckl
747 Nellie Avenue
Florence

EM 3-3434
Ext. 25 (Bus.)
AT 2-7784 (Res.)

Executive Editor. Past president, Alabama Associated Press Association. Member, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

* Dr. Ettinger
✓ The Reverend Albert Sidney Foley, S.J.
Spring Hill College
Mobile 36608

342-1531 (Bus. and Res.)

on list #7

Roman Catholic Priest. Professor of Sociology. Member, National Association of Inter-group Relations Officials, Southern Regional Council, Southern Sociological Society, and Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Mr. Fred D. Gray
34 N. Perry Street
Montgomery 36104

263-9360 (Bus.)
265-3327 (Res.)

Attorney and Clergyman. Actively engaged in the practice of law devoted primarily to civil rights and civil liberties cases.

on list #7 ✓ Professor Jay Wesley Murphy
Box 1574
University, Alabama 35486

752-5277 (Res.)
752-7441 (Bus.)
ext. 428 or 210

Law professor at the University of Alabama. Active in Tuscaloosa Human Relations Council work. Member, National Committee of Arbitrators. Former legal advisor, the Asia Foundation of Korea (law program).

Telephone

James A. Head
2857 Pumphouse Road — FA 3-8911 (Bus.)
Birmingham 35243 — TR 1-6936 (Res.)

President, Southland Metals Corporation. Co-chairman, National Conference of Christians and Jews. Chairman, Committee of 100 (Industrial Development Corporation). Past president, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and (Alabama) Rotary Club. Past member, Jefferson County Personnel Board (Civil Service). Member, State Democratic Executive Committee.

on list ✓ Honorable Edward Daniel McLaughlin
County Court House — 236--3418 (Bus.)
Anniston 36201 — HE 5-4151 (Res.)

Judge of Calhoun County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court. Member, Cosmos Club. Director, Rotary Club. Retired diplomatic and counsular officer.

on list ✓ Mrs. Frances P. McLeod
1540 College Court — AM 4-2577 (Res.)
Montgomery 36106

Housewife. Charter member of the Alabama Division, Southern Regional Council. Member, Alabama Council on Human Rights.

on board list ✓ Lucius H. Pitts
Miles College — State 8-4641 (Bus.)
Birmingham — State 5-0116 (Res.)

President, Miles College. President, American Teachers Association. Vice president, Alabama Council on Human Relations, and Commission on Cooperation and Counsel between the Methodist and Christian Methodist Episcopal Churches.

on list ✓ Reverend Charles M. Prestwood
303 Wilson Avenue — FR 2-3270 (Bus.)
Eutaw — FR 2-3991 (Res.)

Methodist clergyman. Chairman, Greene County New March of Dimes 1960-61. Former assistant professor of philosophy and religion, Birmingham Southern College. Governor's Committee for the Aging. Secretary-treasurer, Historical Society of the Methodist Church.

on bd. list ✓ Mr. Moreland Griffith Smith, Sr.
3236 Bankhead Avenue — (Res. and Bus.)
Montgomery, Alabama 36106 — 262-3533

Architect. Chairman, Montgomery Council on Human Relations. Board member, Alabama Council of Human Relations. Member, Board of directors, Southern Regional Council.

November 12, 1964

Mr. Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Field Representative
United States Civil Rights Commission
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Lew:

We appreciated your sending the up-to-date Advisory Committee lists of the southern states. However, Kentucky and Texas were omitted. Can we have these too?

We have put all the new people on our mailing list, if they were not already on it, and a surprising number of them were!

Any new additions since August 7th would be appreciated also, to all the southern states.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

NEW NAMES TO BE ADDED TO CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION MAILING LIST: 12-7-64

Mrs. Edw. C. Stern
1809 Tower Petroleum Bldg.
Dallas, Texas 75201

Prof. Henry A. Bullock
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Mr. Milton King Curry, Jr.
President
Bishop College
Dallas, Texas

The Hon. Rafael H. Flores
517 South Broadway
McAllen, Texas 78501

Mrs. Edw. H. Harte
222 Ohio Avenue
Corpus Christi, Texas 78404

Mrs. Geo. P. Lambert
7046 Holly Hill Dr.
Dallas, Texas 75231

The Hon. J. C. Martin, Jr.
P. O. Box 734
Laredo, Texas 78041

The Rev. Robt. L. Rowe
1203 Cotton St.
Austin, Texas

Prof. Laurence W. Knowles
School of Law
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky. 40208

Mrs. Herman G. Handmaker
542 Garden Dr.
Louisville, Ky.

Dr. A. Lee Coleman
316 Cassidy
Lexington, Ky. 40502

Mr. James E. Clay
172 Capitol Annex Bldg.
Frankfort, Ky.

Mr. Mark S. Israel
172 Capitol Annex Bldg.
Frankfort, Ky.

Mr. Orzell Billingsley, Jr.
1630 Fourth Ave., North
Birmingham, Ala. 35203

Dr. John L. Cashin, Jr.
507 Gallatin St., SW
Huntsville, Ala. 35801

~~Prefx~~
The Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
P. O. Box 1443
Birmingham, Ala. 35201

Mr. Jesse N. Stone, Jr.
854½ Texas Ave.
Shreveport, La.

Mrs. Betty Wisdom
707 Fern St.
New Orleans, La. 70118

Mr. Wm. R. Carmack
1700 Asp Ave.
Norman, Okla.

Mrs. Frank B. Bird (Agnes Thornton)
Box 394
Maryville, Tenn.

Mrs. Frances Spaulding
105 Redbud Lane
Tullahoma, Tenn.

Prof. Vivian W. Henderson
Dept. of Economics
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Katherine C. Gibbons
1101 Prince St.
Alexandriv, Va.

Dr. Erwin L. McDonald
401 West Capitol
Little Rock, Ark. 72201

Mr. George Howard, Jr.
329½ Main St.
Pine Bluff, Ark.

Prof. Burleigh D. Franks
Paine College
Augusta, Ga.

The Rev. J. Oscar McCloud
Room 403-4 Kemper Bldg.
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

The Rev. Charles C. Hunter
St. Mary's Church'
Yazoo City, Miss. 39194

Mr. Charles Poole
765 W. Oberle Road
Memphis, Tenn. 38127

Mr. Bobby D. Doctor
17 E. Cary St.
Richmond, Va.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425

November 16, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO ALL HOLDERS OF STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIRECTORIES

For your convenience in bringing your State Advisory Committees directory up to date, we are listing below new appointments, resignations, changes in address and biographical data.

ALABAMA	Ettinger	Resigned
	Smith (former member)	Add: CHAIRMAN Change: 263-6472 (Bus.) 262-3533 (Res.)

On list after agency

Reverend J. Edwin Stanfield
2108 Fulton Drive, NW
Huntsville, Alabama 35810

Area Code 205
852-5938 (Res.)

Protestant clergyman. Executive director, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

George Howard, Jr.
329½ Main Street
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Area Code 501
JE 4-5320 (Bus.)
JE 4-1506 (Res.)

Attorney. State president, NAACP.

CALIFORNIA	Heyman	Delete: On leave of absence from. Add: Professor, University of California Law School. Change: Ext. 2276

On list after agency

Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr.
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Area Code 305
255-5881 (Bus.)

Executive director, Florida Council on Human Relations.

on list

Dr. Tillman Cothran
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Area Code 404
JA 3-6431 (Bus.)
794-3406 (Res.)

Head of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University.

Burleigh Don Franks
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Area Code 404
724-6013 (Bus.)
736-4939 (Res.)

Instructor at Paine College.

Reverend J. Oscar McCloud
Room 403-4 Kemper Building
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Area Code 404
525-9768 (Bus.)

~~Special Field~~ Representative, Board of Christian Education, Office of Church and Society of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

on list
Interviewer

Monroe Schlactus
Regional Director
ADL B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Area Code 404
JA 3-1618 (Bus.)

Director, Southeastern Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

HAWAII	Hasegawa	Delete: Old Bio data. Add: Deputy director State Department of Labor and Industrial Relations for Hawaii.
	Levinson (former member)	Add: CHAIRMAN
	Noonan	Add: Secretary and contact person.
KANSAS	Levinson	Change: Area Code 913 CR 2-2430 (Bus.) CE 5-5806 (Res.)

KENTUCKY | Ardery | Resigned

✓James E. Clay
172 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Area Code 502
227-9661 (Bus.)
Ext. 534
223-8220 (Res.)

Human rights representative.

✓ Mark S. Israel
172 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Area Code 502
CA 7-9661 (Bus.)
Ext. 534
223-2205 (Res.)

Assistant Director, Kentucky Commission on Human Rights.

✓KENTUCKY | Knowles (former member) | Add: CHAIRMAN

✓ Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
2633 June Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70808

(Unlisted telephone)

Professor of Psychology of Louisiana State University.

✓ Camille F. Gravel, Jr.
611 Murray Street
Alexandria, Louisiana 71302

Area Code 318
HI 2-0471 (Bus.)
HI 2-9664 (Res.)

Attorney. Member, National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations.

✓ John P. Sisson
1046 Baronne Street, Suite #2
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113

Area Code 504
523-2901 (Bus.)

Director, Southern Field Service, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Jerome Mitchell
5515 Kennison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21215

Area Code 301
JE 7-9000 (Bus.)
Ext. 786

Intergroup Relations Representative, Maryland Commission on Intergroup Problems and Relations.

✓MISSISSIPPI	Beittel	Delete: Business telephone and thru Jackson. Change: 1666 Lelia Drive, Jackson, Mississippi 39216. Add to Bio data: Retired President of Tougaloo College.

✓Reverend Charles C. Hunter
St. Mary's Church
Yazoo City, Mississippi 39194

Area Code 601
746-1680 (Bus. & Res.)

Catholic Priest. Member, Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

✓MISSOURI	Maher	Change: Station #466

✓Mrs. Paul Schreiber (Evelyn)
530 Purdue
University City, Missouri

Area Code 314
PA 7-9927 (Res.)

Housewife. Member, State Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of Missouri.

NEW HAMPSHIRE	Nighswander	Change: Area Code 603 293-2542 (Res.)
	Walker	Add: On leave for 1 year. Returning Summer, 1965.
✓OKLAHOMA	Moon	Change: CE 5-4273

Dr. J. G. Blackwell
Route #3, Box 52
Idabell, Oklahoma

Area Code 405
AV 6-3365 (Res.)

Veterinarian. Community leader.

Leroy Graves
815 South Oak Street
Bartlesville, Oklahoma

Area Code 918
FE 6-6760 (Bus.)
FE 6-6850 (Res.)

Social worker. Director, West Side Community Center.

John Henry Nelson
116 Arlington
Lawton, Oklahoma

Area Code 405
353-9506 (Bus.)
353-4461 (Res.)

Real estate operator and restauranteur. Vice president, North Side Chamber of Commerce and member Advisory Committee, NAACP.

William F. Temple, Jr.
833 Beacon Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103

Area Code 918
LU 4-4827 (Bus.)
LU 4-4536 (Res.)

Insurance executive. Active in National Conference of Christians and Jews, and member of the Tulsa Community Relations Commission.

SOUTH CAROLINA — Krahe — Resigned

on list
Letter agency

Mrs. Eugene H. Spearman (Alice N.)
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Area Code 803
256-8808 (Bus.)
SU 7-4276 (Res.)

State Executive Director of the Council on Human Relations.

Charles Poole
765 W. Oberle Road
Memphis, Tennessee 38127

Area Code 901
534-3361 (Bus.)
358-1414 (Res.)

Government official of the Memphis Regional Office, Post Office Department, and practicing attorney. Director, Civic Research Committee and Memphis Urban League.

TENNESSEE	Rogers	Resigned

Robert E. Freed
464 South Main
Salt Lake City, Utah 34101

Area Code 801
363-4451 (Bus.)
363-8474 (Res.)

Manager, Lagoon Corporation. Member, YMCA, NAACP, and Chamber of Commerce.

Albert B. Fritz
920 West 3rd North
Salt Lake City, Utah 84116

Area Code 801
359-3824 (Res.)

Electrician. President and member, NAACP, and member, JACL Japanese Organization.

UTAH	Kasai	Add: Acting Secretary and contact person.
	Madill	Change: Area code 801 486-1308 (Bus.)
	Snow	Add: Zip Code 84532
VERMONT	Iglesias	Resigned

Bobby D. Doctor
17 E. Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia

Area Code 703
648-4445 (Bus.)
358-5211 (Res.)

Intergroup Relations Intern with NAIRO and the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

SJSimmons

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425

October ~~26~~ 17, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO ALL HOLDERS OF STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIRECTORIES

For your convenience in bringing your State Advisory Committees directory up to date, we are listing below new appointments, resignations, changes in address and biographical data.

ARKANSAS	Arnold	ADD: For all bulk material, send to 1220 W. Capitol Little Rock
	Hays	CHANGE: Area Code 501 MO 3-6096 (Res.)

Reverend Dr. Erwin L. McDonald
401 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Area Code 501
FR 6-2391 (Bus.)
SK 3-6328 (Res.)

Minister-Journalist. President, Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association. Member, Intergroup Coordinating Committee on Race Relations.

Paul C. Warnke
701 Union Trust Building
Washington, D.C. 20005

RE 7-5900 (Bus.)
Ext. 208
966-0397 (Res.)

Attorney. President, Nonprofit Housing Association of Washington, D.C., sponsoring housing for the elderly. Former member, Maryland State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Edward Murrell
67½ State Street
Augusta, Maine

Area Code 207
MA 3-4511 (Bus.)
Ext. 309
MA 2-5322 (Res.)

Electrical engineer. Member, Central Maine Chapter, NAACP.

Reverend Charles H. Mack
School Street
Salisbury, Maryland

Area Code 301
749-7592 (Res.)
742-1427 (Bus.)

Minister. Member, Wicomico County Biracial Committee.

Maryland	Warnke	Resigned
Massachusetts	Burgess	CHANGE: Area Code 617 742-4720 (Bus.)
Ohio	Day	CHANGE: 781-2135 (Bus.)

E. L. Goodwin, Sr.
1417 N. Greenwood
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74106

Area Code 918
LU 2-9181 (Bus.)
NA 7-0653 (Res.)

Attorney and newspaper publisher. Member, NAACP, YMCA, and the Urban League.

Mrs. Richard G. Taft
Okmulgee Street
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Area Code 405
JE 4-0396 (Res.)

Housewife. Former elementary school teacher who is active and has time to contribute to civic affairs.

Arthur L. Thomas
311 W. Main Street
Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

CH 7-5183 (Bus.)

College student in Senior year. Chairman, Delaware, Wichita, and Caddo Indian Tribes. Experienced in handling everyday civil rights problems.

Oregon	Beatty	Resigned

Harold E. Meier
342 Park Street
Lander, Wyoming

Area Code 307
332-2257 (Bus.)
Ext. 2757
332-3566 (Res.)

Practicing attorney. Deputy County Attorney and Justice of the Peace for Freemont County.

SJSimmons

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425

September 28, 1964

MEMORANDUM TO ALL HOLDERS OF STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIRECTORIES

For your convenience in bringing your State Advisory Committees directory up to date, we are listing below new changes in address and biographical data.

		Telephone
Philip L. Hammer, Esq. (Regional Consultant) 300 West Hedding San Jose, California 95110		(Remains the same.)
Michael E. Ballachey Assistant District Attorney Contra Costa County Hall of Records Martinez, California		228-3000 (Bus.) Ext. 2055 526-2017 (Res.)
√Georgia	on list Massell	Add: VICE CHAIRMAN
	Pauley	Add: SECRETARY
√Louisiana	on list Wisdom	Add: SECRETARY
Ray Murphy, ACTING CHAIRMAN 28 Norton Street Nashua, New Hampshire		TU 2-7362 (Res.) (Delete: Business telephone number and business address).

on list #7

Professor Vivian W. Henderson
Department of Economics
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Area Code 615
242-4451 (Bus.)
Ext. 54
256-7554 (Res.)

Vice president, Nashville Community Relations Council (3 years). Chairman, the executive committee of the Nashville NAACP (2 years). Co-founder and member, Nashville Community Conference on Employment Opportunity.

on list

Mrs. Katherine Clark Gibbons, SECRETARY & ACTING CHAIRMAN
1101 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia

(Both telephone numbers remain the same.)

Special assistant to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Community Advisory Service, Washington, D.C. Former congressional liaison officer, AID, Washington, D.C., and field secretary to the Honorable W. Pat Jennings. Former teacher, Washington County Public Schools and Virginia-Intermont College, Bristol.

Samuel J Simmons

Samuel J. Simmons
Director

MEMORANDUM TO ALL HOLDERS OF STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIRECTORIES

For your convenience in bringing your State Advisory Committees directory up to date, we are listing below new appointments, resignations, changes in address and biographical data.

✓Orzell Billingsley, Jr.
1630 - 4th Avenue, North — 324-7691 (Bus.)
Birmingham, Alabama 35203 — 251-0470 (Res.)

Attorney. Prominent in civic affairs and civil rights activities--a leading civil rights attorney in Alabama. Heads Alabama Democratic Conference. Chairman, Legal Redress Committee of the Birmingham Branch, NAACP.

✓Dr. John L. Cashin, Jr.
507 Gallatin Street, SW — 534-8331 (Bus.)
Huntsville, Alabama 35801 — 536-3240 (Res.)

Dentist. Vice chairman of the Alabama Democratic Conference.

✓Professor Charles G. Gomillion
114 Huntington Hall — 727-2000 (Bus.)
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088 — Ext. 214
727-2156 (Res.)

in Bt. list

Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and professor of sociology at Tuskegee Institute. Honored by civic groups for civil rights and human relations activities. Treasurer, Alabama Democratic Conference.

✓Reverend C. Herbert Oliver
P. O. Box 1443 — 324-4069 (Bus. & Res.)
Birmingham, Alabama 35201

Presbyterian minister. Chairman, National Conference of Religion and Race for Birmingham. Former president, Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Member, Executive Committee on Alabama Council of Human Relations.

✓Alabama — Prestwood — 2673 Fisk Road
Montgomery
265-1745 (Bus.)
264-2080 (Res.)

in list

Arkansas	Arnold	Add: SECRETARY
on list	Boileau	1815 S. Prairie Stuttgart WA 3-6711 (Bus.)
	Hays	FR 6-3151 (Bus.) GR 3-3671 (Res.) Area Code 616

Michael E. Ballachey
3545 Boyer Circle
Lafayette, California
283-6578 (Res.)

no

Attorney. Former staff attorney, State Advisory Committees Division, United States Commission on Civil Rights.

California	Heyman	Add: SECRETARY
D. C.	Segal	296-1200 (Bus.)

John C. Thomas
Horseshoe Hill
Hockessin, Delaware 19707
SP 2-2278 (Bus.)
CE 9-7858 (Res.)
Area Code 302

Chemist with Du Pont Experimental Station assigned to patent liaison work. Active member of "Concerned Citizens" a direct action civil rights organization in Wilmington. Member, NAACP and volunteer worker for various social agencies.

Florida	Simon	377-2441 (Bus.) FR 7-4627 (Bus.) Area Code 305
on list		
Georgia	Funderburg	Delete
on list	Wells	Add to Bio data: Peace Corps consultant
Hawaii	Akaka	Resigned

Honorable Jesse L. Dickinson, CHAIRMAN
628 Western Avenue — AT 8-0673 (Bus.)
South Bend, Indiana — CE 4-4271 (Res.)

Executive director of public housing. Served six terms in the Indiana House of Representatives and one term in the Indiana Senate. Second vice president, National Association for Mental Health, and Indiana Commission on Aging. Vice chairman and acting chairman, Indiana Advisory Committee (former).

Mr. Jesse N. Stone, Jr.
854½ Texas Avenue — 425-2721 (Bus.)
Shreveport, Louisiana — 424-0290 (Res.)

Member Shreveport NAACP Advisory Committee and Negro Citizens Committee on Civil Rights. Former member, executive board Louisiana Conference, NAACP Branches. Former member United Christian Movement, Inc.

Mrs. Betty Wisdom
707 Fern Street — 861-2791 (Res.)
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

Housewife. Board member, Urban League of New Orleans since 1961. Member, Subcommittee on Education, New Orleans State Advisory Committee since 1960.

Nevada	Mathews	Delete after "Reservation" parenthesis and period and add: "--largest, most active Indian work of its kind in the United States). "Also, past president of Community Service Council of Washoe County."
New Jersey	Chertoff	Name should read: Rabbi Gershon B. Chertoff

Mr. Jack G. Day, CHAIRMAN
1748 Standard Building — SU 1-8708 (Bus.)
Cleveland, Ohio 44114 — SK 1-2569 (Res.)
Area Code 216

Attorney. Faculty member, Ohio State University and Western Reserve University. Member, State board, NAACP. Attorney for Cleveland CORE and Ohio Civil Liberties Union, now Chairman of its Legal Committee. Board member, Cleveland Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Clarence H. Holmes
600 Marshall Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

MA 1-4740 (Bus.)
WA 1-2867 (Res.)

Attorney. President, Cleveland Branch NAACP since 1960. Held various other positions in NAACP Branches since 1949. Co-Chairman, United Freedom Movement since June, 1963.

Mr. C. E. Israel
205 W. Fourth
Cincinnati, Ohio

DU 1-7864 (Bus.)
UN 1-9144 (Res.)

Manufacturer. Chairman of the Cincinnati FEPC and vice chairman, Ohio FEPC. Vice chairman, Cincinnati Housing Committee. Honorary chairman, Cincinnati Jewish Welfare Board.

Professor Oscar W. Ritchie
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio

673-1211 (Bus.)
Ext. 372
FA 5-1738 (Res.)

Professor of Sociology at Kent State University. Member, NAACP and Educators Advisory Committee to the Ohio Civil Rights Commission. Consultant, Greater Cleveland Youth Service Planning Commission.

Eldridge T. Sharpp, Jr., D.D.S.
762 Mallison Avenue
Akron, Ohio 44307

253-5811 (Bus.)
JE 5-4487 (Res.)

Dentist. Chairman, NAACP Civil Rights Commission and member, NAACP Executive Board. Member, CORE and Steering Committee, Catholic Interracial Council.

Mr. Sidney Z. Vincent
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

TO 1-4360 (Bus.)
FA 1-6378 (Res.)

Director, Community Relations, Jewish Community Federation. Co-Chairman, Greater Cleveland Conference on Religion and Race. Coordinator, Ohio Committee for Civil Rights Legislation. Chairman, Cleveland Chapter of NAIRO.

Mr. William R. Carmack
1700 Asp Avenue
Norman, Oklahoma

JE 6-2260 (Bus.)
Ext. 445
JE 6-1712 (Res.)

Director, Human Relations Center, Norman. Holds membership, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Urban League of Oklahoma City, and Oklahoma Curriculum Commission Committee. Formerly served as consultant to aeveral intergroup relations agencies. Was a member of Neighbors Unlimited of Tulsa.

Mrs. Frank B Bird (Agnes Thornton)
Box 394
Maryville, Tennessee

982-3467 (Res.)

Housewife and instructor in political science, University of Tennessee. President, Tennessee Federation of Democratic Women. Member, Tennessee Democratic Executive Committee. States she "has long been an outspoken advocate of such measures as are embodied in the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Tennessee	Griffith	242-8321 (Bus.) Ext. 403
	Shavin	267-3574 (Bus.)

Mrs. Frances Spaulding
105 Redbud Lane
Tullahoma, Tennessee

455-4107 (Res.)

Housewife. Volunteer representative, Experiment in International Living. Vice president, Unitarian Fellowship of Tullahoma. Chaired County and State Democratic Committees since 1958.

Tennessee	Sugarmon	525-8333 (Bus.) BR 6-2931 (Res.)
Utah	Duncan	Resigned

Samuel J. Simmons
Director
State Advisory Committees Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

September 14, 1964

Here are copies of Kentucky and Texas State Advisory Committee's, also all new appointments, resignations, etc., from September 14, 1964 to present.

Lou

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Southern Field Representative
State Advisory Committees
Division

ADDITIONS TO MAILING LIST: Category 17 9-4-64

Dr. Raymond Ettinger
1151 Brook Hollow
Huntsville, Ala. 35805

The Rev. Albert E. Foley, S.J.
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Ala. 36608

Mr. Fred D. Gray
34 N. Perry St.
Montgomery, Ala. 36104

Prof. Jay W. Murphy
Box 1574
University, Ala. 35486

Mr. James A. Head
2857 Pumphouse Road
Birmingham, Ala. 35243

Brooksmiran
Mr. Moreland S. Smith, Sr.
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Ala. 36106

Mrs. Ruth Arnold
219 Linwood Court
Little Rock, Ark. 72203

The Rev. David A. Boileau
2500 North Tyler
Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Fred K. Darragh, Jr.
P. O. Box 86
Little Rock, Ark. 72203

Mrs. H. P. McDonald
822 North 9th St.
Fort Smith, Ark. 72901

Prof. Lyell F. Thompson
412 Ila
Fayetteville, Ark. 72701

Mr. Paul S. Walker
1 N.E. 1st St.
Miami, Florida

The Rev. E. C. Tillman
1031 22nd St.
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Mr. James E. Workman, Jr.
117 Federal Bldg.
Jacksonville, Fla. 32201

The Rev. A. Nelson Daunt
212 No. Jefferson St.
Albany, Ga. 31701

The Rev. Charles S. Hamilton
1223 Gwinnett St.
Augusta, Ga. 30901

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr.
40 Pryor St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John D. Toomey
8412 Whitfield Ave.
Savannah, Ga. 31406

Mr. Horace T. Ward
859½ Hunter St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Mrs. Prentiss O. Yancey
1740 Simpson Rd.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Dr. Albert B. Britton
527½ No. Farish St.
Jackson, Miss.

Rabbi David Z. Ben-Ami, ACSW
P. O. Box 409
Hattiesburg, Miss. 39401

Rev. Charlemagne P. Payne, Sr.
725 Watson St.
Jackson, Miss.

Rev. Wofford K. Smith
P. O. Box 3256
University, Miss. 38677

Mrs. J. H. Price
308 Clark Avenue
Magnolia, Miss. 39652

Mr. Mahlon J. Griffith
1401 South St.
Nashville, Tenn. 37212

The Hon. J.A.K. Donovan
105 Little Falls St.
Falls Church, Va.

KENTUCKY ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

Professor Laurence W. Knowles, CHAIRMAN
University of Louisville
School of Law
Louisville 40208

637-2531 (Bus.)
Ext. 433
WO 4-5474 (Res.)

Law professor. Attorney-advisor, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Education Section.

Mrs. Herman G. Handmaker, SECRETARY 18-2
542 Garden Drive
Louisville

896-9673 (Res.)

Housewife. Past president, National Council of Jewish Women, Louisville.

On list ✓The Reverend Olof Anderson, Jr. 18-3
1044 Alta Vista Road
Louisville 40205

JU 7-0969 (Bus.)
GL 1-1170 (Res.)

Executive secretary, Presbytery of Louisville. Member of board of Kentucky Council on Human Rights.

SEE BELOW FOR James E. Clay

Dr. A. Lee Coleman 18-4
316 Cassidy
Lexington 40502

Area Code 606
266-4728 (Res.)

Head, department of sociology, University of Kentucky. Consultant to Southern Regional Council and Kentucky Council on Human Relations. Co-director, siminar in intergroup relations, University of Kentucky.

On list ✓The Reverend Walter C. House 18-5
2309 Taylorsville Road
Louisville

454-7008 (Bus.)
458-4677 (Res.)

Executive director, Temperance League of Kentucky. Member, executive committee, National Temperance League.

James E. Clay
172 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Area Code 502
227-9661 (Bus.)
Ext. 534
223-8220 (Res.)

Human rights representative.

KENTUCKY--10 M.

Telephone

Mark S. Israel
172 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Area Code 502
CA 7-9661 (Bus.)
Ext. 534
223-2205 (Res.)

Assistant Director, Kentucky Commission on Human Rights.

on list ✓Howitt C. Mathis 18-7
Director, West Kentucky Vocational School
1400 Thompson Avenue
Paducah

443-6285 (Bus.)
443-3349 (Res.)

Director of vocational education. Member and consultant, Kentucky Council on Human Relations, Inc.

on list ✓Hal H. Thurmond 18-8
P.O. Box 319
Hopkinsville

886-6696 (Bus.)
886-2867 (Res.)

President, Blue Lake Block Company, Inc. Past president, Hopkinsville Chamber of Commerce. Member, Governor's advisory committee on mental health.

on list ✓William M. Wood 18-9
Box 877
Harlan 40831

637 (Bus.)
494 (Res.)

High school principal. Past president, Kentucky Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. Consultant, Kentucky Human Relations Commission. Former member, Harlan County Welfare Committee.

TEXAS ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

on list ✓ Dr. Luther Holcomb, CHAIRMAN 44-1
763 Rio Grande Building
Dallas 1

RI 8-5235 (Bus.)
TA 6-1305 (Res.)

Clergyman. Active in work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Responsible for peaceful desegregation of Dallas public schools in the fall of 1961. Serves on 15 boards of directors of health and welfare agencies in Dallas. Member, Interracial Committee of Dallas and the Dallas Chamber of Commerce. Commissioner, Dallas Housing Authority.

on list ✓ Irving L. Goldberg, VICE CHAIRMAN 44-2
2232 Republic Bank Building
DallasXX 75201

RI 1-6252 (Bus.)
EM 1-2211 (Res.)

Attorney. Member, board of directors, National Conference of Christians and Jews. Chairman, Southwest Region, American Jewish Committee (four terms). Former president, Congregation Emanu-El, and the Dallas Jewish Welfare Federation.

Mrs. Edward C. Stern, SECRETARY 44-3
1809 Tower Petroleum Building
Dallas 75201

Area Code 214
RI 7-3531 (Bus.)
DA 1-5507 (Res.)

Assistant Southwest Regional Director (on a professional level), the American Jewish Committee; active in social welfare organizations in community and American Civil Liberties Union.

Professor Henry Allen Bullock 44-4
Texas Southern University
Houston 4

JA 8-0611 (Bus.)
Ext. 271
JA 4-7615 (Res.)

University professor. Board member, Council on Human Relations. Chairman, Mayor's Negro Law Enforcement Commission. Member, Harris County Grand Jury, and Race Relations Committee for Council of Churches of Greater Houston. Published articles and reports on racial attitudes.

Milton King Curry, Jr. 44-5
President
Bishop College
Dallas

FR 6-4311 (Bus.)
Ext. 25
CA 5-2198 (Res.)

Member, Commission on School and College Relations of the Association of Texas Colleges and Universities. Former president, American Baptist Education Association in 1960-61. Former member, Governor's Committee on Desegregation in Texas from 1954-58. Published among others Christianity and Human Rights, (Texas Council of Negro Organizations, 1949).

Telephone

Honorable Rafael H. Flores 44-6
517 South Broadway
McAllen 78501
MU 6-3746 (Bus.)
MU 6-5650 (Res.)

Attorney. McAllen city commissioner. Chairman, Hidalgo County Red Cross Chapter. Member, Hidalgo County and State Bar Associations, Knights of Columbus, and Friars.

Mrs. Edward H. Harte 44-7
222 Ohio Avenue
Corpus Christi 78404
TU 3-7815 (Res.)

Housewife. Board member, San Angelo and Corpus Christi League of Women Voters.

Mrs. George P. Lambert 44-8
7046 Holly Hill Drive
Dallas 75231
EM 3-6131 (Res.)

Private researcher. Secretary, Bexar County Democratic Coalition, and precinct organizer (1958-62). Member, local committees primarily concerned with civil rights. Member and employee of labor organizations, and a number of organizations in field of social welfare.

Honorable J. C. Martin, Jr. 44-9
P.O. Box 734
Laredo 78041
RA 3-6326 (Bus.)
RA 3-3024 (Res.)

City official. Rancher. Director and vice president, Laredo Savings & Loan Association. Director, Texas A&I College (two terms), and Laredo National Bank.

Reverend Robert L. Rowe 44-10
1203 Cotton Street
Austin
GR 7-8149 (Res.)
GR 8-1875 (Bus.)

Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church in Austin. First vice president, Missionary Baptist Convention of Texas. Former president, Austin Ministerial Association. Board member, Austin Library Commission. Member, National Baptist Publishing Board.

on list ✓ Garland F. Smith 44-11
Box 416
Weslaco 78596

WO 8-2196 (Bus.)
WO 8-2579 (Res.)

Attorney. Banking executive. Attorney for Weslaco Independent School District (1947 to date) which was integrated promptly in 1954. Member, Commission on Mexican Missions, American Lutheran Church (1947-60). Former city commissioner, Weslaco.

on list ✓ Mrs. Harold Young 44-12
1323 North Alleghaney
Odessa 79761

FE 7-7202 (Res.)

Housewife. Chairman, Ector County-City of Odessa Park and Recreation Board (seven years). District president, Carlsbad Women's Society of Christian Service, Methodist Church. Parliamentarian, Western District, Texas Federated Women's Clubs.

PROPOSAL

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

Robert C. McNamara III

29 East Scott St.

Chicago 10, Illinois

MI 2-3331

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

This project is an attempt to correct the major communication problems of the civil rights movement with a single effort, a single organization, that would operate as a clearing house for public information concerning the civil rights movement. Civil Rights Information Service addresses itself to the three major problems in this field with practical solutions and development of new techniques. It therefore is dedicated to efficient and economical satisfaction of need.

The three problems to which we commit our efforts are these. First that the area of dominant or "white" opinion is in the main apathetic and poorly informed about the varied demands being made by Negroes today. The second problem is that the U.S. Negro, though aware of a growing sense of solidarity among his fellows, has no reliable source of information as to the progress of the civil rights movement, nor is he exposed to any detailed accounts of action in other communities. The third problem is in the present sources of information. Through an organized effort to reach editors, librarians, and writers, we will be able to keep these people informed and supplied with material at times other than at the height of demonstrations. Also, we realize that part of this problem lies in the use of archaic techniques of news reporting. We shall continue our development of news gathering techniques more consistent with current social needs. It is hoped that the media themselves will adopt the practices that we initiate and refine.

STATEMENT OF GOALS

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

The goals of Civil Rights Information Service explained below are predicated on actual need for such projects and a certainty that they can be in full function before the coming summer. It is probable that we would go into other areas of service, but under no circumstances would we commence a project at the sacrifice of one already under effort. Nor are we willing to stray from our purpose. As a matter of principle we will develop a project to the fullest before establishing any additional services. The priority of projects is below:

1. An audio news service to Negro radio stations that will give daily reports of civil rights activity and regular, deep accounts of the progress toward equality in both the urban North and South.

2. An accurate and current index of where information about the civil rights movement can be obtained, the channels for getting it, and a digest of the three hundred pamphlets and papers available with an index and cross index of that digested material. This would be mimeographed and bound looseleaf. We would mail it to perhaps five hundred newspapers, magazines, libraries, and church leaders. It would be brought up to date bi-monthly.

3. A library of films concerning civil rights that would be agressively distributed to churches and civic groups. We will develop distribution channels with a film we now have near completion that explores the Chicago school boycott and its effects.

4. An information bureau that keeps on top of the daily action of the civil rights movement. This would function to make it easier for magazines and newspapers to cover all aspects of the movement by being something like a press relations office, yet remaining clear of any bias. This project would send a daily notice of current civil rights action over the public teletype system.

5. A system of distributing the less sensational, yet newsworthy, photographs of the movement to television stations and newspapers. It is hoped that a well rounded library would grow out of this.

6. A library of audio material for FM stations and church groups that produce radio documentaries.

7. A mailing service for churchmen, neighborhood groups, and citizens interested in obtaining pamphlets, books, and films.

Clearly these various projects are complimentary, yet they demand the effort of an independant, well-coordinated organization. The large scope that they share is what makes them in demand; and it is that demand that makes them necessary.

PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

We are committed to organizing a tax exempt, non-profit institution operating as an independant source of educational information concerning the civil rights movement. We will be staffed by those eager to make a direct contribution to the political peace of the nation at some personal sacrifice. The problems of developing such an effort are three: 1) a trained, dedicated staff; 2) equipment and techniques that are both reliable and economical; and 3) large scale financing. The first two problems have been solved in principle and in fact. So, they will each be expanded upon before giving a more detailed report on the money situation.

Staff members will work in a particular area, or field, of our operation for which they will have full responsibility. As many as is practical will sit on the Board where a monthly evaluation of their work is made. Thirty two people have asked to work for this project as a result of Mr. McNamara's travels to seven cities where recruitment efforts were made. The initial staff of six has been established, and most of this said staff are now working. The lack of funds for any salaries makes any organized effort impossible.

Equipment for the project is being engineered as a part of normal research and development procedures by large companies interested in new information distribution procedures. Bell Telephone, Western Electric, Ampex, Accoustech, Boom Electric and Gestetner have cooperated so far. This has happened despite the fact that we haven't had the money to incorporate. Illinois Bell and Ampex have provided legal help in several instances.

The vital ingredient now is money. Since it is also a long range problem, perhaps it is best to discuss it in reverse. A year and a half from now the project will have been established well enough to have its value recognized by a large segment of the so-called leadership community. It will, therefore, be possible to raise the necessary funds in many ways. Best would be to get a large annuity pledged by the Ford Foundation. Second to that, it would be possible to hire a fund raising firm to make a national appeal, much like the United Negroe College Fund or the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The latter is less desirable because it requires the establishment of our service as a "name x", and this can cause useless conflict. To get to that position will require a single large grant for one years operation. It is our feeling that the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership should thus function. Three of the six major members of that body agree with us in this. There is also substance to the possibility that the Field Foundation might grant us this one hundred thousand dollars. The problem, therefore, that we are now faced with is how we might finance three to four months operation that will demonstrate our capabilities. For this we need nearly fifteen thousand dollars and a group with tax exempt status that will receive funds until the Treasury grants our own status.

There are, of course,other possibilities. However, at present this is the clearest course for us to steer.

BUDGET FOR THE OPERATION OF THE AUDIO NEWS SERVICE AND PAMPHLET DIGEST

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

INITIAL EXPENSES

Rental Security	$	100
Insurance		400
Lawyer's Retainer		300
Incorporation Fees & Expenses		100
Phone Installation		148
Office Furniture		100
Carpentry, Electrical Work, Etc.		225
Office Supplies		300
Film Production		2000
Audio Equipment Purchase		700
2 tape decks		
2 preamplifiers		
2 monitor meters		
tape erasing machine		
splicer		
2 head phones		
patch panel and cords		
amplifier		
2 speakers		
miscellaneous supplies		
Audio Equipment Installation		175
		$4,548.00

MONTHLY EXPENSES

Rent	$	110
Salaries		800
Office Equipment Rental		100
Building Maintenance		40
Audio Equipment Maintenance		20
City Travel		140
Phone		600
Teletype		120
Recording Tape		80
Mimeo Paper & Supplies		30
Postage Meter Rental		20
Postage		85
Miscellaneous Office Supplies		150
Travel		300
Accountant		75
		$2,670.00

4 Months	$10,680.00
	$10,680.00
	4,548.00
TOTAL	$15,228.00

ONE YEAR BUDGET

CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION SERVICE

INITIAL EXPENSES

Rental Security	$ 250
Insurance	400
Lawyer's Retainer	300
Incorporation Fees and Expenses	100
Electricity Deposit	50
Phone Installation	148
Phone Deposit	500
Teletype Installation	65
Teletype Deposit	200
Office Furniture	400
Carpentry, Electrical Work, etc.	750
Office Equipment:	
2 Electrical Typewriters	350
2 Mechanical Typewriters	250
Mimeo Machine	400
Postal Scale	25
Miscellaneous	450
Office Supplies & Stationery, including mimeo and teletype paper and supplies	1,500
Magazines & Newspaper Subscription (1 year)	2,600
Membership in publicity organizations, Press Club, City News Bureau, etc.	450
Automobile	2,800
to adapt for film crew use	225
Film Equipment purchase	
2 Projectors	700
Rewinds, Splicer & maintenance equip.	75
Film file and mailing cans	65
2 Movie Screens	250

Initial Expenses (Contd.)

Audio Equipment Purchase:	
2 Tape Decks	$ 600
2 Preamplifiers	300
2 Monitor Meters	50
Tape Erasing Machine	10
Splicer	10
2 Head Phones	30
Patch Panel & Cords	150
1 Portable Recorder w/batteries	450
1 Portable Recorder, power operated	650
Amplifier	150
Turntable	100
Speakers (2)	200
Tape	200
3 AM Radios	100
FM Tuner	150
Miscellaneous Supplies	250
Audio Equipment Installation	350
Total Initial Expenses	$17,053.00

SALARIES

5 People @ $4000 a Year (Chicago subsistence)	$20000.00 a year
Miscellaneous part-time people	$5,000

FILM PRODUCTION:

For Film Crew (separate budget)	$18,000,00 min.

MONTHLY OPERATING EXPENSES

Rent	300
Heat	75
Maintenance of Building	180
Auto Maintenance	40
Auto Gas, Oil, etc.	100
Business Machine Maintenance	25
Audio Equipment Maintenance	40
Visual Equipment Maintenance	25
Phone	800
Teletype	120
City News Release Charges	40
Recording Tape	92
Mimeo Paper & Supplies	30
Postage Meter Rental	20
Postage	85
Miscellaneous Office Supplies	150
Expenses for Delivery of releases, attending meetings, etc.	500
Accountant	75
Lawyer	200
Emergency Fund	300
Total	$ 3,197.00
For One year-	$38,364.00

April 6, 1959

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

At Mr. See's request we have prepared recently two memoranda, one on Negro voting in Georgia, and the second on the Terrell County vote case. I believe that Mr. See has revised these slightly and will incorporate them in his report to the Georgia Advisory Committee. In the meantime, Harold thought that you might be interested in seeing the originals; we are therefore enclosing them for your reference.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
May 11, 1959

A NOTE ON ALABAMA

Here too the pattern of high Negro population-low Negro registration is apparent. Alabama has 12 counties over 50% Negro. In one of these (Macon - 85.7% Negro), Negro registration is 28.2% of the total: 1,218 of 28,002 Negroes are voters; 3,102 of 4,320 whites are voters. In another (Sumter), Negro registration is 12.9% of total. For the other 10 counties, the largest Negro registration is 6.7%. In Lowndes County, 82.1% Negro, Wilcox County, 79.1% Negro, there are no Negro voters. In Alabama's urban counties, the picture is also discouraging:

County	No. of Negro Voters	Negro % Total	Negro % Population
Jefferson (Birmingham)	11,000	8.5	36.5
Mobile (Mobile)	10,400	17.9	32.8
Montgomery (Montgomery)	3,480	12.0	40.2
Tuscaloosa (Tuscaloosa)	2,680	10.0	25.3
Calhoun (Anniston)	1,943	8.3	18.3
Etowah (Gadsden)	2,100	6.5	14.4

(Note contrast between Birmingham and Mobile)

A NOTE ON SOUTH CAROLINA

There are 46 counties in the state; 21 have populations over 50% Negro. Registration in these counties is as follows:

State Legislature Representation	County	Negroes Registered	Whites Registered
1	McCormick	0	1,399
1	Edgefield	270	3,267
1	Fairfield	750	4,218

South Carolina, continued:

State Legislature Representation	County	Negroes Registered	Whites Registered
2	Marlboro	395	7,016
1	Lee	742	4,166
3	Sumter	2,704	7,574
1	Calhoun	74	1,699
4	Orangeburg	2,220	10,068
1	Barnwell	531	4,786
1	Allendale	140	2,419
1	Bamberg	393	3,267
2	Clarendon	324	3,458
2	Marion	972	5,280
2	Williamsburg	234	6,156
2	Berkeley	1,913	5,147
1	Dorchester	412	5,330
2	Colleton	735	5,695
1	Hampton	850	3,210
1	Jasper	489	1,975
2	Beaufort	1,286	2,855
2	Georgetown	911	4,667
		15,745 *	93,652

* of which over half (8,123) are in Sumter, Orangeburg, Berkeley and Beaufort Counties. Sumter and Orangeburg have the only cities of this group of counties, and they are small ones: City of Sumter, pop. 25,044; City of Orangeburg, pop. 17,220

For the whole state, 39.5% of the population is Negro. 11.4% of the reported voter registration is Negro.

The 21 counties listed above have 27% of South Carolina's population. They have almost exactly 27% of the seats in the lower House of the state legislature - 34 of 124 seats. But they have 21 of 46 seats in the Senate - the dominant organ of South

Carolina's government. In positions of leadership, they have (based on 1957 Legislative Manual - the latest edition we have):

Edgar Brown
- President Protem of Senate
- Chairman of Senate Finance Committee (probably the most important spot in the state government)
- Democratic National Committeeman

Speaker of House of Representatives

Chairmanship of 24 of 33 Senate Standing Committees

Chairmanship of 3 of 8 House Standing Committees (these 3 being Agriculture and Conservation; Judiciary; Ways and Means)

A NOTE ON ARKANSAS

Arkansas has had a predilection for naming counties after famous men. A curious result is that some of the worst of its counties, from the standpoint of Negro registration, have such names as:

County	Negro % of Population	Negro % of Registration
Jefferson	47.3	27.0
Lafayette	40.8	28.9
Lee	59.2	32.7
Lincoln	51.5	33.6
Monroe	46.4	21.3

In Pulaski County (Little Rock), 22.6% of the population and 14.4% of the registration are Negro.

A NOTE ON VIRGINIA

For Virginia we can make some rather more detailed comparisons.

There are 16 counties with over 50% Negro population:

County	Negro % Population	Negro % Registration	% of Negroes Registered	% of Whites Registered
King & Queen	54.4	38.3	9.4	18.2

County	Negro % Population	Negro % Registration	% of Negroes Registered	% of Whites Registered
Nansemond	64.7	31.5	7.2	28.9
New Kent	54.6	31.6	16.2	42.0
Northampton	54.7	18.6	5.3	28.1
Southampton	58.7	12.6	3.3	32.5
Surry	64.1	19.8	6.2	45.0
Sussex	65.3	21.8	7.1	48.1
Amelia	50.3	23.5	14.6	47.8
Brunswick	60.6	16.6	6.2	47.6
Caroline	52.2	26.3	7.5	23.1
Charles City	82.1	53.3	15.9	63.9
Cumberland	58.8	16.9	7.3	51.4
Dinwiddie	61.8	19.6	6.6.	43.5
Goochland	51.4	25.7	14.2	43.2
Greensville	58.6	23.7	8.3	37.7
Isle of Wight	52.4	20.6	10.7	45.5

Virginia has both counties, and so-called independent cities, of which there are 32. Over half of the Negro registration in Virginia is in these cities: 51,312 as against 40,860. On the other hand, only about 3/8 of the white vote is in the cities: 324,325 as against 528,158. The Negro vote is, therefore, predominantly an urban vote, the white vote is predominantly rural.

A NOTE ON LOUISIANA

An analysis in 1956, when Negro registration was 161,410, showed that in the French-Catholic parishes of Louisiana 51% of the potential Negro voters were registered, compared with 23% in the Protestant parishes.

Louisiana, continued:

Some especially bad Louisiana parishes:

Parish	No. of Negroes	Negro % Population	Negroes Registered	Negro % Registration
Bienville	10796	51.6	28	.58
Claiborne	14,491	53.0	15	.26
East Carroll	11,438	61.2	0	0
Madison	13,502	67.0	0	0
Plaquemines	6,752	38.1	45	.83
Red River	6,980	51.9	15	.76
Tensas	9,799	65.3	0	0
Ouachita	29,961	34.1	776	3.4
The principal urban parishes:				
Caddo (Shreveport)	81,015	38.8	4,466	8.0
East Baton Rouge (Baton Rouge)	62,734	33.0	9,100	14.3
Orleans (New Orleans)	219,539	34.1	31,289	16.1

A NOTE ON FLORIDA

Almost 1/3 of the total Negro registration is in 2 counties: Dade and Duval; these same two counties have also approximately 1/4 of Florida's Negro population. Duval County (Jacksonville) has one of the best showings in the South: 24.1% of the population is Negro, 20% of the registration is Negro.

The South continues to lag generally behind the rest of the nation in the number of eligible citizens who actually vote. The one party system and the thousands of Negroes who do not or cannot vote are contributing factors. In the 1956 presidential election the percentage of eligible adults who voted ranged from the top of 77.3 per cent in Idaho and 76.6 in Connecticut to the lowest, the eleven Southern states. They ranked 38-48 in this order:

	Per Cent voting
Florida	48.4
North Carolina	47.6
Tennessee	46.0
Arkansas	39.9
Louisiana	39.3
Texas	38.0
Virginia	34.2
Georgia	30.4
Alabama	28.4
South Carolina	24.5
Mississippi	22.1

~~Page 10r~~ An excerpt from forthcoming report

PURGES

One method was the purging of Negroes from registration rolls in Louisiana, largely as a result of the Citizens Councils. Restricting, or even wiping out, Negro registration has been an aim of the segregationist White Citizens Councils which have sprung up across the South since 1954. This group has been particularly active in purging voting rolls in Louisiana. It has been easy for them in a number of rural parishes to "find mistakes" in practically all Negro registrations. The account of the purge in Ouachita Parish, which is included in this report, offers an example of how the group worked.

Purges were conducted in at least 12 parished (counties) in Louisiana. Within a period of several months in 1956-57 alone about 10,000-11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, were dropped from voting rolls. The following percentages are an illustration of their effectiveness:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN 12 PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 to MARCH 1958

County	Negro	White
Bienville	-95	-11
Concordia	-71	-42
DeSoto	-36	- 1
Franklin	-51	-31
Grant	-39	-18
Jackson	-68	- 9
Natchitoches	-52	-36
Ouachita	-87	- 9
Red River	-99	-45
Richland	-76	-40
Union	-77	-43
Webster	-95	-36

Of these 12, all in the northern half of the state, three have populations over 50% Negro - Concordia, ~~Franklin~~ DeSoto and Red River - according to the 1950 Census. Three - Grant, Ouachita and Jackson, are 16-33 per cent Negro and the others from one-third to one-half Negro.

In each case, both Negro and white registration fell, although the latter less sharply. By contrast, in 10 representative non-purge parishes, Negro registration increased in three, and six had only a small drop. In the same 10, white registration increased in four, showed no change in one and fell in the other five. These 10 non-purge parishes:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN 10 REPRESENTATIVE NON-PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO OCTOBER 1958

County	Negro	White
Beauregard	-7	-9
Bossier	-5	+ 16
Caddo	-19	+ 5
East Baton Rouge	+ 4	+ 6
Evangeline	-6	-3
Jefferson	+ 11	+ 13
Orleans	-2	-10
St. James	+ 3	0
St. Martin	-3	-16
Tangipahoa	-7	-3

NEGRO REGISTRATION

	1947	1952	1956	1958
Alabama	6,000	25,224	53,366	73,272
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023
Florida	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	35,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,450
Virginia	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172
Totals	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038	1,321,731

Some factors determining size of Negro vote, 1959:

1. South Carolina's decennial re-registration in 1958; both white and Negro totals dropped sharply.

2. Purge in Louisiana

3. Re-registration law in Georgia

N.B. Registration figures, even official ones, are frequently ill-kept and ill-revised; e. g., the figures for Georgia show 55 counties where the number of whites registered probably exceeds the number of whites over 18 in the 1950 census.

~~Page 6:~~

VOTING REGISTRATION

State	White	Negro	Total	Negro % Total	Negro % Population
1. Alabama	828,767	73,272	902,218	8.1	31.3
2. Georgia	1,130,385	161,958	1,292,958	12.5	29.1
3. Arkansas	499,955	64,023	563,978	11.4	(see footnote 3.)
4. South Carolina	479,711	57,973	537,406	11.4	39.5
5. Florida	1,448,543	144,810	1,607,214	9.0	19.0
6. Texas	1,995,885	226,450	2,222,335	10.2	(see footnote 6.)
7. Louisiana	815,149	131,068	946,217	13.9	33.8
8. Mississippi		35,000			45.6
9. Virginia	852,483	92,172	944,627	10.8	21.5
10. Tennessee		185,000			15.5
11. North Carolina		150,000			25.5
Total		1,321,731			

Sources:

1. Registration: Birmingham News, Feb. 11, 1959
   Population: official estimates, 1957

2. Registration: based on report of Secretary of State, 1958
   Population: Department of Public Health

3. Registration: State Auditor, 1958
   Population: There are no current estimates which give a racial break-down. The State Auditor, in 1958, estimated the Negro and white population over 21. Actually, his figures differ little from 1950 Census reports. In 1950, 22.4% of the total state population was Negro.

4. Registration: Secretary of State, May 10, 1958
   Population: State Board of Health, Jan. 1, 1957

5. Registration: Secretary of State, 1958. N.B. There are 13,861 voters not registered as either Democrats or Republicans; no racial break-down of these is given.
   Population: State Board of Health, July 1958

6. Registration: SRC consultant survey, 1959.

   Population: 1950 Census is latest information - at that time, 12.7% population was Negro.

7. Registration: SRC consultant survey, 1959.
   Population: State Department of Health, 1957.

8. Registration: Estimate of Kenneth Toler.
   Population: State Board of Health, 1956.

9. Registration: Secretary, State Board of Elections, Jan. 15, 1959; the total includes 72 Indians.
   Population: Bureau of Population & Economic Research, University of Virginia, May, 1957.

10. Registration: Estimate of capitol news correspondent.
    Population: official estimate, 1957.

11. Registration: Estimate of secretary of State Election Board.
    Population: Public Health Statistics Section, State Board of Health.

M M for file

VOTING RECORD

Fulton County Representatives: Wilson Brooks, M. M. Smith, Ralph McClelland
DeKalb County Representatives: James A. Mackay, H. Hugh McWhorter, Guy W. Rutland, Jr.
State Senator: Charlie Brown (52 District, Fulton County)
Clarence R. Vaughn, Jr. (34 District, DeKalb, Gwinnett, Rockdale)
On Certain Legislation During the 1959 Georgia General Assembly

---

SB 1 - SCHOOL CLOSING. To implement the power of the governor as conservator of peace, to define the powers with respect to operation of schools and to provide for closing of a single school within a district without the necessity of closing all schools therein.

HOUSE: Opposed - Smith, Mackay
Favoring - Brooks
Whether others favored or abstained from voting is unknown; they did not oppose.

SENATE: Passed 54 - 0. Both Brown and Vaughn evidently favored, since this number represents total membership.

SB 2 - UNIVERSITY CLOSING. To implement the power of the governor as conservator of peace with respect to units of the university system and to provide for the closing of any unit of the system.

HOUSE: Opposed - Smith, Mackay
Favoring - Brooks
As with SB 1, newspapers do not state whether others favored or abstained. Smith and Mackay were the only dissenting house votes.

SENATE: Passed 54 - 0. See SB 1, above.

SB 3 - ADMISSION TO UNIVERSITY SYSTEM. To govern admissions of students to the university system with respect to age. (Entrance limited to those 21 years of age or under; entrance to graduate levels is limited to those 25 or under. Certain exceptions are made.)

HOUSE: Opposed - Smith, Brooks, McClelland, Mackay, McWhorter, Rutland, (entire Fulton-DeKalb delegation)

SENATE: Opposed - Brown
Favoring - Vaughn

SB 4 - SPECIAL COUNSEL. To provide for employment of counsel in certain legal actions, specifically litigation over public school admission.

HOUSE: Passed, 130 - 0. Entire Fulton-DeKalb delegation evidently favored. No mention was made in newspaper clips of their abstainance from voting or absence from House.

SENATE: Passed, 53 - 0. Brown and Vaughn both favored.

HB 5 - LIMIT SCHOOL TAX. To provide for tax levies for segregated schools and to forbid taxing for support of integrated schools. (Forbids municipal corporations to levy ad valorem taxes to support any but segregated schools.)

HOUSE: Opposed - Smith, Brooks, McClellan, Mackay
Others (McWhorter, Rutland) did not oppose.

SENATE: Opposed- Brown
Whether Vaughn voted is unknown. Brown was the only opposing vote in the Senate.

HB 15- INCOME TAX CREDIT. To provide for a credit against or deduction from state income tax for contributions to approved private schools.

HOUSE: Opposed - Smith
Again, it is unknown if other members of DeKalb-Fulton delegation favored or abstained. Total vote: 182 - 1.

SENATE: Total vote, 49 - 0. Brown sought to amend the bill, but newspapers do not state that he declined to vote. My assumption is that he voted in favor of this legislation.

SENATE BILL 8 - Georgia Education Association. To repeal a resolution creating the Georgia Education Association.
Exact vote is not reported in the press.

HOUSE BILL 4 - Commission on Constitutional Government. To create such a Commission.
Exact vote is not reported in the press.

REPORT ON VOTING RIGHTS
SUB-COMMITTEE

Because of the rather wide publicity given to a registration situation in Terrell County during 1958, a brief review of this case should be included in this report. This is a rural county in southwest Georgia in which there is a white population of voting age of approximately 3,233 and Negro population of voting age of 5,036. The white registration is 2,679 while the colored registration is 48. There is a background of resistance to Negro registration or voting.

On September 4, 1958 a suit was filed in the U. S. District Court at Columbus, Georgia against the Board of Registrars of Terrell County and the two deputy registrars. The suit was brought by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, and was the first suit filed under Section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

As provided by the law, therefore, the suit was initiated by the Department of Justice in the name of the United States, without the need for grand jury indictment, and will be tried before a District Court sitting without a jury. The government asks for an injunction to (a) prohibit the Registrars from applying stricter literacy standards to Negro applicants for voting registration than for whites; (b) and from processing applications from Negroes more slowly than those from whites. The government also asks that five named Negroes be issued certificates of registration. If the government's case is won, the jurisdiction of the Court would continue and failure to comply with its order would be a civil contempt.

The government charges that the Board on April 7, 1958 wrongfully refused to register five Negroes by a discriminatory application of the literacy test. The five are:

Edna Mae Lowe, high school mathematics teacher at Dawson, graduate of Fort Valley State College, M.A. from N. Y. University.
Janie Breelove, elementary school teacher at Dawson, graduate of Albany State College.
Davey Louis Gibson, also a teacher, graduate of Albany State, and candidate at New York University for an M.A. degree.
Grace Boyd Gibson, also a teacher, graduate of Albany State.
Eddie George Lowe, an employee of the Marine Corps supply center at Albany and former student at Tuskegee Institute.

The first four were denied registration on grounds that they could not read satisfactorily. Mr. Raines told reporters that all four, in reading from Article III of the U. S. Constitution, pronounced "equity" as "ecquity", and all had trouble with the word "original". Mr. Raines said that he interpreted the Georgia law to mean that applicants must, "read so I can understand". Mr. Lowe passed the reading test but not the writing test. Mr. Raines stated that, "I was rather disappointed" Mr. Lowe did not succeed.

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* J. G. Raines, chairman of the Terrell County Board of Registrars

The applicable Georgia law (Act No. 321 of the 1958 Georgia General Assembly, approved March 25, 1958) provides in part:

> Section 17. When an applicant appears before the Board of Registrars for examination, the Board shall proceed as hereinafter provided.
>
> (a) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of literacy, the Board shall submit to him a section of the Constitution of Georgia or of the United States and the applicant shall be required to read it aloud and write it in the English language. If the applicant reads the section intelligibly and writes it legibly, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected.

On the basis of a reported five month investigation, the Department of Justice was persuaded that the denial of registration to these five persons was arbitrary and solely because of their race. It was also evidently persuaded that these five instances were but part of a systematic exclusion of Negro voters. The government's complaint alleged that in Terrell County there were only 48 registered Negro voters out of 5,036 Negroes of voting age; and that there were 2,679 registered white voters out of 3,233 of voting age.

The government also charged the Registrars with deliberate procrastination in processing applications from Negroes. It alleged that twelve Negroes, some of whom had applied as early as October 1956 and all by February 1958 were not examined until April 7, 1958. By contrast, 13 whites who applied in March 1958 were all registered by March 24, 1958 (one day before the new registration law took effect). The implication was that the Negroes' applications were not acted on until the new and more stringent law was in effect. Mr. Raines stated to the press that the delay was caused by incorrect filling out of the applications. The government also noted that registration cards of different colors were kept for white and Negro voters.

On September 13, it was disclosed that Mrs. Lowe had not been re-appointed to her teaching post. Asked if the three other teachers involved in the suit were retained, the County Superintendent of Education replied, "Some were and some were not"; he refused to be more specific. According to the only information the Southern Regional Council has been able to obtain, none of the four were re-appointed.

The suit was transferred for trial to the Americus division of the Middle Georgia District. The Board retained as its counsel Charles Bloch of Macon. On September 23, Mr. Bloch filed at Macon a motion to dismiss the suit on general grounds of the unconstitutionality of the Civil Rights Act and on the more narrow ground of the improper employment of the injunctive process. Mr. Bloch is assisted as counsel for the defendants by Robert L. Russell, Jr. (brother-in-law of Governor Vandiver and nephew of Senator Russell) and Peter Zack Geer (executive secretary to Governor Vandiver and nephew of Judge Geer).

Oral argument on the motion to dismiss was heard on January 26, 1959 by federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis. Mr. Bloch appeared for the defendants and Ben F. Brooks (of Kaufman, Texas) for the government. At the conclusion of the argument, Judge Davis ordered the defense to submit a written brief within 20 days; he allowed the government 15 days to reply. Nothing further has appeared in the press. An inquiry (April 1) at the Georgia Attorney-General's office was inconclusively answered; that office believes, however, that the written briefs have been filed and are under consideration by the Court.

If the motion to dismiss is denied, the case will probably be tried at the June session of the District Court.

WHAT THE AMERICAN NEGRO WANTS

Interview With Roy Wilkins, Head of the NAACP

After years of conflict over racial issues, how do Negroes feel about the progress they are making? What do they want?

For authoritative answers to such questions, "U. S. News & World Report" invited to its conference room Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In a 1955 interview, Mr. Wilkins told "U. S. News & World Report" readers what Negroes expected from the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in schools.

Now, in another exclusive interview, the NAACP leader tells what he feels the Negro has got—and what he hasn't got—and describes the mood of the American Negro today.

Q Mr. Wilkins, can you explain for us the direction policy is taking in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

A Our policy reflects the dominant mood of the Negro today. That mood is one of impatience with the pace of desegregation, or, as we say, impatience with the speed with which the Negro comes into the status of full citizenship. It is a very great impatience, I think, spurred by the resistance to implementing the 1954 Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

Q Would you say the Negro's impatience is growing?

A I think it is. It's a mixture of impatience and cynicism. The Black Muslims, of course, are an outgrowth of this sentiment.

The Muslims' idea of black for black has always been around in one form or another. Some of you may recall the Garvey movement of the 1920s—a movement whose leaders claimed 2 million followers. Even if you cut that in half, it's a million, or about 10 per cent of the Negroes at that time. Other estimates had the total nearer 100,000.

The idea of us all getting together—putting our money together and building ourselves an economic structure and electing Negroes to office, running our own affairs, making ourselves rich instead of making the other man rich—has always had an appeal.

Q Is that a form of apartheid—separateness?

A You can call it a form of apartheid, but it didn't reach that kind of dignity in terms of a political-science concept. It was a gesture of desperation born of frustration. I wouldn't say it was apartheid in the sense that it was a conceived-of policy. You might call it counter-apartheid, perhaps.

Now the Muslims have come along and sharpened up the concept by giving it religious and cult overtones.

Q How seriously do you regard the Muslims?

A They aren't serious in numbers. They aren't serious, as yet, psychologically. The American Negro, whatever else he is, is pretty thoroughly American. He's under a lot of handicaps, and he feels terribly frustrated and down at times, but, if I know anything about him, he believes in this country and he believes some way he'll make it.

Along comes a man who says, "Give up Christianity, give up American citizenship, give up the idea of integration, give up the idea of association with white people, working with white people, talking to white people, or expecting any reason from white people, and cut off everything and come with us." The American Negro can't very well accept this philosophy, which goes counter to everything he's been working for and talking about—that is, integration into the American scene as an American citizen.

Q Do the Muslims propose violence?

A No. They want the U. S. Government to give them two or three States, and establish their own Negro country within the United States. But they don't name the States. They don't spell it out the way the Communists did in their heyday.

The Communists in the '30s and '40s drew maps showing counties in the South—the "black belt" counties—over which they wanted Negroes to have hegemony. They wanted the Government to get out and wanted, in effect, to have the land turned over to them.

The Muslims do not spell it out quite that way. Also, the Muslims are a well-disciplined group. They are well behaved. They do not believe or indulge in violence. They do not preach going out and throwing bombs or beating up anybody. They are well dressed, quietly dressed. The youngsters wear ivy-league-cut clothes.

Q Are the Muslims young people for the most part?

A I would say that most are under 40.

Q Do they attract middle-class Negroes?

A I don't know. They don't give out membership figures or breakdowns. They specialize in recruiting the frustrated and the disappointed—the people largely without hope. They recruit people in jail, people who feel that "the white people are all against us, the NAACP is crazy, and Adam Clayton Powell, even, is all wrong. What's he doing wasting his time in Congress? You never get anywhere there. You never get anywhere in the courts. What we black people have to do is stick together and build our own institutions."

Q Where do you think they're going with all this?

A I don't know.

Q Mr. Wilkins, has your association officially expressed disapproval of the Muslims?

A Oh, yes. Years ago. Of course, ideologically, we would have to disagree with them on integration. We believe in integration; they believe in separation. Aside from that, we

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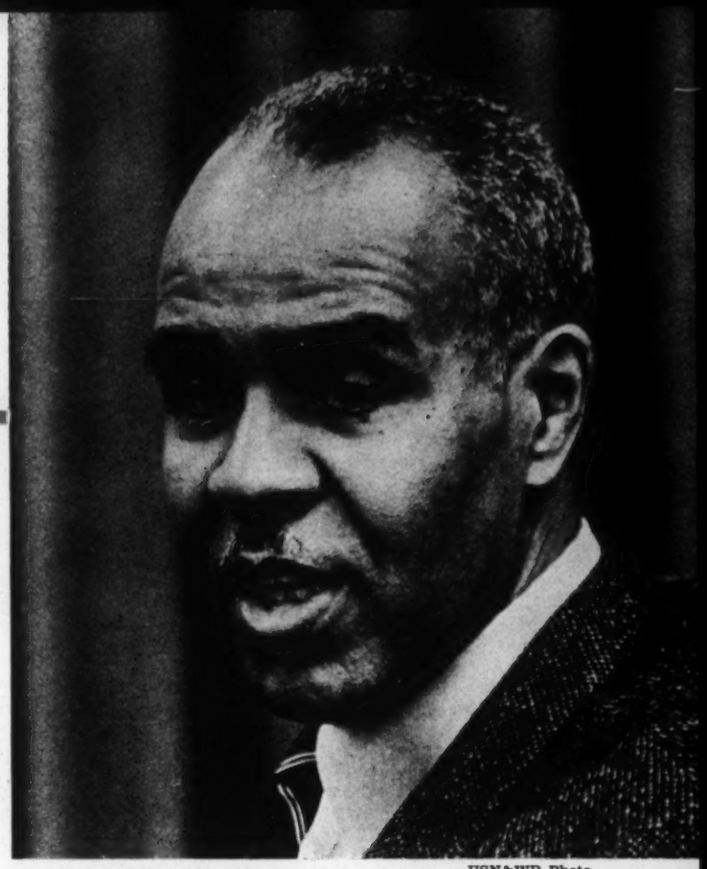
Roy Wilkins joined the staff of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1931 and has been its executive secretary since 1955. Born in St. Louis, Mo., on Aug. 30, 1901, he grew up in St. Paul, Minn., then attended the University of Minnesota. From graduation in 1923 until joining the NAACP staff in 1931, Mr. Wilkins was managing editor of the "Call," a weekly newspaper for Negroes published in Kansas City, Mo.



—USN&WR Photo

had to disassociate ourselves from a group that was anti-Semitic and antiwhite.

Q Does the militancy of the Muslims compel the NAACP and other organizations for Negroes to be a little more militant?

A I don't think so. You see, the Muslims don't concern themselves with problems of the day. They don't fight in Greenwood, Miss., for example, to get Negroes to register and vote. They don't even register and vote in Harlem, where they are. They say they're through with white civilization. You don't hear of them carrying on any civil-rights program.

Q Why are Negroes so dissatisfied when the federal courts have consistently upheld their rights?

A I think much of their dissatisfaction goes back to that 1954 school decision—the Brown v. Board of Education case. I feel that the Negro had the right to conceive of that decision as getting rid of the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes. That's what the decision said. The Negro was prepared for reasonable progress toward implementing the decision, provided it began and was in good faith.

Q Hasn't that occurred?

A No. Instead of that, resistance broke out—extreme resistance. Now the Negro sees—nine years after the Court decision, come this May 17—still more than 2 million Negro youngsters in segregated schools and school districts, having to fight every step of the way, county by county and school district by school district. Even where there is integration, it's only token. So some Negroes are coming to say: "Why do you put so much stock in the courts? Who cares what the Supreme Court says, because it doesn't have any effect on me, anyway?"

DELAYS IN THE SOUTH—

Q Does your statement apply to cities such as Washington, D. C., or New York or Philadelphia?

A No. It applies to Virginia and similar States. Although Virginia is improving, it's still token. I'm talking about North Carolina and Florida, about South Carolina, which has only one student at Clemson, and about Georgia, which has a few in Georgia State, a few in Georgia Tech, one in Emory, two or three at the University of Georgia, and eight or nine kids in high school in Atlanta.

Louisiana has Negroes in Louisiana State University—one of the earliest to take them in, and they live in the dormitories there. Negroes are in several other State colleges and a few are in grade schools in New Orleans, and that ends integration in Louisiana.

Arkansas, if Governor Faubus had kept quiet, was going right along on its own. The State University there desegregated without a lawsuit. Fayetteville desegregated its high school in September, 1954, without a court order. But Arkansas, even so, has token integration.

West Texas and central Texas might be said to have token integration. East Texas has almost none.

So when we say token integration, that's what I'm talking about. I'm not talking of West Virginia, where all of the counties with biracial school districts now have integrated schools, nor of Missouri, which is 85 to 90 per cent integrated. Nor am I talking about Kentucky, where there is about 50 per cent integration in a slow, steady process.

Q In Washington, D. C., there has been full integration since 1954, but there seems to be voluntary segregation. Is that another problem as you see it?

A Yes. They speak of "resegregation." Well, you've had a large influx of Negroes into the capital, and now 53 per cent of the city's population is black.

Q And 84 per cent of the school population is Negro, because so many white families have moved to the suburbs—

A That's right. Yet, I believe it is true that more youngsters are getting a better education under the present system in Washington than did before the Supreme Court decision. It may be that some youngsters got a better education under the previous system than they would get under this system. But more kids are getting a better education now, because the lower and middle groups get better schools.

Q Did you expect progress on school integration in the South to be faster than it has been?

A I did indeed. I wasn't so naïve as to think the Court's decision would be self-enforcing. But I did believe that, with reasonable representations on the part of the Negro public as to what it wanted, and through conferences with school and public officials, plans would have been worked out for a steady implementation of the Court's ruling, even though at a relatively slow pace.

This has not happened. And this is the reason why some Negroes may lend an ear to appeals for less diplomacy and more action.

Q Won't the vote help Negroes to get more action?

A Most Negroes can't vote in the South. And voting takes a long time to change conditions, too, you know.

Q It has been suggested that the Negro would have made more progress faster if, instead of aiming at integration of schools, he had aimed first at gaining the vote. Do you think that idea has any validity?

A I have a standard answer to that—one which I think is very valid. That answer is: It doesn't really matter what

(continued)

INTERVIEW With Roy Wilkins, Head of the NAACP

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"The South is throwing away an opportunity. The Southern people should realize that the Negro is an asset and has value to them—that he's part and parcel of the South."

area the Negro selects for attack, that area becomes the area of great resistance. And the white Southerners say, "Why didn't you pick something else?"

Actually, the NAACP began its campaign against disfranchisement in its first Supreme Court case in 1917, challenging the "grandfather clause." On our third try in the highest court, the white primary was declared unconstitutional in 1944.

Personally, I think we did right in moving on schools. I think education is basic. One of the tragedies right now lies in the consequences of the deprivation of educational opportunities for the Negroes who grew up in the South and have now emigrated to the North. I see great tragedy and heartache for those now entering a space age when they don't even have the education for the automotive age.

But suppose we Negroes had said "No" to the idea of attacking school segregation first and had said, "We'll go for voting first." Then the Southerners would trot out all the old arguments: "Do you think we're going to have a Negro mayor, or chief of police? Why, you're crazy. You should pick out something else."

So, say we pick out housing. Then they say: "We aren't going to have Negroes living next door to us. They'll ruin property values." Actually, it must be said that there is more integration of housing in neighborhoods of some Southern cities than in the North. Whites and Negroes have been living side by side for years in such places as Charleston, S. C., or even Sumter, S. C., in the State where the Civil War began. But on Long Island, N. Y., it causes white folks to have the heebie jeebies when a Negro moves in next door.

All right, so you don't pick housing, but instead you pick fair-employment practices. Then you run into the argument that you are trying to coerce employers, telling them whom to hire.

So the answer is that no matter what right the Negro picks to demand, it is called the thing he should not have picked.

Q So what are the Negroes going to use to get action? The boycott?

A They've been using the boycott for some time. In the NAACP we call it selective buying. We have a campaign on now in Jackson, Miss., and we've run successful campaigns in Savannah, Ga., in Macon, Ga., Durham, N.C., St. Petersburg, Fla., and a variety of other places—some you never even hear about.

Q Have these boycotts proved effective?

A They've been very effective.

Q Will the use of boycotts spread?

A I think it is spreading.

Q How much economic power do Negroes have?

A Well, the Negro market has been estimated at about 15 billions a year—about as large as our Canadian market. This is not to be sneezed at.

Q Is this economic power growing?

A It's growing and will grow more if we can get more and better jobs for Negroes. But the Negro unemployment rate is now more than twice the rate among whites. It's about 14 per cent among Negroes and less than 6 per cent among whites. And automation is pushing the Negro out of more and more jobs.

The South abandoned its plantation economy, went either to mechanized farms or diversified farming, or went industrial. The Negro was kicked off the land.

So where does he go then? He goes to a Southern city. But he can't get a job there, first of all because he's black, but also because he has no skills. He doesn't know any job but farm work, you see. So he drifts north.

Q What happens when the Negro goes to a Northern city?

A Sometimes he gets a job and sometimes he doesn't.

Q When Negroes can't get jobs up North, why don't they go back to the South?

A I would say one third of those who have left the South would go back tomorrow if conditions in the South were changed. They would like it down there if things were different. They're like a lot of white people in the North who don't like cold winters.

I got a letter from a man who is a member of the NAACP in a town in Louisiana. He is an electrician. A few years ago he went to Seattle. His daughters were ready to go to high school and he wanted them to have a good education.

Incidentally, in the past, Negroes not only went north for jobs, but also to get a better education for their children. A lot of them will endure a lot of things for that. They are enduring reprisals today to desegregate their schools in their South.

But this man didn't like Seattle. It was too cold. So he finally decided to leave and go back to Louisiana. There he went to see his old banker. When he told the banker he didn't like it up North the banker was delighted and told him, "You can have anything now."

This man got a loan from the banker, went back into the electrical business again, and now he's very happy.

I think the South is throwing away an opportunity. The Southern people should realize that the Negro is an asset and has value to them—that he's part and parcel of the South.

But the South is losing the Negro. You meet Negroes in the North who are successes in business or in good jobs. Why shouldn't a Negro be as good a policeman in Augusta, Ga., as in Ohio? Or as good a cashier in Jacksonville, Fla., as in New York City?

EXPORTING RACE PROBLEMS—

Q But the South doesn't have all the race problems—

A No, it doesn't. The South has transplanted some of them —shoved them up North. It has become fashionable to say that this is no longer a Southern problem but a national problem. When the North points an accusing finger at the South, the South says back to the North: "Why don't you clean up your own back yard?" The North is no angel in this matter, but, in all fairness, it must be admitted

. . . "I'm not anti-South. I'm just antidiscrimination"

that its back yard does contain many problems exported by the South.

Yet, in the North, there is a difference. It is still possible for a Negro in the North in many places to go to a desegregated school and get a good education. Even where Northern schools are segregated by residential patterns, it's often somewhat better than where schools are segregated by law.

The North, bad as it is, hypocritical as it is, still offers an improvement over the South.

No. I'm not anti-South. I'm just antidiscrimination.

I'll tell you, I think the South is more of a devil in this than appears on the surface. I'm not talking just about the outward treatment of the Negro. I'm talking about the lack of preparedness of Negroes who grew up in the South.

You see, most of the Negroes in the North are end products of the system in the South. For years, the South has cheated Negroes out of any kind of training for citizenship or any opportunity to advance their economic skills or their artisan skills. Now, you say, "These people are not good citizens." Why, they never had any opportunity!

NEGRO CRIME AND JUSTICE—

Q Does that account for the crime rate among Negroes?

A It accounts for a great many things.

Now, I don't want to use deprivation as a blanket excuse, because I think people ought to have some restraints on their conduct, regardless of how much they suffer. Whether they kick you around or not, you ought to learn good from bad.

But I do say that this kind of treatment has weakened those restraints among Negroes, and made it easy for them to defy convention, to rob, to steal. Even the Southern system of jurisprudence encouraged this because it said, in effect: "Negroes will steal. If they steal just a little, we won't punish them. If a Negro steals from another Negro, that's no crime. If he kills another Negro, why, that's just a misdemeanor. But, if he kills a white man, why, that means electrocution." Well, that type of justice doesn't breed respect for law.

—USN&WR Photo

IN WASHINGTON, even with "resegregation," Mr. Wilkins says Negro children benefit from integration of the schools.

Q Is that situation changing?

A I think it is. The Southern courts now are better. Some Southern judges are better. And there are more Negro lawyers.

Q Mr. Wilkins, what about Negro family life?

A I can see how some people would point a finger of scorn at some manifestations of Negro family life. But I think, by and large, they are not doing too badly. Personally, when I consider the terrible obstacles, I am proud of most of them.

Q Are they disciplining their children?

A I think they are disciplining their children, where they have a family life. But it's hard in those cases where there is no man in the family.

You see, Negro family life has been matriarchal from slavery days. This is a direct heritage of slavery—where there was no marriage, no family life, no holding of families together. And this had come down, you see, so that it has been the woman who ran the Negro family. And often it has been the woman who got employment. If a man couldn't get a job as a machinist, a woman could always get a job as a washwoman, a cook, or a domestic.

Q Doesn't the Negro father take much interest in his family life?

A He does if he is there. But so many Negro fathers are not at home. They drift off, or they are separated, or they are working in one place while the family lives in another.

This is a result of the system that makes it harder for a Negro to get a job. He often has to leave his family behind while he goes scouting around in some other town for a job. When he gets a job, he may send for his family, and settle down and rear his children. Or he may not. At least, it's harder for Negro men to keep their families together than it is for white men.

So, when you ask me about Negro family life, I have to tell you that, of course, there are a lot of Negro women on relief with illegitimate children, although they are not alone in this—white women also have such children. And there are a lot of juvenile delinquents.

But the vast, solid majority consists of fine Negro families —people who respect conventions, and who believe in rearing their children right and making sacrifices and working at whatever job they can get, buying homes, paying their debts, supporting churches. These are the backbone of the Negro community.

FEARS OF INTERMARRIAGE—

Q One thing that seems to disturb people is the idea that Negroes seek intermarriage with whites—

A I don't know what may happen in the distant future, but I am confident that the Negroes have no goal of intermarriage. If they had, they would have been rushing to marry whites in New York, in Illinois, in Michigan and in all the other States—about 35 in all—where intermarriage is not forbidden by law. But, instead, you have a very few, an infinitesimal number of intermarriages. I think that is the best answer to this question.

Furthermore—women being far more canny at this marriage business than men—white women are not going to marry men who, they've been told since childhood, are inferior, can't earn a good living. The woman naturally wants somebody who's going to have social standing, whom she can introduce to her friends with pride, and whom her family will accept.

Q What is the attitude of Negroes toward intermarriage?

A It disturbs some Negroes, too. I know of a Negro

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"Negroes have been using the boycott for some time. We call it selective buying. The Negro market has been estimated at about 15 billions a year. This is not to be sneezed at."

mother who was greatly disturbed because her boy was going with a white girl. Finally, the two mothers got together and talked about it. And it wasn't a question of one feeling that her family was better than the other one. They just felt that, in the first place, the kids were too young to understand what they were up against. The colored mother was more disturbed than the white mother. The youngsters finally broke off.

Q Was this colored mother typical, would you say?

A I would say "Yes." You'll find some Negroes who consider it to be a great thing to be allied with a white family. But they are in the minority.

Q Is a white person who marries a Negro accepted in Negro circles?

A I'm afraid that I have to admit that such a white person has a tough time. However, the acceptance depends on the sophistication of the groups concerned. Sometimes there is no resentment. Even the Japanese and Korean brides brought back by Negro soldiers had a hard time in Negro neighborhoods, in Negro social circles—to say nothing of the white circles.

Q Why is that?

A Well, the only thing I can say is that Negroes are just as conservative as American white people.

And then there is this: Among Negro women there is great competition for a good Negro husband—a man who can give some promise of making his way in the world and winning some prestige. Negro women, as women all over the world, are looking for security and prestige in marriage. Potential husbands of this caliber are scarce. So, when a white girl comes along and takes one of those Negro men away, that's one possible husband gone. This is one reason why intermarriage meets some hostility in the Negro community.

Q There seems to be considerable interest in Africa among American Negroes. Do many American Negroes aspire to go to these new countries being formed in Africa?

A Some have gone over. Some of them have gone on a purely patriotic basis, because they wanted to go. Some of them have gone on the old American urge to make a fast buck. They've gone to East and West Africa and attempted to set up businesses. Others are teachers, or members of technical teams.

But there is a very great emotional interest in Africa on the part of American Negroes. They are very proud of the new African states. This is one of the things that contribute to Negroes' unrest and dissatisfaction in this country. They read about and see pictures of and meet Negro ambassadors, prime ministers and business leaders from other countries.

They see pictures of Negroes working in oil refineries in the Congo and doing technical work and being locomotive engineers. And they remember that there are very few Negroes in such jobs here. Why, you can't even find one Negro locomotive engineer in this country.

Q How about jobs in this country? Are Negroes making much progress toward getting better jobs?

A They are not getting enough better jobs.

Q Haven't Negroes made tremendous strides in the last 30 years?

A Oh, yes. But, you see, their progress has to be measured against the accelerated progress of white people. I think the Negro's median wage is now slightly less than 50 per cent of the white median wage, whereas it used to be down around a third. So, although the Negro has improved his wage earnings, he is still far behind. The white wage has gone so far ahead of his.

Negroes are largely concentrated in the unskilled categories, and those unskilled categories are the ones that have lost out to automation first, naturally.

Q Where is all this going to lead for the Negro?

A It leads to a big problem, and the NAACP plans a conference soon on unemployment problems.

Now, the Government has initiated a retraining program for workers. It's small, but it's an indication of where you can go. Yet, already, the Negroes have run into trouble on this retraining business.

Q How?

A They and the retraining program got caught in a hassle between two candidates for Congress from the same district in Mississippi. One of them had tentatively endorsed a retraining program and, as soon as the other one found out about it, he came out against it, saying his opponent wanted to train Negroes to take over white jobs. The Federal Government didn't want to get caught in this fight, so it dropped the plan.

HIRING NEGRO CLERKS—

Q Many large companies in the North tell us they have trouble getting clerical help, for example. Are Negro girls getting such jobs in the North?

A Yes, I think Negro girls are working in more and more of these offices. Here's an example: The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had no Negroes employed in its New York office until New York State passed its fair-employment law in 1945. Then Metropolitan did what the South should do. It said, "Well, it's the law." And the company began hiring Negroes for clerical work. Now they have Negroes in supervisory jobs.

In the early days—the late '40s—some of Metropolitan's Negro girl employes joined a swimming club that had a contract to swim in a pool in a hotel. When the hotel tried to bar the Negroes, the Metropolitan said: "We have a contract to use this pool, and either these Negro girls swim or we sue." That settled it, right there. Now, if somebody in the South would do something like that—

What we need, gentlemen, is a few men in the South with some guts who would simply sit down around a table and say: "Now, look, this is what's got to be done and let's do it. Let's do it without a lawsuit, without Bobby Kennedy coming down here and beating us over the head, without the

. . . "Segregation conflict is not good for business"

NAACP driving us or the North pressuring us. We have said we'd do it if they didn't push us. So, let's do it."

Q What kind of men are you talking about—officials, Governors?

A I think the industrialists, the businessmen, the people who really run things. You will have to bring in the mayors and the Governors eventually, but these businessmen are the kind of people who decide things.

These are the kind of people who decided, for example, that in Little Rock they'd had enough. They were the ones who decided in Norfolk and Charlottesville, Va., that the schools were going to be desegregated. And it was these people in Tuscaloosa, Ala., who held a meeting and said, "If desegregation comes to Alabama, we're not going to have it like it was at Oxford."

Now, of course, there they face a formidable opponent in Alabama's Governor George Wallace. But at least they have made their wishes known in the business community, and my bet is that they are going to win. Segregation conflict is not good for business.

Q Do you see this kind of thing spreading in the South?

A No, I don't see it. But I wish for it. I think whatever solution is arrived at, in order to be effective it will have to have the approval of this kind of citizen.

NEGRO AIM: NO COLOR LINE—

Q What does the Negro regard as the solution? What does he really want?

A Generally, the Negro wants the color line wiped out, because it restricts his rights and opportunities. That's his general objective. And, to be effective, this has got to be on more than just a token basis.

Q Can Robert Kennedy bring integration to the South?

A He's trying like hell, following national policy.

Q How about President Kennedy?

A President Kennedy has a good attitude personally, and has made some little things pay big. For example: The morning after his inaugural parade he had the White House ring up the Coast Guard, and he asked why he didn't see any Negro faces in the Coast Guard contingent that marched in the parade. Now this was just a gesture, but it had the prestige of the White House behind it. This story has been told by Negroes from coast to coast, and the fact that not much has been done about real, solid problems is glossed over. "He has a good attitude," Negroes say. And I say it, too. He has a good attitude.

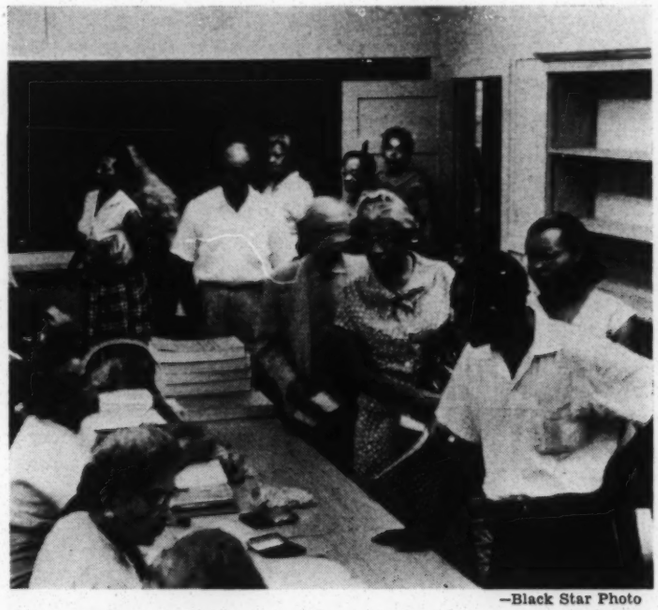
Q About a year ago in a public statement you said to the Kennedy Administration: "We've come to collect what you promised us in 1960." What do you feel they promised you? And have they fulfilled that promise by now?

A The 1960 platform was the best civil-rights platform ever adopted by the Democratic Party or any party, although the Republican platform came very close to it in 1960. Both of them were very good platforms. The Democrats promised to work for a Fair Employment Practices Act, to put the Civil Rights Commission on a permanent basis; they promised to use legislation, if necessary, to bring about school desegregation. They promised a number of other things.

The Kennedy Administration has worked hard on the voting problem—very hard. They filed almost 30 cases to protect the right to vote under the 1957 and 1960 civil-rights acts, which were passed under the Eisenhower Administration.

Bobby Kennedy has worked like a beaver on this voting. He also worked at those emergencies that developed—like the attacks on "Freedom Riders" in Alabama and Mississippi, and the attempt to bar a Negro from the University of Mississippi. He tried to move into that disgraceful situation in Prince Edward County, Va., where they have shut down their whole public-school system rather than educate Negroes on an integrated basis. It's really refreshing to see a man as high in Government as the Attorney General showing outrage at such things.

Finally, the Administration redeemed its pledge on housing after a fashion by issuing the housing order of last November 20. I say "after a fashion" because the order is so limited, so inadequate. But some of their pledges remain wholly unredeemed. The idea of a Fair Employment Practices Commission has gone by the board. If you reread



—Black Star Photo

IN VOTING, Negroes "may shift a bit" from the Democrats to the Republicans. Says Mr. Wilkins: "It would be helpful."

the 1960 platform, you can pretty well check off what has been done and what has not.

Q Negroes in recent years have voted heavily Democratic. Are they likely to shift that political allegiance?

A They might. However, my meaning was exaggerated in the newspaper accounts of a speech I made here recently. I was quoted as saying that the Negro vote is likely to shift to Republican. I don't mean to predict a wholesale shift. I only used that as an illustration of one of several avenues that the Negro might choose to achieve his aims.

Q Why are Negroes mostly Democrats? Do they relate their troubles in the 1930s to the Republicans?

A Not only that. Since Franklin Roosevelt came in, in 1932, the Democrats have had a chance to consolidate their gains among Negroes. They have had all kinds of patronage and prestige jobs to give out on the national, State and local levels. Negroes have become integral parts of the Democratic city machines. You're not going to jar them loose from that very easily.

But it is conceivable that they may shift a bit, and I think it would be helpful. I'm not talking now as a Democrat or as a Republican, but purely as a civil-rights advocate. It doesn't

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"The American Negro, whatever else he is, is thoroughly American. He's under a lot of handicaps, but he believes in this country and he believes some way he'll make it."

help the Negroes' strategic position to have their voters 79 per cent in the camp of one political party.

Q Why?

A That party begins to take the Negroes and their desires for granted. And at the same time the Republicans say, "How can we expect to get them back?" But, if the Negroes were divided, say 55 per cent or so in one party, then there'd be something for the Democrats to try to hold and for the Republicans to scramble for.

Q How would Negroes react to Nelson Rockefeller as a presidential candidate?

A I would estimate that the Rockefeller name would be very persuasive with Negroes, just as it was in his first campaign for Governor of New York.

Q Why?

A Negroes remember a good many things about the Rockefellers: the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board; the Laura Spelman Rockefeller College for Negro girls in Atlanta, Ga.; the University of Chicago, which was practically built by Rockefeller money and which has had Negroes on the faculty for a long time, and has had some distinguished Negro graduates. And, don't forget, it was Standard Oil which opened its rest rooms to Negro travelers in the 1930s. By and large, Negroes tend to believe that a Rockefeller is something special. Yes, the Rockefeller name has some magic among Negroes. I wouldn't predict anything, of course. I'm like most people: I don't think anybody can beat Mr. Kennedy at this point. But, if you ask me, "Would the Rockefeller name have an influence among Negro voters?" my answer has to be "Yes."

Q What can the Republicans do to win back the Negro vote?

A Well, the Republicans are naïve if they believe that they can get back in one year the Negro votes that they threw away in 1932. They can get back some of them. Dwight D. Eisenhower got 17 per cent of the Negro vote in 1952 and 38 per cent in 1956. But the Republicans refused to go after the rest of the Negro vote. If they had, then Richard Nixon might have won in 1960. But the Republican Party leaders didn't work for the Negro vote. They have been very inept on this. They seemed to think the Negroes were "due" to come back to them—because of Abraham Lincoln, or something.

Q How does the NAACP stand in relation to Adam Clayton Powell, the Negro Congressman from Harlem?

A We've had a little exchange of views with Mr. Powell recently. He made some speeches suggesting that Negroes ought to consider boycotting the NAACP because we have white people in policy making positions—specifically, because we have a white president. Well, Mr. Powell is just talking through his hat. He doesn't know enough about the NAACP and its inside workings to know who supports it and who runs it.

Q Does Representative Powell belong to the NAACP?

A He's a life member.

Q Is Mr. Powell slipping, politically?

A He's not slipping politically. At least, if he is, it is not discernible. You know, in his last election he didn't print a single campaign poster, make a speech or send out a piece of literature. Yet he got 40,000 more votes than his two opponents combined.

Q What is the basis of his political strength? Is it the church of which he is pastor?

A Well, the church is partly the base of it. But Harlem has become used to Adam Powell, and they like the way he talks. Negroes like a man who, as they say, "talks back to the white folks." You see, most Negroes are in no position to talk back to white folks, but Congressman Powell is and he does. That is the reason he's a hero up there in Harlem.

And he does things with a flair, too. He has a way about him. There's a New York newspaper that has just printed a series of articles about him. The first article dwelt upon his charm. Recently, at a Powell rally, one of my staff members sat near some women who kept saying: "Isn't he beautiful? Isn't he wonderful?" They didn't know whether he was talking in Swahili or English and didn't care—just how he looked. This series is very revealing. It helps you to understand why you can't unseat Adam Powell in Harlem. An attack from an outsider just enhances his standing in Harlem.

Q Some Negroes have complained that the NAACP is not tough enough. And yet, to some white Southerners, mentioning the NAACP is like waving a red flag. How do you account for that?

A I account for it by saying that we in the NAACP are the real radicals, the real tough guys, because we espouse the tough ideas—not the tough language. The idea of outlawing racial segregation, deeply imbedded as it had become, was the toughest idea since the drive to abolish slavery. It struck home. It was a root battle. It was ours and we brought it off. Only a truly radical crusade could have brought about the present upheaval and flux.

Q How do you regard CORE – the Congress of Racial Equality?

A I regard CORE as a sort of striking force—like General Patton's spearhead across Europe into the heart of Germany. But the white Southerners who regard the NAACP as most dangerous to their viewpoint are correct. And, if they ever get to believe that the NAACP is the kind of organization they can agree with, then we will have lost something, or they will have abandoned segregation and come over to our side.

HOW SOUTH IS CHANGING—

Q Mr. Wilkins, do you foresee any substantial changes in the South's attitude on Negroes?

A I do, and the changes are occurring. They are not very fast, but they are occurring. There are Southerners now who say that integration is going to happen and we ought to help it to happen "our way" rather than, as they say, the "Kennedy way" or the "NAACP way."

I think changes are taking place in the South, and I think the problem is going to be solved in the South. **[END]**

GAINS ON CIVIL RIGHTS WHET APPETITE FOR MORE

A Number of Cities Have Modified or Ended Racial Restrictions But the Prospect of Continued Agitation Has Increased

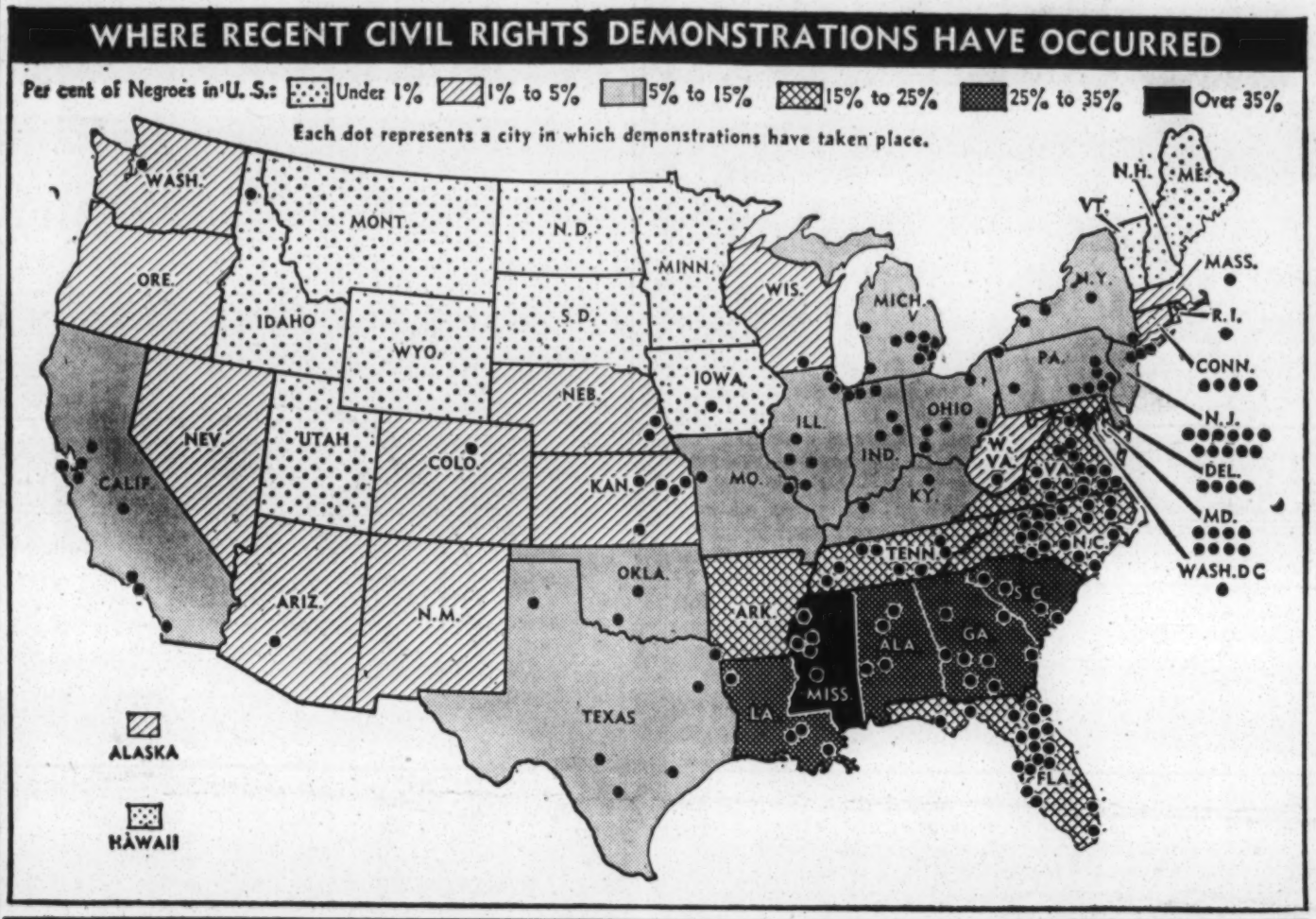
By CLAUDE SITTON

The mid-point of a summer of racial crisis has passed in the South with neither the widespread violence so freely predicted nor the immediate desegregation so militantly demanded. But the concern expressed following the Birmingham, Ala., controversy and the rising pressure for racial change to which that controversy contributed still remain.

Demonstrations against racial barriers have continued throughout the 11 Old South states from Virginia to Texas, although at a slightly reduced level from the immediate post-Birmingham period. Similar protests in the North and the absence of a conflict with the dramatic elements of earlier crises have given the impression of a lull that is more apparent than real.

A recent compilation by the Southern Regional Council, for example, shows that between June 24 and July 24 demonstrations took place in at least 37 communities in the region. It also pointed up the impressive progress achieved by the Negro during that time.

The most symbolic of these victories came in Birmingham following more than a month of mass marches and other protests under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.



Birmingham

Negroes have voiced satisfaction over the good faith shown by Birmingham's white leaders in implementing an agreement that ended the crisis and in going beyond it to improve the city's race relations. Lunch counters and other facilities in many downtown department and variety stores have been desegregated, Negroes have been promoted to other than menial positions and still others have been hired. City officials have reopened public parks on a desegregated basis.

Even more impressive is the number of communities throughout the South in which racial restrictions have been modified or eliminated. The Southern Regional Council's informal check indicates that in the 30 days covered at least 50 cities and towns made some change in custom. Others took steps such as formation of biracial committees that may lead to future progress.

Both the pressure for change and the compromises it has brought have been most extensive, perhaps, in North Carolina. Segregation in governmental installations and privately owned public facilities, including hotels, motels and restaurants, has been wiped out almost entirely in some cities. Unfortunately, Negro campaigns in others have brought sporadic outbursts of rioting. But a majority of the communities have accepted change, often at the urging of moderate business and industrial leaders concerned over the economic effects of racial strife.

Their motivation is apparent in a statement attributed by the council to Mayor Wilbur Clark of Fayetteville following desegregation of the only municipally owned swimming pool: "If we don't make progress here we will greatly harm our prospects for attracting new industries and businesses and, secondly, we will have renewed demonstrations . . . which aggravate possibilities of ill will, economic loss and public danger." The fact that Mayor Clark was not alone was demonstrated a few days later when 200 mayors from all sections of the state voted unanimously to support Gov. Terry Sanford in efforts to "'remove the indignities long suffered by Negroes.'"

Resistant Areas

However, much of the progress has taken place outside the Deep South or in the larger cities of the latter areas. And there is considerable doubt that these advances can be duplicated in the near future in the more resistant sections. One expert in the field noted that the 1960 sit-in demonstrations, which began Feb. 1, had brought lunch-counter desegregation in more than 100 cities by the summer but then entered a period in which little progress was made.

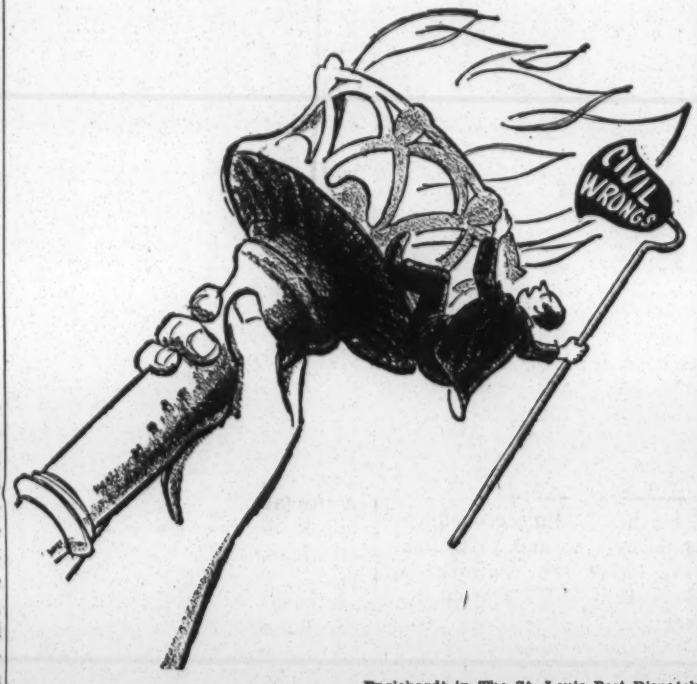
Nevertheless, the determination of Negroes to press their drive for desegregation even in the face of repeated defeats remains strong. This is indicated in a report by Joseph A. Loftus of The New York Times from Jackson, Miss.:

"Actually, the Negroes do not know quite where to turn, but the force of their moral conviction will drive them only on even though the course be blindly taken. The white supremacists and their disciplined police are equally determined. A collision seems inevitable."

Jackson offers a typical example of the small but frustrating denials of the rights of citizenship encountered by Negroes daily in some Deep South communities.

A pregnant Negro mother, writing to her husband, an Air Force major on duty in Berlin, told of taking her small son to the Jackson zoo. She became tired and sat down on a bench. A policeman ordered her to move on. The Rev. L. T. Smith of the Jackson Movement for Freedom, who recounted the story, concluded by asking: "Do you know any reason why a Negro boy should not be allowed to look at the giraffes?"

Bitterness over small incidents and concern for the problems of voting rights, equal employment and discrimination in public accommodations underlie the support now becoming evident among Negroes for what may be the largest demonstration of all. This is the scheduled Aug. 28 "March for Freedom and Jobs" on Washington.



Englehardt in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"You're inflaming the country!"

Senate Testimony

Observers doubt that the objective of the march—Congressional enactment of President Kennedy's civil rights proposals—would end mass protests in the South or the North. Many do believe that their rejection would encourage continuing resistance to change in the Deep South and, quite possibly, retrogression in areas where progress has been made. This has been underscored in a statement before a Senate committee by Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta in which he urged passage of a public accommodations bill.

Mayor Allen said that any law should give local governments an opportunity to solve the problem first. However, he contended that failure to approve legislation to force the issue would "create another round of disputes over segregation." He then said:

"Surely, the Congress realizes that after having failed to take any definite action on this subject in the last 10 years, to fail to pass this bill would amount to an endorsement of private business setting up an entirely new status of discrimination throughout the nation. Cities like Atlanta might slip backwards. Hotels and restaurants that have already taken this issue upon themselves and opened their doors might find it convenient to go back to the old status. Failure by Congress to take definite action at this time is by inference an endorsement of the right of private business to practice racial discrimination and, in my opinion, would start the same old round of squabbles and demonstrations that we have had in the past."

Filibuster

The Congressional battle over the rights legislation has other significant aspects. The measures are now likely to go to the Senate floor early in September. There, they undoubtedly will encounter a Southern filibuster. In the present atmosphere, this might lead to greatly stepped-up Negro demonstrations.

The debate probably will be going on at the time when 113 public school districts in the Southern and border states begin desegregation for the first time. This is the largest number to lower racial barriers since 1956, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service.

Further, the systems include such potential trouble spots as Birmingham and Mobile, Ala.; Jacksonville and Tallahassee, Fla.; Chatham County (Savannah) and possibly Albany, Ga.; Baton Rouge, La., and Danville, Va.

Few Predictions

Added to these harbingers of crisis is the growing militancy among civil rights factions. This has brought violence in some communities such as Savannah, where the authorities went to great lengths to protect the Negro's right to demonstrate. White liberals have been discouraged by the reluctance of some Negro leaders to denounce such lawlessness and the attempts by a handful of the latter to justify it.

Few observers will risk a prediction as to the course the struggle may take during the remaining summer months and early fall. One respected student of the field, who declined use of his name, offered this assessment: "I don't think summer's over by a long shot. The flames in Congress will fan the flames out in the country and then in Congress again. September can be a very, very tough month."

Balance Sheet

Aug 1963

On Civil Rights

Where does the race crisis stand? The consensus last week, at midpoint in this summer of Negro discontent, was that these main conclusions could be drawn:

First, that the integrationists have made considerable headway—in the South against public segregation, in the North against white apathy toward discrimination.

Second, that the path toward equality still stretches a vast distance. Most difficult to deal with, it is recognized, is the severe economic handicap the Negro suffers from discrimination in education and jobs.

Third, that the psychological climate may be deeply affected by what Congress does about the President's call for major legislation against segregation, even though the legislation would leave many areas of discrimination untouched.

Fourth, that the whole race question is enmeshed in politics — Federal, state and local — and specifically that the race issue is likely to be a large factor in the race for the Presidency in '64.

Last week the struggle went on, in South and North, in the streets and in Congress. All sides seemed to be looking toward what may prove to be one of the dramatic climaxes in the struggle in '63, the huge rally in Washington Aug. 28 to impress Congress with the power and determination in the integration movement.

In the Streets

The struggle in the streets represents a reaction against the slow pace and "token" results of litigation in the Federal courts. It is a culmination of the shift toward direct action that began with the freedom rides and sit-ins of three years ago. It has marked—especially since the drama of Birmingham last spring, with its nationwide impact — a broadening of the protest movement to encompass North as well as South. According to a Justice Department count that began May 22, during the Birmingham crisis, the total of demonstrations has been 841 in 196 cities in 35 states and the District of Columbia.

The protests have set contrasting patterns South and North. In the South, the main immediate target has been segregation in places of public accommodation—restaurants, hotels and the like.

The results have been mixed. Symbolically the greatest victory, as integrationists see it, was in Birmingham. The small gains there —such as the setting up of a timetable for integration of downtown lunch counters—were hailed as significant because of that city's record as one of the most segregated anywhere and because of their electrifying effect on Negroes elsewhere. Integrationists have been heartened also by sweeping gains in many cities in the upper South and border areas — in some cases without direct Negro pressure.

Aftermath in Jackson

But there have also been failures and bitterness — as in Jackson, Miss., where a few Negro policemen have been hired, (to patrol Negro districts) after strife that led to the arrest of 1,000 demonstrators and the murder of the Negro leader Medgar Evers.

What the integration movement in the South has accomplished overall is impossible to measure precisely. The Justice Department, on the basis of reports by businessmen and other groups whose cooperation was sought by the Administration, says that there has been "improvement" in 319 cities in the 11 states of the old Confederacy plus four border states. The Southern Regional Council, an integrationist group, says a summary of newspaper reports up to July 24 showed "some desegregation" in 79 cities in the former Confederate states.

In the North the targets are forms of discrimination that are commonplace despite many laws against them. One is the confinement of Negroes to black ghettoes by residential discrimination. In Chicago last week a formerly all-white district on the South Side came to the verge of violence as whites milled in the streets in sullen protest against four Negro families that moved into the neighborhood.

Englewood's Problem

A second form of discrimination is de facto school segregation that results from residential discrimination. One of the focal points of conflict over this issue is Englewood, N. J. Negro protests there led to a state order last month for correction of the racial "imbalance" of the Lincoln School, which is 98.8 per cent Negro. The week before last the school board approved a plan for voluntary transfer of pupils out of Lincoln. Last week a Committee to Save Our Neighborhood Schools protested the plan as a "complete capitulation" to the Negroes.

A third form of discrimination—and an explosive one—is job discrimination. Many statistics attest to it. The rate of unemployment among Negroes is twice that among whites. The average Negro worker earns only about 55 per cent as much as his white counterpart. The many Negroes who are unskilled are being hit particularly hard by the elimination of unskilled jobs through automation.

Negroes were in the streets in several Northern cities last week protesting against job discrimination. They staged a sit-in at City Hall in Newark, N. J.; paraded in Indianapolis; picketed General Motors and the United Automobile Workers in Detroit; picketed a courthouse building site in Elizabeth, N. J.; picketed a medical-school building site and others in New York.

Focus on Construction

The brunt of the Negro protest was mainly against the construction industry. Hiring in that industry is controlled largely by unions because only union members are hired. Some of the unions are accused of barring or limiting Negro membership; some are said to have made it impossible for Negroes even to learn the trades by discriminating in admitting youths to apprenticeship. (In fact some unions go so far as to bar systematically all who are not sons or nephews of present members.)

The problem has proved to be a hard one for integrationists to crack. For one thing, membership in most unions is under local control. Recently the international officers of the AFL-CIO building trades unions called upon locals to lower the racial bars but there has been scant evidence of compliance.

However, developments last week in New York and Washington gave the integrationists hope of at least some progress. In New York, Governor Rockefeller made a deal with the leaders of protest picketing at the Downstate Medical Center project in Brooklyn. Among other things, the Governor promised stricter enforcement of the state's anti-discrimination laws and a procedure by which the state and Negro leaders would cooperate in recruiting Negro applicants for union membership.

'More Promises'

The agreement caused some confusion in Negro ranks. Militants objected that it amounted only to "more promises."

Nevertheless, the picketing was sharply reduced. Friday Mr. Rockefeller ordered the State Employment Service to assign consultants to work with the Negro leaders.

In Washington the Labor Department and a labor-management committee in the construction industry agreed on a plan to combat discrimination in apprenticeship. The plan calls for local apprenticeship committees to judge all applicants solely on the basis of job qualifications. The Labor Department is to be briefed monthly on execution of the program.

Labor department officials were elated over what they felt was a major breakthrough against discrimination. There was cautioning, however, that the plan hinged on local compliance which has been sought before without much success.

Moreover, it was pointed out that the plan touches only one aspect of the problem in one sector of an economy that is shot through with racial discrimination. Much more must be done, it is recognized, if the Negro's discontent is to be alleviated.

And in Congress

The President's civil rights program has been moving slowly in Congress. It went to Capitol Hill nearly eight weeks ago. In the House, the Judiciary Committee has now completed hearings. In the Senate, the Commerce Committee has ended hearings on part of the program; the Judiciary Committee, which is Southern-dominated and has never reported a civil rights bill, is holding hearings that are expected to go on and on in order to provide ammunition for an eventual Southern filibuster.

As the schedule now shapes up, the House committee expects to report a bill to the floor after Labor Day for action as soon as tax legislation is out of the way. The Senate leadership figures to take up either the House bill or another one from the Senate Commerce Committee; that would prevent Senate Judiciary from bottling up the legislation.

But then the Administration's program would encounter the real obstacle—the promised Southern filibuster. To break a filibuster the Administration forces will need strong Republican support. That is in doubt because of controversy over the program's key provision —Title II, the outlawing of segregation in places of public accommodation.

The uncertainty about the degree of Republican support has arisen chiefly because of opposition to Title II by Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen. His objection is that it would infringe the rights of the owners of the properties involved.

At the same time, Republicans generally have emphasized that they are not against action on civil rights. This was in evidence last week in a vote in the House on a bill on Federal aid for vocational education. The Republicans pressed an amendment to deny aid to schools that practice segregation. Democrats accused them of politicking at the possible expense of a program that would benefit many Negroes. The argument was that the amendment would put the bill in jeopardy because of Southern opposition. The amendment was rejected by 217-181.

Negro skepticism about the Republicans' sincerity was voiced during the week at a "legislative strategy conference" on the Administration's program held by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., said: "I am inclined to agree that the Republicans want the Negro to be free, but free somewhere over yonder. If they are worrying about getting Negro support . . . they should adopt a positive policy and out-Kennedy the Kennedys." Mr. Dirksen, who was at the meeting, said he would abide by principles "I learned at my mother's knee."

Eyes on Aug. 28

One of the unknowns in the situation is the effect of the rally in Washington Aug. 28. Negro leaders spoke of it at first as a "march on Washington" and said there would be sit-ins in the Capitol. After warnings that those tactics would only create Congressional resentment and hurt the program's chances, they decided against mass demonstrations near the Capitol. Instead the rally will take place mainly at the Lincoln Memorial.

In Congress last week the general attitude toward the rally was that if it turned out to be orderly it would not change any votes but that if it proved otherwise the rally would help the opposition. The feeling was that in any case the huge outpouring—the Negro leaders say they expect 150,000—will have an important effect on the psychological climate surrounding civil rights.

As for the politics, most observers feel that Negroes, who were strong for Mr. Kennedy in '60 but dissatisfied with his performance until recently, will be strong for him again in '64. The question is whether there will be a counteraction because of a feeling among white voters that the Administration has fanned the Negro unrest.

9-9-63

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MON

Dick Gregory Comes Marching In

Road From Capital Leads Into Basin Street East

By MILTON ESTEROW

Smoking a cigarette, Dick Gregory walks slowly onto the stage at Basin Street East. He picks up a black chair and moves it near the microphone. Alongside, he places a lighter-colored chair. The ingenuous face looks out over the audience, and the Negro comic, casually blowing big clouds of smoke, says, "I have to integrate the chairs."

This is Mr. Gregory's first night club appearance here since he began passing up job offers to take part in the integration movement. In April the 30-year-old former track champion and student of business administration at Southern Illinois University, led four marches on the Leflore County Courthouse in Greenwood, Miss., to gain Negro voter registration.

"You know the definition of a Southern moderate?" he asks the audience at Basin Street East. "That's a cat who will lynch you from a low tree."

Jailed in Birmingham

In May Mr. Gregory was among 1,000 Negroes arrested in Birmingham, Ala. Charged with parading without a permit, he spent four days in jail, and was released after posting a bond.

"Birmingham," he says, "is a nice place to demonstrate, but I wouldn't want to live there."

"The only way," he adds, "to get an education in the State of Alabama is to be a state trooper."

In June he was sentenced to a 180-day prison term in Birmingham. An appeal is pending.

"The Judge said to me, 'I'm not giving you 180 days because you're a Negro. I just hate comics.'"

Dick Gregory

Last month he was arrested with about 50 other demonstrators at a Chicago school site, and spent 12 days in jail. A hearing is set for Oct. 10.

Mr. Gregory made his local debut in 1961. He scored a notable success with an act whose main theme was the civil-rights struggle. Some months later he returned with wider topical satire including local, national and world politics.

Now Mr. Gregory is back with another devastating assortment of wry, ironic comment that makes his audience burst into applause during his act. But there is a difference. The integration material is even sharper and cuts deeper.

Examining the march on Washington, Mr. Gregory, who was one of the marchers, notes that "we got good reviews. It was a wonderful affair. It so impressed President Kennedy

The Comic's Barbs Appear Sharper Than Before

that he called in the Negro leaders and asked if they would march on Cuba."

Even a Southern white man was impressed, he says. The Southerner watched it on television and reported that he was delighted to get those 10-year-old reruns off TV."

"Only in America could it happen," Mr. Gregory said. "Only in America would a Negro get on a big jet plane in California, fly into Washington, and protest about riding in the back of a bus. A top man from the Ku Klux Klan called me. 'I want to congratulate you,' he said. 'I must admit I want to take my sheet off to you.'"

On Pyrotechnics

Mr. Gregory pauses in his chain smoking and continues. "A man from the Ku Klux Klan once threatened to burn our house down. But his sheet caught on fire. We threw water at him, but we missed. We went back and filled our buckets—with gasoline."

Offstage later, Mr. Gregory discussed his role in the civil rights struggle.

"No one can tell you what it's like," he said. "You have to be there. It's cost me money but probably more in plane fares and putting up bonds than anything else.

"Why am I doing this? I decided every time a Negro in the South kicks a door down, it'll be one less door my kids will have to kick down."

Also appearing at Basin Street East are the Stan Getz Quartet and the Chad Mitchell Trio, whose integration comments in song serve as an entertaining prelude to the stinging shafts of Mr. Gregory.

Look
Sept 10, 1963

A NEGRO WRITER TELLS
WHY THE NEGROES CONTINUE TO

The current Negro uprising was brought on by the total collapse of the Negro's faith in the basic integrity of the white power structure, and is directed against both segregation and the entrenched Negro leadership

DIRECT ACTION is now the major weapon in the Negro's arsenal. The Negro march on Washington, a predicted 100 thousand strong, is to urge passage of the Administration's civil-rights bill. But the arrival of this horde of *us* is more than a show of support for this particular piece of legislation; it is a major battle in the Negro Revolt. Our march—as was our march against Birmingham's Bull Conner—is a defiance, a further determination "not to let nobody turn us round."

The capital stage is set for a definitive encounter:

The Administration interposed the civil-rights bill only after the tragedy of Birmingham. President Kennedy told the nation, in essence: Enact this bill, or face more demonstrations, perhaps violence.

Southern legislators cried blackmail and vowed not only to filibuster the bill, but to imperil other Administration bills as well.

Negro leaders momentarily abandoned their internecine wars and hoisted the umbrella of unity under which we all march to Washington together. The President has welcomed us, but are we really wanted there? The Administration invites our prayers, but is wary of our presence. The Kennedy brothers have certified our desires, but would just as soon do without our demonstrations—particularly if, in the President's own word, we plan to get "unruly."

Against this backdrop, the bill, at stage center, will pass or fail, in part or in whole, and its passing or failing will create yet another dilemma. Should the bill pass, it will be taken by the Negro as further evidence that the nation acts only when we create a crisis. If the measure fails, the defeat will be taken as final proof that this nation will not yield under any circumstances. These are chilling alternatives because each of them is based on the Negro's spiritual estrangement from this republic. But that—the Negro's estrangement and the reasons for it—is precisely what the Negro Revolt is all about.

The current Negro uprising represents a drastic change in technique, the racing of thousands of Negroes from the courtroom into the streets and marketplace in search of the manna tree called "integration." It was brought on by the total collapse of the Negro's faith in the basic integrity of the white power structure, and is directed against both segregation and the entrenched Negro leadership.

Up to 1955, the Negro protest movement was centered in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was chained to legalism and had an essentially middle-class outlook. The NAACP had obtained magnificent legal victories, but the implementation of the court decisions was proceeding with all deliberate footdragging. Clinging tenaciously to its conservative approach, the NAACP found itself seeking court orders to force recalcitrant Southerners to obey previous court orders. And the Southerners proceeded to flout both the first court order and the command to obey it.

Then came the Montgomery bus boycott and Martin Luther King. Swift on their heels came the Supreme Court ruling ending discrimination in intrastate public carriers. The sit-ins followed—and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Swift on their heels came the end of segregation at hundreds of lunch counters across the South. The Freedom Rides and the Congress of Racial Equality brought the Federal fiat ending discrimination in terminal facilities. The pragmatic black masses began to wonder if public demonstrations were not the only route to equality. They were obviously the shortest.

This set off fierce rivalry among civil-rights organizations for funds, memberships and public acclaim. The NAACP's propaganda machines began to turn out press releases reminding the nation that the NAACP had staged sit-ins long before CORE and Martin Luther King came on the scene. This was true, but the NAACP never explained why it abandoned such an effective weapon.

The claim to direct-action techniques was further clouded when several officials of the NAACP became openly critical of such demonstrations. NAACP's board chairman, the Rt. Rev. Stephen Gill Spottswood, called the sit-ins "signal flares." Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP, pointed to the Freedom Rides and predicted that the funds needed for such "forays" would soon dry up. And Wilkins's administrative assistant, Dr. John A. Morsell, flatly told the 1960 NAACP convention: "We can hardly advocate or condone a policy of mass civil disobedience, except under such extreme conditions that would warrant complete abandonment of the entire philosophy of operations which has sustained us for fifty years."

During 1962 and early 1963, the revolt sputtered. CORE went broke posting bails at Jackson, Miss. Despite nonviolent demonstrations by hundreds of Negroes, Martin Luther King failed to achieve desegregation of bus terminal facilities in Albany, Ga. And the penniless workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee sloshed through the bayous of Mississippi in search of Negro voters and a good hot meal. There were minor skirmishes, but no real battles. Things got very quiet; they became very mean. The Black Muslims alone barometered the bile boiling in the Negro's guts.

Then came Birmingham, and the collective snap of the Negro's spirit boomed like thunder across the nation. Interracial couples in New York separated for reasons they couldn't explain. White liberals realized that their Negro friends were deliberately avoiding them. White editors discovered that Negro writers were too choked up to create anything but damnation of the white man. Comedian Dick Gregory stopped being funny and made his audiences weep with guilt. A Negro construction worker in Brooklyn assaulted a fellow white worker who had been calling him "Sambo" for six months without incident. Then Medgar Evers was murdered.

Negroes all over the land, in every town, looked under their municipal rugs and found that the segregation they have known was there all their lives. They marched in the streets—some quarter of a million of them in upwards of 40 cities—to shout, "Now or never!" And it was to calm the black crowds that the President introduced his eleventh-hour civil-rights bill.

REVOLT

BY LOUIS E. LOMAX
Author of NEGRO REVOLT *and* THE RELUCTANT AFRIC

So now a hundred thousand of us are marching on Washington singing, "We shall overcome some day." The chances that we will get unruly are slim. We will march, pray, sing freedom songs, listen to long speeches from our leaders and visit our congressmen. But because they are bound by a compromise, our leaders will not have us sit in on Capitol Hill, as Martin Luther King indicated we might. If the bill passes, it will give us more Federal aid against pockets of segregation already under siege. Should the bill fail, Negroes will resort to much more hell raising until segregation falls in the interest of public order, safety and the national image.

But the bill is not our only concern as we come to Washington. We are also gathered to warn the nation that it would be fatal to underestimate the Negro's determination. Our commitment against segregation is total—dangerously so. The Negro Revolt is on exact schedule. Thanks to Bull Conner's dogs, things are moving along better than most of us thought they would be at this juncture.

The revolt's victory over the Negro leadership class is complete. In July, Roy Wilkins presided over a runaway NAACP national convention that committed black mankind to direct action and then hooted down everybody—including Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley and Negro Baptist leader Dr. J. H. Jackson—who bore the taint of moderation. To his eternal credit, several weeks before the convention, Wilkins hied off to Jackson, Miss., and got himself put into jail.

Even the conservative Urban League has resorted to direct action. Its New York leaders were bruised and bloodied during the storming of a police barricade at Harlem Hospital.

The revolt's thrust against segregation has yet to result in total victory. But it will. One day soon, Negroes will go to "white" theaters in Savannah, Ga.; they will eat integrated hamburgers in Greenwood, Miss.; black women will try on dresses before they buy them in Birmingham, Ala.; our children will attend integrated schools in Danville, Va.; Negro travelers will use integrated washroom facilities in Albany, Ga.; and we are going to eat grits and greens at a roadside café in Cambridge, Md. All of this will cause deep troubling, but it will come about.

When visible, legal segregation is ended, Negroes must come to grips with the fact that they are an underdeveloped people. We Negroes, on the whole, are not ready to assume the responsibilities that are inseparable concomitants of the freedoms we seek. There are reasons for this, and the Negro's "cultural gap" has everything to do with what has happened to the black man in America since his reluctant migration from Africa. But that was almost four hundred years ago. To be sure, we are still scarred by what happened then, and since, but democracy is as demanding as it is infectious, and the Negro is by no means relieved of the imperative to further change things by becoming a much more responsible citizen than he now is. The American Negro must be taught and is ready to be taught.

Can the present Negro leaders do the job within the Negro community they are now doing against the white establishment? Frankly, I doubt it. They are too protest-minded, too caught up—and rightly so—in removing segregation. But a younger crop of Negro leaders who can do an intracommunity job are already waiting in the wings.

THE REV. JAMES BEVEL asked a Negro in Birmingham, "How the hell you going to say you love God, and you don't even vote? Jesus

continued

DRAWING BY AUSTIN BRIGGS

The young leaders of the future have been shot at and jailed

don't need no freeloaders. He had enough of them at the Crucifixion. If you want to help God's kingdom come on earth, you register at the polls tomorrow. Meanwhile, let your daughter stay in jail with the rest of the demonstrators until our change comes."

"Praise the Lord! I sure will do just that," the man said and walked away.

DIANE NASH is Mrs. James Bevel. On lonely nights, she and Jim sit around—after they have put their little child to sleep—and match jail records. They also "town-drop," swapping accounts of their adventures in Southern cities where they have gone to tell Negroes to stand up, scrub up, be somebody and vote. And there is friendly rivalry in the Bevel family. Jim works for Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Diane works for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

IKE REYNOLDS and Mary Hamilton of CORE are modern highwaymen. You will find them up and down the dusty roads of the deep South conducting Freedom Rides and Marches. You will also find them sleeping in the homes of the black masses, telling them of the need to look up and become a part of a great new thing. And they and the people they serve become one with the troubled earth.

NORMAN HILL, Velma Hill, Gladys Harrington, James Horton and John Parham are the young people who not only organized the Harlem Hospital demonstration in New York, but also went scurrying to find Negroes who could qualify for the breakthrough jobs they sought. Norman Hill, his wife Velma and Gladys Harrington are CORE people; James Horton is part of the new look among NAACP-ers, and John Parham is the type of Urban Leaguer who will get their much-touted "crash program" off the drawing boards.

BOB MOSES came back home to New York for a few days last summer. But he didn't return to get the job his Harvard education says he should have. Bob came to raise money for his fellow SNCC workers in Mississippi. Bob wired every dime he could raise back to the young men and women tramping through Mississippi and Alabama conducting voter-registration programs among Negroes. Bob Moses himself went hungry in New York; a friendly white magazine editor had to take him out to dinner and make him eat.

DORIS DERBY, 22, teaches school in Yonkers, N. Y., and is studying for her master's degree at Hunter College. Two years ago, she joined the "movement" and became an SNCC worker at Albany, Ga. Come September, Doris is headed for the deep South, where she will use the latest methods of adult education to teach illiterate Negroes how to read and write, and how to vote.

DOROTHY COTTON, 25, holds a master's degree in speech from Boston University. "Click, click, click"—one can hear her heels as she walks across the upper ramp of a Birmingham, Ala., motel. The night has fused into early morning; Martin Luther King and his top aides are asleep. But Dorothy is awake. She has just bedded down her key student leaders. In a few hours now, she will awaken them, and they will all be in church by nine o'clock, leading freedom songs and transmuting young Negro frustration into dignity. Shortly before noon, Martin Luther King will walk on the stage and ask, "Do you want to be free?" And Dorothy Cotton sees to it that three thousand children are there, ready to shout "yes." Then they march off to jail.

CLARENCE MITCHELL, JR., 25, ran for the State Assembly from the Baltimore Negro ghetto on the "sit-in" ticket. He hired his 18-year-old brother as his campaign manager and licked both the Negro conservatives and the segregationists to become the first Negro to sit in the Maryland House of Delegates since Reconstruction.

These are names to remember. These men and women are all under 30, they all are poor, they lead by living with the people, and—other than Clarence Mitchell—I doubt if any of them has ever had a cocktail with a white liberal. Most of them have been beaten and shot at; most of them have been to jail. These will be the leaders of the future. They, and others like them, will guide the Negro over the debris of the past into first-class citizenship.

These young leaders will not walk alone. The big-name leaders will still be with us, leading attacks on lingering aspects of discrimination. And when the legal battles and street demonstrations are settled and over with, the Southern Negro schoolteacher can emerge into the open once again. Then the Negro Revolt will have come full circle, and Negro teachers can train tomorrow's statesmen, just as they clandestinely trained today's revolutionaries. It will be a great day when these Negro teachers are released from fear and put back in harness where they belong. They can combine with the young leaders and tell Negroes the tribal truth: that the only way to get up and go is to get up and git!

But the times are a bit tender now for this. A man who is blocked from the washroom is hardly in the mood to be told that he should drink less and vote more; a black child whose best job prospect is to become manager of a white household cannot be blamed too much if she doesn't widen her horizons to dream of becoming a chemical engineer. People who live out their lives on the brink of terror and insecurity can hardly be expected to become responsible citizens.

Soon now, we will be able to write about these American horrors in the past tense. There will be no clear break, a morning when we will wake up and find segregation gone. There will only be continuing change and progress. By protesting, we Negroes are ushering in that change and progress, and we must ready our young for the new day we are bringing on.

We Americans, black and white alike, have sinned—but there is greatness in our guilt. Never before has a society tried to absorb so large and, for whatever reasons, troubling a minority. This is the first time a nation has attempted so drastic a social change, so quickly and with the anticipation of spilling so little blood. Let the truth be told: This entire nation is on a long Freedom Ride. Some of the children are reluctant to get on board, but, as Govs. George Wallace and Ross Barnett proved, they are of no mind to be crushed and left behind. The Negro Revolt is America reaching for immortality. It is within our grasp, and we will capture it if we prove to be men of level heads and compassionate hearts. END

"Litterbug!"

Const. 9-27-63

Who Helps Public Accommodations Bill?

This newspaper has expressed its opposition to the public accommodations bill, not because we think it is honorable for a restaurant or hotel to reject an American because of his color, but because we have felt the owners of such establishments are going to put an honorable end to discrimination voluntarily, without being compelled by law to do it.

The Board of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has gone on record urging such an end to discrimination here.

Many restaurant and hotel owners have gone ahead and done it.

This is the strong argument against the public accommodations bill.

But that argument is going to be greatly weakened if the newly expressed fear of Atlanta Negroes — that discriminatory practices are now rising, not diminishing, in Atlanta restaurants—should come to pass.

No single step could lend greater weight to the argument that a public accommodations law must be passed if discrimination is ever to be ended. Whatever factors are discouraging voluntary action are directly supporting the proponents of compulsory action.

And it may as well be recognized that support of a public accommodations law is not confined to any radically liberal wing of American opinion, but is growing on a much wider base. For instance, it was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of New York's vast Bowery Savings Bank, Earl B. Schwulst, who recently told the National Assn. of Real Estate Brokers meeting in Chicago:

"Let us hope that (the public accommodations bill) passes and that it escapes emasculation in its tortuous journey through Congress. Let us hope also that the bill does not become a prey to the fatuous charge that it violates property rights. Property rights are always subject to human rights as evidenced by instance after instance of jurisprudence in this country. No man can use property rights as a shield from behind which he can affront human dignity at will and insult a fellow citizen who has done him no wrong but who wishes merely to give him the patronage which he holds himself out as eagerly seeking from the public."

If voluntary action fails to end discrimination in Atlanta, those who contribute to the failure will have struck the major blow for passage of the public accommodations bill, which we oppose.

* * * * * *

Negro Leaders See New Targets: Slums and Votes

1-27-64 Natl Observer

Why 'Snick' Looks Beyond The Lunchroom; Fear Of A Senate Compromise

ATLANTA.

James Forman, a candid, bear-like man who directs the "non-violent guerrillas" of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, squeezed a limp lemon rind into a second cup of hot tea and watched the cold rain pound the streets of Atlanta.

"If we remain viable and strong, the student movement is going to have to go beyond making protests and demonstrations in restaurants and lunch counters," he said. "Ultimately, the student movement's going to have to go to the slums."

This is radical new policy for SNCC (or Snick, as it call itself); the organization was born of the first student sit-ins, in Greensboro, N.C., on Easter Sunday, 1960. "We've got people who are now deeply committed to the movement who got their start sitting in at a lunch counter," Mr. Forman said. "Now they're ready to move even further."

Shift in Direction

Mr. Forman's colleagues agree. These men, who wrought the dramatic civil-rights confrontation of 1963, see a subtle and gradual shift in the direction their movement will take in 1964. They're training their sights on these new, larger targets:

- Reluctant voter registrars, particularly in north Alabama and southern Mississippi; the ratification of the Twenty-fourth Amendment, forbidding poll taxes as a requirement to vote in Federal elections, adds emphasis to this campaign.
- Landlords of big-city slum housing; the so-called rent strikes in New York City will spread to Cleveland, Philadelphia, Atlanta, New Orleans, and Los Angeles.
- Employers who won't hire Negroes; co-ordinated "selective buying campaigns," the nice term for boycotts, are sure to proliferate this year.
- School officials who don't move quickly enough to break up "de facto segregation" in schools in all-white or all-Negro neighborhoods.

The sit-in, as a tactical weapon, won't be abandoned. Snick's black-booted, denim-jacketed troops scuffled with cops and Ku Klux Klansmen at several Atlanta hamburger counters just last week; the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) will tighten pressure on hold-out merchants in mostly desegregated Chapel Hill, N.C., early next month. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., might renew demonstrations "on a very large scale" in Albany, Ga., in late spring.

Leaders in Control

But the civil-rights leaders are confident of their control of the demonstrators now. They're eager to pick their targets, singling out specific situations rather than have brush-fire demonstrations sapping their financial and organizational strength on several fronts.

Not even Mr. Forman, whose "non-violent guerrillas" are the most militant of all the civil righters, expects demonstrations such as those of last year. During 1963, according to the Southern Regional Council, 930 demonstrations were staged in 115 Southern cities. More than 20,000 demonstrators were arrested.

"We'll have more demonstrations this year," Mr. Forman said. "But the things we do this year may not be the same sort of thing that shook the soul of the nation like Birmingham. A lot will depend on the opposition. It's my guess that the white opposition is more sophisticated now."

The Rev. Mr. King puts it another way: "What we'll see is an attempt to translate our gains in the moral realm into political power. This will be done by increasing the number of registered vot-

Please Turn to Page 9, Column 3

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER 1-27-64

Beyond the Protests

Negro Leaders Sight New Targets for 1964

Continued From Page One

ers; this is particularly important since this is an election year."

But all this presupposes the swift passage of the controversial civil-rights bill—with the super-sensitive public accommodations section intact. If the bill fails, or if the public-accommodations section is weakened, the Negroes will surely take their frustration into the streets again.

A Quick Victory

What these men want is a quick, if not necessarily easy, victory in the Congress. Once there's a Federal law guaranteeing Negroes access to restaurants, motels, and the like the leaders can pursue the less dramatic "bread and butter" issues without worrying about a mutiny among the troops.

They won't wait until the debating ends to start; last week, in Hattiesburg, Miss., representatives of Snick, CORE, and the NAACP put 250 pickets around the Forrest County Court House while 40 Negroes went inside to take the registration test.

Theron Lynd, who has been convicted of criminal contempt of a Federal court order that requires him to give the tests to Negroes, handed each applicant a blue pencil and a sheet of questions to test his literacy and knowledge of the state constitution.

There was one arrest: Robert Moses, one of dozens of paid field secretaries Snick has assigned to Mississippi. He probably won't be the last Snick trooper to go to jail in the new campaign.

"We intend to focus on Hattiesburg," Mr. Forman says. "We'll be pushing hard in Selma, Ala., too, and later on we'll go back to Greenwood again. It's not within our province to solve all the issues we raise, but we'll raise the issues.

"Take Hattiesburg. We can't make the registrar register Negroes, but we can create the climate so the government will have to act."

Others Support Drive

Snick isn't in Hattiesburg alone. Standing with Robert Moses when he was arrested were Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary for Mississippi, and Aaron Henry, state NAACP chairman. Fifty white and Negro ministers, including the son-in-law of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, marched with the pickets.

"This is an election year," the Rev. Mr. King said, "and for that reason you can expect a great deal of emphasis in this area."

Negro leaders insist there's no shortage of eager workers. "Our people realize we won't achieve everything quickly," says James Farmer, national director of CORE. "Last spring many of our young people thought the revolution would be won by the end of the summer. But we're preparing for a long, hard way."

CORE's pet project now is the new weapon of rent strikes. It's making [illegible] lanta. We'll organize rent strikes, teach the people freedom songs, and organize in the schools, too."

Shifting the attack to slum housing is a logical way to expand the movement in Northern cities, too. "One of the things we want to do in 1964 is broaden the base of the revolution by winning allies among other minorities as well as among the whites," says CORE's Mr. Farmer, as he paces his plainly furnished office on the third floor of a grimy, 60-year-old redstone building facing New York City's friendly City Hall.

"Many whites want to get involved with us, but not to the point of sitting-in or marching. It's too bad, but we've got to give these people something to do."

He sees the boycott as an effective weapon that can be shouldered by sympathetic but bashful Northern whites. So does Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

"The boycott should be used as a final resort," Mr. Wilkins says. "But if we're unable to negotiate with employers, then we'll use it. Boycotts of consumer products have been quite successful." But these, to be successful, must be local; he doesn't see much chance of success in national campaigns.

"I look for more of this as the Negro learns to use the only real power he has. Consumer power. If the moral argument won't work, pure consumer power will." He cites the effective campaigns in Southern cities. "The preachers are particularly effective. They get a shot at their congregations at least once a week. You can imagine how effective a campaign can be when all the Negro preachers in a locality are repeating 'don't buy, don't buy, don't buy' to their congregations."

Not Enough Qualified

The success of this technique in breaking down employment barriers has been, in a way, too successful in some places. Sometimes there aren't enough qualified Negroes to fill the jobs that suddenly open up at the end of a concerted campaign.

This worries Whitney Young, Jr., chairman of the National Urban League—the oldest and least militant of all the civil-rights organizations. Last year, the Urban League was included in the planning of the big demonstrations, but it necessarily was left in the wings. For one thing, the League has a rule against picketing; it has traditionally preferred negotiation and persuasion to achieve desegregation in employment.

The Urban League expects to move nearer center-stage this year. "It's a good thing to have organizations to break down the barriers, but you've got to have an organization to prepare a Negro to walk through the door," Mr. Young says. "You can't eat civil rights, and you can't put freedom in a milk bottle."

In the past, this sort of talk has evoked cries of "Uncle Tom!" against Negroes who said it. Sometimes this cry has been raised against the Urban League. Yet the South. These districts range, literally, from coast to coast; one is in Boston, another in Pasadena, Calif.

Unintentional Patterns

"Many Northern school boards have slipped into patterns of discrimination without realizing it," Mr. Wilkins said. "This sometimes means the assignment of inexperienced teachers to Negro schools, or hand-me-down textbooks. The matter of transfers is another example; whites can usually get transfers for their children without a delay, but not for Negroes. These attitudes have created the 85 and 90 per cent Negro schools."

But over all these plans for 1964 looms the long shadow of the coming debate in Congress. The House of Representatives will start its debate early next month; a vote could be taken by mid-February. Then it goes to the Senate, where Southerners have promised a filibuster. At this point, if the past is a guide, a compromise might be wrought.

The public-accommodations section is the crucial section. This is the section most offensive to the powerful Southern senators, and to many Negroes, the civil-rights bill is, first and last, the public-accommodations section.

If it is cut from the civil-rights bill, the rights leaders say, large demonstrations would resume in dozens of towns and cities. The prospect of alienating whites in the North appears not to bother them.

'Moving Next Door'

"The Negro couldn't care less about the warning that his impatience will alienate white friends," the Urban League's Mr. Young says. "The North, in the past, has been able to express its liberalism by being against lynching in Mississippi; now the Negro is moving next door."

Actually, these leaders unanimously believe they have increased the number of whites who support their aims and methods. ("We've flushed out the phonies," says one.) Mr. Young, for one, worries more about retaining "responsible leadership" among Negroes.

"If the proper white response to the Negro challenge fails, if the civil-rights bill fails, if the unions fail to make a place for Negro labor, 1964 could make last year's demonstrations look like a mild physical fitness program."

—WESLEY PRUDEN, JR.

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Negro leaders insist there's no shortage of eager workers. "Our people realize we won't achieve everything quickly," says James Farmer, national director of CORE. "Last spring many of our young people thought the revolution would be won by the end of the summer. But we're preparing for a long, hard way."

CORE's pet project now is the new weapon of rent strikes. It's working particularly well in New York City, where sympathetic courts have sanctioned the withholding of rent until landlords clean up sub-standard tenements. The city health department decides what's substandard, and when the rents are collectible again.

For 'Open-Occupancy'

This approach to improving housing is new, too. Mr. Farmer, a hulking, 43-year-old one-time conscientious objector who likens his group to "non-violent marines," concedes the novelty of his new campaign. "We're for open-occupancy so Negroes who can afford to live where they want to can move where they want to."

"But even if we got open-occupancy overnight, there would still be hundreds of Harlems. These neighborhoods will continue to exist because that's where some people want to live. That's where they've always lived, and that's where their friends live. We can't be blind to their problems."

Mr. Farmer expects the rent strikes to spread quickly as soon as Negroes in other cities realize how successful the technique has been in New York City. "In fact," he says, "it's already working in Cleveland." Targets coming up: Los Angeles, Dayton, Cincinnati, Bridgeport, Conn., and Philadelphia.

The slums appeal to Snick, too. "We're making a survey of slum problems now," Mr. Forman said. "One of the first places we'll go is Buttermilk Bottoms in At-

The Urban League expects to move nearer center-stage this year. "It's a good thing to have organizations to break down the barriers, but you've got to have an organization to prepare a Negro to walk through the door," Mr. Young says. "You can't eat civil rights, and you can't put freedom in a milk bottle."

In the past, this sort of talk has evoked cries of "Uncle Tom!" against Negroes who said it. Sometimes this cry has been raised against the Urban League. Yet, 42-year-old Whitney Young believes the emphasis must shift to job preparation if Negroes are to take advantage of the opportunities the other, harder pressures are creating.

An Inventory of Skills

One program originated by the league is the "skills bank." The league keeps lists of skilled Negroes working in unskilled fields; when openings are found, any of the 65 league branches can offer an applicant. According to Mr. Young, 3,500 Negroes with master's degrees in various fields are working for the Post Office Department; others work as waiters or taxi drivers.

A new program in New York City offers additional training for young Negro women who flunk Civil Service exams; of the first class of 40 rejects, 35 were employed after more training.

All this is necessary, he says, to avoid "tokenism"; the placing of a few Negroes among whites to achieve integration in name but not in fact. "We're running out of Jackie Robinsons and Ralph Bunches."

"Tokenism" in public school desegregation will be a fatter-than-ever target in Northern cities. Civil-rights groups in New York City are threatening a boycott on Feb. 3 unless the Board of Education sets a timetable for classroom integration even in neighborhoods that aren't integrated.

The NAACP has "desegregation activities" pending in 81 school districts outside

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

2-5-64

Wall St. Journal
by James C. Zanner

"Negroes Ready Another Wave of Demonstrations Against Bias in South"

'Resegregation' and Unkept Promises Charged; CORE to expand Drive in North

An Impact on CR Bill?

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

~~Pauly if you~~

NY Times - 2-9-64

Civil Rights: Leaders Hope Year that Unrest Will Grow

by Claude Sitton

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Schwendschild

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Feb 1964, ~~Right~~ published by A & L

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4-19-64

The Civil Rights Bill—No. 1

TITLE II LISTS 'OPEN' PLACES

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—H.R. 7152, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," is a 55-page, 11-title bill. It passed the House of Representatives Feb. 10 and has been the subject of Senate debate since March 9.

Title II outlaws discrimination on the basis of "race, color, religion or national origin" in any "establishments which serve the public" if (1) "its operations affect commerce" or if (2) discrimination is "supported by state action."

This is the first of five articles giving details of the civil rights legislation now before the U.S. Senate. The articles will continue daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

The bill lists the following "places" specifically: Inn, motel, hotel, restaurant, cafeteria, lunch room, lunch counter, soda fountain, motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium.

THIS is not a limiting list. Places located in the listed places are also covered. (A bar in a motel, for example.) Also, the bill defines "commerce" as "travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation or communication" across state lines.

If a law or "regulation, rule or order" of a political subdivision compels segregation in any place, that place is also covered by Title II. "Custom or usage" enforced by political subdivisions also bring the place involved under Title II.

Private clubs are not covered unless the club's facilities are available to customers of places covered above. (A club's golf course open to a hotel's guests.)

An individual or the U.S. Attorney General may apply for an injunction against the owner or operator of an establishment that discriminates or one "about to" discriminate.

U.S. district courts have jurisdiction over cases involving this title.

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CHARLESTON
GAZETTE (W. VA.)
p. 16A
Date: MAY 17 1964

Compliance - edu -

W. Va. State Tops Integration St

By John W. Yago

Of all the states affected by the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 integration ruling, West Virginia is generally conceded to have moved the fastest, easiest and furthest toward removing racial barriers in education.

The historic decision was only a few weeks old when state education officials declared that segregation was a thing of the past in institutions under their control. Many county school boards followed suit.

As a result, school integration was accomplished in West Virginia with a minimum of difficulty and none of the upheaval that has beset the Southern states for the past decade. A few county school boards are still faced with pending legal action but there have been few clashes outside the courtroom.

West Virginia schools went through the integration process so smoothly when compared with the South that comparatively little attention was paid to this achievement. It seemed almost natural.

But there was one case of integration that has been so successful that it has made West Virginia known around the world as the home of a model of racial harmony.

It was West Virginia State College's famed "integration in reverse" that put the state in the world spotlight.

WEST VIRGINIA STATE was called "the nation's most completely integrated school" by one of the many people who have beat a path to Institute in the past 10 years.

The West Virginia State story has been told many times.

It has been told in the New York Times, on the CBS television network and frequently through media of somewhat lesser renown. Only last week the United States Information Agency sent a team to the college campus to prepare to tell it again, this time worldwide through the government agency's global facilities.

This widespread publicity has brought an almost steady stream of visitors to the college.

Visitors to the Kanawha Valley from other nations and other parts of this country frequently make a stop at the college part of their stay here. They want to see if what they have heard is really true.

In nearly all cases they find that it is and they go away impressed.

* * *

WHAT THEY have seen is an institution that was transformed from a small school for a small segment of the population to a growing college providing a variety of services to an industrial community.

Integration, in fact, may have been the salvation of West Virginia State College. In 1952 its enrollment had dwindled to 859 after a brief postwar spurt and 75 per cent of these were from outside West Virginia. They had been attracted by the reputation West Virginia State had as an excellent school for Negroes.

Today the enrollment is over 2,600 and 70 per cent white. Furthermore, 80 per cent of the students are West Virginians and most of these come from the immediate area, making the college predominantly a school of commuters.

Negroes and whites now seek an education together but the task of integration has not been easy.

"I think we have accomplished an outstanding objective here," President William J. L. Wallace said not long ago. "I can't say race has been completely eliminated as a factor, but it is a minor factor in the operation of the college."

* * *

THE GROWTH of racial integration at West Virginia State has been punctuated with its share of disagreements.

There was the time that a white girl was elected a campus beauty queen when a Negro girl had always before received the honor. Some Negro students objected but the dispute was ironed out.

A white man was hired as football coach over the protests of some Negro alumni and students but President Wallace insisted that his coach was the right man.

The commuting students — mostly white — and the camus resident students — mostly Negro — frequently go their separate ways, oblivious of each other.

Some white students at the college are willing to take advantage of its educational opportunities but still admit they would rather not share classrooms with Negroes.

* * *

DR. WALLACE has been criticized by some for pushing integration too hard and by others for not pushing it hard enough.

But many of these instances have been minor when compared with what has been accomplished at West Virginia State in the decade of integration.

No one pretends that the job is complete. But it is considerably closer to completion than it was 10 years ago and the college continues to live up to the slogan printed on every piece of mail that leaves the campus—"A Living Laboratory in Human Relations."

5-28-64 C

Eugene Patterson

The Young Are Not Buying

CARROLLTON—Robert Kennedy ordered his driver to stop in the hot street when he saw a swarm of school children waving to him. He walked among them. They crowded close to touch his hand, jumping and pressing and shouting to him. Across the street, two old men under a grocery store awning didn't get up out of their chairs to look at him.

The attorney general drove on to the West Georgia College campus. A warm cheer went up as he mounted the bunting-hung platform under the shade of oaks. The audience was small but honest. Students predominated. He spoke quietly of his dead brother's beliefs, of faith and tolerance, and of the "consensus of good sense" that has guided America.

But it was later in the college auditorium when Robert Kennedy sharply struck new fire to an old fact: The Kennedy ideal speaks to youth. The new generation of Americans that identified itself with his brother finds itself in him also.

The students' questions were blunt and penetrating, weighted with the civil rights reservations they had heard as a staple of Southern oratory.

Kennedy's answers were direct and rough-edge, never tangential or slippery. And the students responded to what he said with profound, rolling applause that visibly startled him and then strengthened him.

* * *

It might be tempting for older Southerners who were not present to scorn this overwhelming student reaction as proving only the gullibility of the young and naive who do not yet understand things like property rights. If they do, they will simply be gulling and deluding themselves. These students had heard and pondered the George Wallace doctrine all their lives. Their questions reflected that. Kennedy's answers did not seem so much to create as to confirm their doubt about the soundness and rightness of the Wallace doctrine.

Kennedy was asked, what about the rights of states to handle their own racial matters? It would be "much better" if the states and not the federal government did it, he replied. But there continue to be some states "that won't deal with it." He excepted Georgia, and mentioned Alabama and Mississippi. "They have made it quite clear they're not going to do it."

Thus, he said, even though he considers it "unfortunate" that the federal government should have to act, "I don't see any alternative to it."

Neither, obviously, did an applauding majority of students.

What he had pointed out, of course, was the central weakness of the old Southern segregationist position, which sought to justify wrong instead of trying to rectify it. It was pretty clear here that the young generation is not buying that tortured old position. It did respond to a man who talked straight. This is a major Southern political fact.

CAMPAIGN FOR INTEGRATION: MAJOR BATTLE LOOMING IN CONGRESS

Administration Is Drafting New Legislation to Get Demonstrators Off Streets and Into Courts

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 8—On Capitol Hill this week one could begin to sense the mood of apprehension that always precedes Congress's long, dreary, destructive battles over civil rights legislation.

Or perhaps, this year, resignation would be a better word than apprehension for the state of mind. Even those who have no stomach for it, and who even a few weeks ago did not expect it, are now resigned to a full-scale civil rights debate this summer, very probably running on into the fall.

The racial explosion in Birmingham last month, and the spreading Negro protest demonstrations that have followed, have forced the Kennedy Administration to take a new look. It had planned a civil rights bill limited principally to the voting issue, and the Senate had not expected to take that up until next session.

Urgency Felt

Now urgency is the word. President Kennedy had hoped to send broad new civil rights proposals to Congress this week, but he left for a scheduled Western trip before he was ready with the message. He will almost certainly send it up next week.

Final drafting is still going on, and indeed basic aspects of the legislative proposals are still very much subject to change. Nevertheless, their basic purpose and thrust can be stated with some confidence.

The purpose, in the Administration's view, is to get the frustrated Negroes of the South off the streets and into the courts. It is to provide a sure legal remedy, now lacking, for the galling exclusion of Negroes from lunch counters, hotels, movie theaters and other public accommodations, and to speed the lagging process of desegregation in schools.

To that end the Administration is expected to propose a ban on racial discrimination by businesses that deal significantly in interstate commerce, thus invoking the Federal Government's constitutional power over commerce crossing state lines. And there will be some proposal to bring the Federal Government further into the school picture.

No Illusions

The Administration's civil rights experts do not pretend that such legislation, if enacted, will make this country's racial problems go away. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has been saying for some time that the United States is in for a long period of racial turmoil and that it will take every effort to avoid violence and tragedy. He said this week: "We are paying for the sins of the past."

And so activity is going ahead on other fronts as the new legislation is prepared. The Justice Department is pressing on in the courts. Its notable victory this week in obtaining an injunction against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama is an example. Its forces are prepared for the showdown with the Governor next week over admission of three Negroes to the University of Alabama.

The process of personal persuasion also continues. The President called in a large group of businessmen this week to urge desegregation of their facilities in the South, and he evidently made some impression with his talk of urgency. He extended his Western trip to Hawaii to address 100 of the country's mayors there today on the same issue.

But the current thinking of the Administration is focusing more and more on legislation.

Psychology

The reason for that is simply the belief that a new statute would have a most significant effect in reducing racial barriers. The feeling is that the business community, South as well as North, is waking up to the insupportability of race discrimination but that individual proprietors would find it much easier to desegregate along with everyone else in the community, rather than taking the lead.

Another reason is the psychological effect that passage of a major piece of civil rights legislation would hopefully have on the increasingly dissatisfied Negro. It would serve, the belief is, to demonstrate the concern of the national Government for the Negro's situation and show that there is still a hope of reform with white help instead of by dangerous direct action.

Talking about civil rights legislation, however, is notoriously easier than passing it. What are the chances of a Civil Rights Act of 1963 appearing on the statute books? And what kind of civil rights act?

No attempt to get closure in a Senate civil rights debate has ever succeeded; the most recent failed only last year. The two civil rights acts passed in this century, those of 1957 and 1960, got by because the Southerners were persuaded by the mysterious magic of Lyndon B. Johnson, then majority leader, to give way without forcing the issue to closure.

Democratic strategists at the Capitol, who have already begun looking in their crystal ball, see only 40 or 42 Democratic votes for closure on civil rights under the most favorable circumstances. To get 67 of the 100 Senators then would require at least 25 of the 33 Republican votes for closure.

Many experts indeed believe the fate of this year's civil rights battle will rest with the Republicans. Predictions about their course are difficult because they, like the Democrats, are divided.

The Politicians

Jacob K. Javits of New York is as committed as any Democrat to the Negro cause. But Barry Goldwater of Arizona said this week that he had not seen any civil rights proposal he would vote for. Another conservative G.O.P. Senator privately expressed concern this week about the idea of Congress's being pushed into legislation by threats of violence.

Republican Senators met this week, at Senator Javits's insistence, to try to reach a "consensus." There was general surprise when they did. They voted, over a few nays, to commit themselves to support "appropriate legislation." That was vague, and it did not include the commitment to closure that Senator Javits had wanted, but it was something.

Governor Rockefeller greeted the G.O.P. Senate resolution as if it were the Emancipation Proclamation. He said he was "deeply gratified" that the Senators had so "decisively declared" their support for a rights bill. He went on to attack President Kennedy for waiting two and a half years to propose broad legislation in the field.

The Rockefeller statement indicates the gravest danger facing the civil rights legislative proposals. That is the danger of death by politicking.

One Administration figure put it privately: "The question may be whether the Republicans really want legislation or want to make speeches." The Republicans, for their part, will doubtless be raising similar questions about the dedication of the Kennedys.

The ironic fact is that neither side can expect to gain much of anything from civil rights legislation. The Democrats already have most of the Negro vote. No legislation they can possibly produce will satisfy the Negro demand or produce a great new wave of good feeling.

Some Complaints

The Republicans, for their part, know that any bill passed will be credited to the Administration. The Senate majority leader, Everett Dirksen of Illinois, complains with some justice that even though he faithfully supports civil rights legislation, he got very few Negro votes last year. The natural target for Republicans is the growing suburbs, South and North, which they believe are hardly crying for civil rights legislation.

In this situation one key to success in the legislative drive will be the squelching of all maneuvers for political advantage. President Kennedy will have to take Republican leaders into his confidence and try to persuade them he is not cut to make a political killing. A major reason for this week's delay in dispatch of his civil rights message was to give time for talks with the G.O.P. Congressional leadership.

Another essential will be persuasion of those Senators from states without significant Negro population—most Republicans—that there is an urgent need for action. In this the key may be the voices of articulate leaders in law, business and other such fields.

There are signs that among these normally conservative groups there is a growing demand for stronger action on Negro rights. Privately, at least, some eminent lawyers are calling for much bolder Federal intervention in the South. The process of persuasion that President Kennedy will have to undertake to pass a civil rights bill will include the arousal of these forces not ordinarily concerned with the racial issue.

Rosen in The Albany Times-Union

"And remember our motto: 'They shall not pass.'"

TEST IN ALABAMA

Integration of University May Bring Violence

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., June 8—What may be the last showdown on a grand scale over desegregation in public education is moving rapidly toward its inevitable conclusion here.

Not even Gov. George Wallace contends there is any doubt that the state must finally bow to the will of the Federal courts and permit the University of Alabama to enroll three Negroes.

The chief question now is whether his avowed intention to stand at Foster Auditorium on Tuesday and block the entrance will lead to violence. Governor Wallace, university officials and representatives of the Federal Government seem determined it shall not.

The genesis of the controversy lies in a pledge by Mr. Wallace during his campaign for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination last year. He was quoted then as having said that he would "stand in the school house door" if necessary to prevent the resumption of desegregation in Alabama.

Those close to the governor say privately that he did not mean for those words to be taken literally. Nevertheless, he feels compelled to play out this act of defiance and, as he says, to raise "constitutional issues."

At the same time, intense pressures from a large majority convinced him that there must be no violence and that if there is the blame will rest squarely on his head.

The resulting situation is packed with explosive potentialities for all involved.

The Kennedy Administration obviously cannot afford a repetition of the fatal riots that greeted the admission of James H. Meredith to the University of Mississippi last fall. This is true because of the untold damage it would do to America's reputation abroad and the political repercussions at home.

No Secret

On the other hand, the Administration makes no secret of its desire to avoid both the use of Federal troops to enforce court desegregation orders against the university and the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Wallace.

The Governor has equally difficult problems. His statements and those of his aides indicate that he feels he must push his defiance to the point at which no one could accuse him of having reneged on his pledge.

But he must avoid arrest, which undoubtedly would lead to a grave crisis throughout this state. "If Governor Wallace is arrested, all hell will break loose," asserted a high university official. This is the general consensus.

However, it appears that nothing short of the Governor's arrest will satisfy the militant white supremacists. Robert M. Shelton, a former automobile-tire builder in a rubber plant here and now imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, made this clear. He said that he and his followers would not seek to interfere at the University but only because they understood that Mr. Wallace would block the admission of the Negroes at whatever cost.

The Dangers

The danger now is that embittered racists, dissatisfied by the show of resistance and believing that they have been sold out, will resort to a wave of hit-and-run terrorism after the Tuesday confrontation. This is the Governor's dilemma.

At the controvery's outset, the Governor showed little concern over the possible implications of his plans of defiance. But his position has undergone substantial, if publicly subtle, modification in recent weeks.

This change is the end product of a state-wide campaign for peaceful compliance with the court orders. It was initiated last year by a relative handful of moderates within the university administration and the state's business, civic and political leadership and joined later by others.

Their primary motivation was to protect the university from the damaging effects of an Oxford crisis and to save the state from the economic penalties that would follow.

This coalition suffered one basic weakness. Most of its members had opposed Mr. Wallace in his campaign for the governorship. However, there were a few Wallace backers among them and the Ole Miss debacle brought them new support from within the Governor's camp.

Civic groups, newspapers and prominent Alabamians issued one statement after another designed to pave the way for avoidance of the disorder that followed the enrollment of Miss Autherine Lucy, a Negro, at the university in 1956. She was subsequently expelled after her lawyers had accused the university administration of complicity in the riot.

One Statement

One such statement designed to avoid disaster came from the university Board of Trustees. Significantly, it was proposed by Gessner T. McCorvey, a long-time states' rights leader, and seconded by Winton M. Blount, president of the State Chamber of Commerce. The statement noted that president Frank A. Rose of the university and the faculty were working to achieve standards of academic excellence.

"The uninterrupted continuation of these labors, in the atmosphere of order and peace prerequisite to academic endeavors, is essential to the economic, social and political future of the State of Alabama," the statement said. Many similar expressions followed.

The lengthy Birmingham crisis and the riots there added impetus to the moderates' efforts. Mr. Wallace's legislative leaders were forced to accept a "law and order" amendment to a resolution praising his position.

Throughout this period, powerful Alabamians were telling the Governor that if he must defy the courts he must also accept responsibility for the consequences.

Others Heard

Even a member of the state's Congressional delegation has added his voice to the campaign. "I am as strongly in favor of the segregation of the races as any man in America," said Representative Carl Elliot. "But as much as we may disagree with the integration of the University of Alabama, it is incumbent that we react to it in an orderly and legal manner."

"Violence and disorder will not prevent the enrollment of Negro students at the University of Alabama. But it will do irreparable damage to the good name of our state, our people and our university."

Reliable capitol sources say that Grover Hall, editor of The Montgomery Advertiser, played a key role in persuading Mr. Wallace that the state should take whatever steps needed to avoid any disorder on the campus.

Not until yesterday, however, did it become apparent that the Governor was committed to such a course. The first concrete indication came from Colonel Albert J. Lingo, the second from Eugene (Bull) Connor, former Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner.

Col. Lingo, state commissioner of public safety and head of the Alabama Highway Patrol, said he would have 825 men here to preserve the peace when the showdown comes Tuesday.

Further, he said these forces would play no part in the confrontation between Federal officials and the Governor, who is expected to stand alone.

Police Power

More importantly, the chief of the patrol, which has full police power throughout the state, said that no matter what happened on the campus Tuesday, sufficient men would remain in Tuscaloosa to quell any outbreak.

Mr. Connor, in an address to a Citizens' Council rally in adjacent Holt, told a group of militant racists that Governor Wallace had asked him to urge them to stay away from the university. "'Tell those people to let me and the law enforcement agencies handle that situation at Tuscaloosa,'" he quoted the Governor as having said.

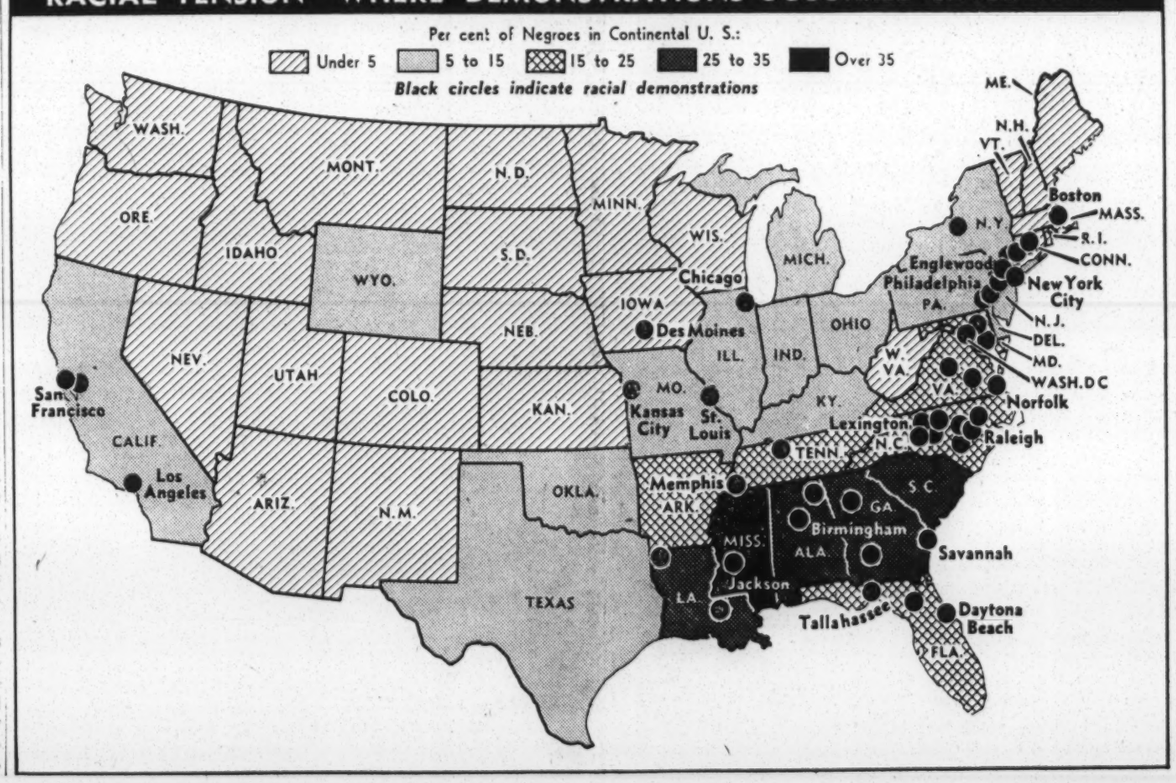
Observers believed the speech reflected the Governor's concern over the rising tension among whites and his desire to prevent it from starting off an explosion here.

Some persons contend that Mr. Wallace's swing toward a "law and order" position has come rather late in the day but that it nevertheless may have a calming effect.

However, no one is willing to voice any confidence over the outcome until the confrontation has passed.

Major Showdown Expected in Alabama on Tuesday When Negroes Try to Enter University

RACIAL TENSION—WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS OCCURRED SINCE MAY 1



James Reston

6-20-64
Cont

When It's Law, It'll Be Different

WASHINGTON—With the impending passage of the civil rights bill, the basic questions before the country will change overnight. The issue is no longer, do you agree? It is, rather, will you accept the law of the land?

This is no longer merely a political but a moral question. It concerns not only the right of the Negro but the legal integrity of the whole nation. The difference is fundamental. The key words are no longer "integration" or segregation," but "law" or "anarchy", "acceptance" or "defiance."

Much will depend on the attitude taken, once the civil rights bill is signed, by the very men who led the fight against it.

They have been much more bitter and unyielding in their opposition in the Senate than their Southern compatriots in the House, but they know the difference between a debate and a law, and generosity in defeat will do much to avoid civil disorder.

This crisis of compliance is not like the last one over the Supreme Court's decision on the racial integration of the public schools. It is not produced by nine Supreme Court justices interpreting the Constitution, but by an act of Congress. And the nation is not asked to comply "with all deliberate speed" but to comply at once.

This places on the conscience of the leaders of every community a new responsibility and gives them additional power, and the critical question of this summer is whether or not they will use that power.

The South is likely to surprise its militant critics in the North on this question. No doubt there will be defiance in some sections of the South as well as North, but the South has a respect for the Congress that is not always shared in the North, and in most Southern communities its leaders will respect and defend laws even if they do not like them.

Besides, it is not only a question of pride and manners in the new industrialized South to respect the Congress, but a question of practical expediency. The Negro revolt against inequality has been hard enough to handle even when the laws were ambiguous and the Negro revolution was in the hands of moderate leaders, but defiance of a clear mandate from the Congress would throw the Negro revolution into the hands of the extremists and threaten civil disorder all over the nation.

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The Real Test Looms on Civil Rights

Passage of the civil rights bill by the Senate, one year after its introduction in Congress, means it soon will be the law of the land. The House, as did the Senate, passed the measure by an overwhelming vote. Their differing versions will be reconciled within a few days. It then becomes the duty of the nation to begin the difficult compliance task.

All that it will mean, of course, is not yet fully understood. It will be the subject of litigation for many years. It could arouse bitter antagonisms and possible violence if the extremist elements of both races are not restrained. The bill itself, with amendments allowing jury trials for citizens cited in contempt of federal courts except in voting rights and giving time for compliance with its other provisions, is a moderate one.

Let it be noted by all that this bill is a mandate of Congress, not an edict from the federal courts. Its passage follows months of debate. Some of its contents, in fact, have been debated for many years. Both Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, have now voted for the package, invoking cloture in the Senate in order to do so. It has irritated, even incensed, many Southerners. The congressional vote, however, reflects the will of the national majority and we owe our country and our system of government the duty of accepting it as such.

Georgia has been making great progress in areas covered under the bill. It will make it easier to implement programs already going forward. It will make voluntary compliance with the intent of the bill easier. It will provide the framework for a rational solution to the greatest domestic problem facing this country.

Let us hope the bill also will remove our problems from the streets for all time and into the courts. This, of course, will depend upon acceptance of our responsibilities for upholding the law of the land. As columnist James Reston puts it, the "key words are no longer 'integration' or 'segregation,' but 'law' or 'anarchy,' 'acceptance' or 'defiance.' " This is a challenge that is addressed to all of us, the federal, state and local governments and to individuals all across this land.

To consider this a punitive measure aimed at the South is an attitude of defeatism. The size of the vote, after weeks of exhortation by popular Southern senators and representatives, refutes that argument. It is a bill with which we can live and we must prepare ourselves to do just that. The alternative is chaos. Orderly accommodation to the law of the land is the only way. It also is our greatest opportunity.

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The Rights Bill: How It Passed And What's Next

Continued From First Page

the House can get the bill back on the floor only by a suspension of the rules. If this is the case, it would take a two-thirds majority of the House to pass the bill. The House originally approved the bill by a vote of 290 to 130.

The final drive for Senate passage was tense because of the political problems a vote on the bill posed for some senators.

One such senator was Barry Goldwater of Arizona, leading candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. Mr. Goldwater waited until Thursday to announce his position on the measure. A decision in favor of the bill would have meant a reversal of his previous position. A decision against the bill would mean earning the enmity of the Senate leadership.

Senator Goldwater finally announced he would vote against the bill because of doubts about the Constitutionality of its provisions outlawing discrimination in public accommodations and in employment practices.

Texas Democrat Ralph Yarborough, too, was in a difficult political position. If Mr. Yarborough, who is up for re-election this year, had voted against the bill, he would have alienated his most influential political ally, President and fellow-Texan Lyndon Johnson. The senator voted for the bill, thus alienating a good many voters in his own state.

The bill is a far-reaching one that calls for nondiscrimination in many areas of life including voting, education, public accommodations, and employment. Many Senators flatly declared they had doubts about the bill but would vote for it anyway.

'I Expect No Better'

Friday afternoon, Senator Humphrey made his final speech in favor of passage and quoted Benjamin Franklin's words on his vote for the Constitution in 1787: "Thus I consent, sir, . . . because I expect no better and because I am not sure that it is not the best."

Certain of the bill's passage, Mr. Humphrey told the Senate: "We can fight without rancor, win without pride, and, on occasion, lose without bitterness. Surely it would be one of the ironies of history if equality were purchased at the expense of the community. We must solemnly pledge that this will never come to pass."

The final calls for passage were sounded by majority leader Mansfield and minority leader Everett McKinley Dirksen.

Mr. Mansfield was conservative and conciliatory. He praised the quality of the Southern opposition to the bill. "It was earnest and learned. . . . It's most important function was to discourage unwarranted self-righteousness on the part of the bill's proponents," said the majority leader.

His hands shaking slightly as he held the text for his speech, Mr. Mansfield declared that "no blood has been shed in this chamber and none need be shed elsewhere. . . . If there is to be a second Reconstruction, then it must be a reconstruction of the heart, in not one but in all sections of the nation."

It was Mr. Dirksen who made the most uncompromising appeal for approval of the bill. Turning to Senator Goldwater, Mr. Dirksen emphasized that the governor of Arizona was among 40 governors urging the bill's passage.

"Here," said Senator Dirksen, shifting his horn-rimmed glasses from hand to hand, "we're dealing with a moral force." He turned again toward Mr. Goldwater.

"In the history of mankind," said the senator, "there is an inexorable moral force that carries us forward. . . . Mankind, thank God, goes ever forward."

'The Moral Basis'

A Title-by-Title Summary

What the New Rights Measure Provides

Here is a summary of key provisions of the civil-rights bill approved by the Senate last week.

TITLE I

Voting rights. Outlaws racial discrimination in qualification of voters for Federal elections. Prohibits denial of voting rights in Federal elections because of registration errors "not material" in determining voter qualification. Forbids literacy tests as qualification for voting in Federal elections unless such tests are administered in writing to all voters and a copy of the test a voter has taken, and the answers, are provided the voter requesting them within 25 days after his request. Provides that literacy "shall be a rebuttable presumption" if a would-be voter has completed the sixth grade in school.

Authorizes the U.S. Attorney General and a defendant in a voting case to request a three-judge Federal court to hear cases in which the Attorney General seeks a finding that a pattern or practice of discrimination exists. Authorizes appeal from a three-judge court directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Prohibits prosecution more than once (e.g., for both criminal-contempt and for violation of the law) for the same act or ommission.

TITLE II

Injunctive relief against discrimination in places of public accommodation. Bars discrimination and segregation in places of public accommodation such as inns, hotels, motels, restaurants, lunch counters, theaters, sports arenas, service stations, and concert halls if interstate commerce is affected. According to this title, interstate commerce is affected if "a substantial portion" of goods sold or exhibited move in interstate commerce or if the accommodations in question are on the premises of an establishment involved in interstate commerce (e.g., a restaurant in a train station). Specifically exempted from this provision are private clubs and rooming houses with no more than five rooms for hire, when the proprietor is a resident.

Makes state and local laws permitting or requiring discrimination or segregation in places of public accommodation covered by this title unenforceable by prohibiting attempts to punish persons who attempt to exercise the right of freedom from segregation and discrimination in public accommodations.

Can Seek Court Order

Permits an aggrieved person to seek protection of a Federal court order "whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage" in acts prohibited under this title. Authorizes the court to permit the Attorney General to step in to seek court orders covered by this title.

Prohibits any civil action seeking such court orders and prohibits criminal proceedings for 30 days from the time of complaint in states or communities where the alleged discriminatory practices are prohibited by local law.

Permits the court, in states where alleged discriminatory practices are not covered by local or state law, to defer civil and criminal action for as long as 120 days while the matter is referred to the Community Relations Service established by Title X of this bill, if the court believes there is a possibility of obtaining voluntary compliance with provisions of this title.

Permits the Community Relations Service to conduct closed hearings unless the court, the person filing the complaint, the defendant, and the service agree otherwise.

Certificate Is Required

Permits the Attorney General to move for a temporary or permanent court order against discriminatory practices if he has "reasonable cause" to believe that any person or group is engaged in discriminatory practices covered by this title. Permits the Attorney General to ask for a three-judge Federal court to hear cases covered by this section. This request must be accompanied by a certificate saying the case "is of general public importance." Authorizes appeal from a three-judge court under this section directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

TITLE III

Desegregation of public facilities. Authorizes the Attorney General to file civil suits to end discrimination or segregation in facilities, except schools, owned by state or local governments, upon receipt of complaints by aggrieved persons, if he believes the complaints have merit and the person making the complaints are unable to bear the costs of filing the suits or would be physically endangered or financially hurt by filing such suits.

TITLE IV

Desegregation of public education. Orders the U.S. commissioner of education to conduct a survey on the effects of discrimination and segregation on equal educational opportunity in public schools and report his findings to Congress and the President within two years from enactment of this title.

Authorizes the commissioner to provide technical assistance, such as advice on special educational problems, to states, school boards, and schools in order to implement desegregation. Authorizes the commissioner to make Federal funds available to facilitate training of teachers and administrators to cope with problems of desegregation.

Authorizes the Attorney General, upon receipt of a complaint that an individual has been refused admission to and removed from a public college because of discrimination, or a complaint that a school board has deprived children of equal protection of the laws, to file suit on behalf of that person if the person is unable to bear the costs of the suit or if, in the Attorney General's opinion, the complaining person would be endangered by filing suit.

This title specifically declares that "desegregation shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

TITLE V

Commission on Civil Rights. Provides for at least 30 days notice of civil-rights commission hearings. Empowers the civil-rights Commission to serve as a national clearinghouse for information on denial of equal protection of the laws due to discrimination in the field including, but not limited to, voting, education, housing, employment, use of public facilities, transportation, and administration of justice.

TITLE VI

Nondiscrimination in Federally assisted programs. Bars discrimination in programs assisted by the Federal Government, excluding Federal insurance and guaranty programs. Authorizes the assisting agency to order an end to discrimination in Federally assisted projects, with the order becoming effective upon the approval of the President.

Authorizes termination of an assistance program in cases of noncompliance, provided that compliance with the law cannot be obtained by voluntary means. Provides that notice of termination of assistance under this title and all pertinent facts of the case be submitted by the head of the Federal agency involved and to the appropriate committees of the House of Representatives and of the Senate. No termination order would be effective until 30 days from the date the report is submitted to the appropriate Congressional committees.

TITLE VII

Equal Employment Opportunity. Ap-

the act post notice of fair-employment-practice provisions of the act. Provides that the President, "as soon as feasible after the enactment of this title," convene one or more conferences to acquaint the leaders of groups who may be affected by this title with its provisions.

TITLE VIII

Registration and voting statistics. Orders the Secretary of Commerce to compile voting and voter-registration statistics, including age and race data, in areas recommended for survey by the Civil Rights Commission. This is to be done in connection with the 1970 census. Provides that no person may be compelled to disclose his race, national origin, political affiliation, or how he voted.

TITLE IX

Intervention in Civil - Rights cases. Provides that the Attorney General may intervene in any civil suit for relief from denial of equal protection of the laws due to discrimination if he certifies the case "is of general public importance."

TITLE X

Establishment of Community Relations Service. Establishes in the Department of Commerce a Community Relations Service, with a director appointed for a four-year term by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Empowers the service to provide conciliation assistance to communities and persons involved in discrimination disputes. Provides that the service "shall, whenever possible, in performing its functions, seek and utilize the co-operation of appropriate state or local, public, or private agencies." Provides that the service's conciliation work be confidential and without publicity.

TITLE XI

Provides for a $1,000 fine or six months' imprisonment for a person found guilty of criminal contempt under Titles II, III, IV, V, VI, or VII of this act. Provides for jury trials under these titles if the defendant so requests.

Goldwater on Civil-Rights Bill

'My Concern for Freedom of All'

♦ Following is the text of a speech by Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater to the U.S. Senate last week, explaining why he would vote against the civil-rights bill.

THERE have been few, if any, occasions when the searching of my conscience and the re-examination of my views of our Constitutional system have played a greater part in the determination of my vote than they have on this occasion.

I am unalterably opposed to discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, color, or creed, or on any other basis; not only my words, but more importantly my actions through the years have repeatedly demonstrated the sincerity of my feelings in this regard.

This is fundamentally a matter of the heart. The problems of discrimination can never be cured by laws alone; but I would be the first to agree that laws can help—laws carefully considered and weighed in an atmosphere of dispassion, in the absence of political demagoguery, and in the light of fundamental Constitutional principles.

A Difference: Talk and Action

For example, throughout my 12 years as a member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I have repeatedly offered amendments to bills pertaining to labor that would end discrimination in unions, and repeatedly those amendments have been turned down by the very members of both parties who now so vociferously support the present approach to the solution of our problem. Talk is one thing, action is another, and until the members of this body and the people of this country realize this, there will be no real solution to the problem we face.

To be sure, a calm environment for the calmness are indispensable to success.

It was in this context that I maintained high hopes for this current legislation—high hopes that, notwithstanding the glaring defects of the measure as it reached us from the other body and the sledgehammer political tactics which produced it, this legislation, through the actions of what was once considered to be the greatest deliberative body on earth, would emerge in a form both effective for its lofty purposes and acceptable to all freedom-loving people.

'My Hopes Were Shattered'

It is with great sadness that I realize the nonfulfillment of these high hopes. My hopes were shattered when it became apparent that emotion and political pressure, not persuasion, not common sense, not deliberation, had become the rule of the day and of the processes of this great body.

One has only to review the defeat of common-sense amendments to this bill—amendments that would in no way harm it but would, in fact, improve it—to realize that political pressure, not persuasion or common sense, has come to rule the consideration of this measure.

I realize fully that the Federal Government has a responsibility in the field of civil rights. I supported the civil-rights bills which were enacted in 1957 and 1960, and my public utterances during the debates on those measures and since reveal clearly the areas in which I feel that Federal responsibility lies and Federal legislation on this subject can be both effective and appropriate. Many of those areas are encompassed in this bill and to that extent, I favor it.

I wish to make myself perfectly clear. The two portions of this bill to which I have constantly and consistently voiced

course of action with regard to private enterprise in the area of so-called "public accommodations"—and in the area of employment—to be more specific, Titles II and VII of the bill. I find no constitutional basis for the exercise of Federal regulatory authority in either of these areas; and I believe the attempted usurpation of such power to be a grave threat to the very essence of our basic system of government, namely that of a Constitutional republic in which 50 sovereign states have reserved to themselves and to the people those powers not specifically granted to the central or Federal Government.

If it is the wish of the American people that the Federal Government should be granted the power to regulate in these two areas and in the manner contemplated by this bill, then I say that the Constitution should be so amended by the people as to authorize such action in accordance with the procedures for amending the Constitution which that great document itself prescribes. I say further that for this great legislative body to ignore the Constitution and the fundamental system is to act in a manner which could ultimately destroy the freedom of all American citizens, including the freedoms of the very persons whose feelings and whose liberties are the major subject of this legislation.

Federal Police Force Needed?

My basic objection to this measure is, therefore, constitutional. But, in addition, I would like to point out to my colleagues in the Senate and to the people of America, regardless of their race, color, or creed, the implications involved in the enforcement of regulatory legislation of this sort. To give genuine effect to the prohibitions of this bill will require the creation of a Federal police force of

Mr. Mansfield was conservative and conciliatory. He praised the quality of the Southern opposition to the bill. "It was earnest and learned. . . . It's most important function was to discourage unwarranted self-righteousness on the part of the bill's proponents," said the majority leader.

His hands shaking slightly as he held the text for his speech, Mr. Mansfield declared that "no blood has been shed in this chamber and none need be shed elsewhere. . . . If there is to be a second Reconstruction, then it must be a reconstruction of the heart, in not one but in all sections of the nation."

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'The Moral Basis'

Mr. Dirksen turned his glance to some of the Southern Democrats who opposed the bill. "I am of mankind," said the minority leader, "and, whatever the skin, we are all of mankind . . . and every denial of equal opportunity diminishes me. . . . There is the moral basis for our case."

As soon as Mr. Dirksen finished, there were shouts of "Vote! Vote!" from several senators. Then came the roll call. Voting for the bill were 46 Democrats and 27 Republicans. Voting against it were 21 Democrats, all Southerners, and 6 Republicans.

The quiet tension of the roll call was broken twice. Michigan Democrat Philip A Hart, a leading proponent of the bill, startled the chamber with a loud "No!" when his name was called, but was quickly reminded by his colleagues that this was the bill itself, not a Southern amendment to it. He sheepishly corrected his vote, amid laughter from the floor and galleries.

A few moments later, Georgia Democrat George Smathers mistakenly shouted a vigorous "Aye!" and blushingly changed his vote as senators and spectators burst into laughter again.

The bill was declared passed shortly before 8 p.m. Passage came after 83 days of debate, most of them taken up with the Southern attempt, led by Georgia's Richard Russell, to use unlimited debate to delay a vote indefinitely.

The beginnings of the Southerners' reluctant, and occasionally bitter, capitulation came Wednesday evening.

Amendments were being defeated, one after the other, in minutes. Thursday morning, Mr. Thurmond announced that he would call up only four or five more amendments. The Thurmond amendments were defeated, and Senator Humphrey went to talk with House leaders about procedures for handling the bill after its passage by the Senate.

The law calls for the President to convene meetings of representatives of national organizations and state and local agencies affected by the bill's fair-employment provisions, in order to explain the requirements imposed by the law.

Senator Humphrey is encouraging governors' conferences in order to promote understanding of the law and compliance with its provisions. —GERALD S. SCHATZ

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To be sure, a calm environment for the consideration of any law dealing with human relationships is not easily attained—emotions run high, political pressures become great, and objectivity is at a premium. Nevertheless, deliberation and

'My Hopes Were Shattered'

It is with great sadness that I realize the nonfulfillment of these high hopes. My hopes were shattered when it became apparent that emotion and political pressure, not persuasion, not common sense, not deliberation, had become the rule of the day and of the processes of this great body.

One has only to review the defeat of common-sense amendments to this bill—amendments that would in no way harm it but would, in fact, improve it—to realize that political pressure, not persuasion or common sense, has come to rule the consideration of this measure.

I realize fully that the Federal Government has a responsibility in the field of civil rights. I supported the civil-rights bills which were enacted in 1957 and 1960, and my public utterances during the debates on those measures and since reveal clearly the areas in which I feel that Federal responsibility lies and Federal legislation on this subject can be both effective and appropriate. Many of those areas are encompassed in this bill and to that extent, I favor it.

I wish to make myself perfectly clear. The two portions of this bill to which I have constantly and consistently voiced objections, and which are of such overriding significance that they are determinative of my vote on the entire measure, are those which would embark the Federal Government on a regulatory

The Senate Civil-Rights Vote

The Senate last week passed the civil-rights bill by a vote of 73 to 27. Voting for the bill were 46 Democrats and 27 Republicans. Voting against the bill were 21 Democrats and 6 Republicans. Here is the roll-call vote:

FOR THE BILL

Democrats

Anderson (N.M.)
Bartlett (Alaska)
Bayh (Ind.)
Bible (Nev.)
Brewster (Md.)
Burdick (N.D.)
Cannon (Nev.)
Church (Idaho)
Clark (Pa.)
Dodd (Conn.)
Douglas (Ill.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Engle (Calif.)
Gruening (Alaska)
Hart (Mich.)
Hartke (Ind.)
Hayden (Ariz.)
Humphrey (Minn.)
Inouye (Hawaii)
Jackson (Wash.)
Kennedy (Mass.)
Lausche (Ohio)
Long, E. V. (Mo.)
Magnuson (Wash.)
Mansfield (Mont.)
McCarthy (Minn.)
McGee (Wyo.)
McGovern (S.D.)
McIntyre (N.H.)
McNamara (Mich.)
Metcalf (Mont.)
Monroney (Okla.)
Morse (Ore.)
Moss (Utah)
Muskie (Maine)
Nelson (Wis.)
Neuberger (Ore.)
Pastore (R.I.)
Pell (R.I.)
Proxmire (Wis.)
Randolph (W. Va.)
Ribicoff (Conn.)
Symington (Mo.)
Williams, H. A. (N.J.)
Yarborough (Texas)
Young (Ohio)

Republicans

Aiken (Vt.)
Allott (Colo.)
Beall (Md.)
Bennett (Utah)
Boggs (Del.)
Carlson (Kan.)
Case (N.J.)
Cooper (Ky.)
Curtis (Neb.)
Dirksen (Ill.)
Dominick (Colo.)
Fong (Hawaii)
Hruska (Neb.)
Javits (N.Y.)
Jordan, L. B. (Idaho)
Keating (N.Y.)
Kuchel (Calif.)
Miller (Iowa)
Morton (Ky.)
Mundt (S.D.)
Pearson (Kan.)
Prouty (Vt.)
Saltonstall (Mass.)
Scott (Pa.)
Smith (Maine)
Williams, J.J. (Del.)
Young, M. R. (N.D.)

AGAINST THE BILL

Democrats

Byrd, H. F. (Va.)
Byrd, R. C. (W. Va.)
Eastland (Miss.)
Ellender (La.)
Ervin (N.C.)
Fulbright (Ark.)
Gore (Tenn.)
Hill (Ala.)
Holland (Fla.)
Johnston (S.C.)
Jordan, B. E. (N.C.)
Long, R. B. (La.)
McClellan (Ark.)
Robertson (Va.)
Russell (Ga.)
Smathers (Fla.)
Sparkman (Ala.)
Stennis (Miss.)
Talmadge (Ga.)
Thurmond (S.C.)
Walters (Tenn.)

Republicans

Cotton (N.H.)
Goldwater (Ariz.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Mechem (N.M.)
Simpson (Wyo.)
Tower (Texas)

cally granted to the central or Federal Government.

If it is the wish of the American people that the Federal Government should be granted the power to regulate in these two areas and in the manner contemplated by this bill, then I say that the Constitution should be so amended by the people as to authorize such action in accordance with the procedures for amending the Constitution which that great document itself prescribes. I say further that for this great legislative body to ignore the Constitution and the fundamental system is to act in a manner which could ultimately destroy the freedom of all American citizens, including the freedoms of the very persons whose feelings and whose liberties are the major subject of this legislation.

Federal Police Force Needed?

My basic objection to this measure is, therefore, constitutional. But, in addition, I would like to point out to my colleagues in the Senate and to the people of America, regardless of their race, color, or creed, the implications involved in the enforcement of regulatory legislation of this sort. To give genuine effect to the prohibitions of this bill will require the creation of a Federal police force of mammoth proportions. It also bids fair to result in the development of an "informer" psychology in great areas of our national life—neighbors spying on neighbors, workers spying on workers, businessmen spying on businessmen, where those who would harass their fellow citizens for selfish and narrow purposes will have ample inducement to do so. These, the Federal police force and an "informer" psychology, are the hallmarks of the police state and landmarks in the destruction of a free society.

I repeat again: I am unalterably opposed to discrimination of any sort and I believe that though the problem is fundamentally one of the heart, some law can help—but not law that embodies features like these, provisions which fly in the face of the Constitution and which require for their effective execution the creation of a police state. And so, because I am unalterably opposed to any threats to our great system of government and the loss of our God-given liberties, I shall vote "No" on this bill.

A Vote Reluctantly Cast

This vote will be reluctantly cast, because I had hoped to be able to vote "Yea" on this measure as I have on the civil-rights bills which have preceded it; but I cannot, in good conscience to the oath that I took when assuming office, cast my vote in the affirmative. With the exception of Titles II and VII, I could wholeheartedly support this bill; but with their inclusion, not measurably improved by the compromise version we have been working on, my vote must be "No."

If my vote is misconstrued, let it be, and let me suffer its consequences. Just let me be judged in this by the real concern I have voiced here and not by words that others may speak or by what others may say about what I think.

My concern extends beyond this single legislative moment. My concern extends beyond any single group in our society. My concern is for the entire nation, for the freedom of all who live in it, and for all who will be born into it.

It is the general welfare that must be considered now, not just the special appeals for special welfare. This is the time to attend to the liberties of all.

This is my concern. And this is where I stand.

ing, but not limited to, voting, education, housing, employment, use of public facilities, transportation, and administration of justice.

TITLE VI

Nondiscrimination in Federally assisted programs. Bars discrimination in programs assisted by the Federal Government, excluding Federal insurance and guaranty programs. Authorizes the assisting agency to order an end to discrimination in Federally assisted projects, with the order becoming effective upon the approval of the President.

Authorizes termination of an assistance program in cases of noncompliance, provided that compliance with the law cannot be obtained by voluntary means. Provides that notice of termination of assistance under this title and all pertinent facts of the case be submitted by the head of the Federal agency involved and to the appropriate committees of the House of Representatives and of the Senate. No termination order would be effective until 30 days from the date the report is submitted to the appropriate Congressional committees.

TITLE VII

Equal Employment Opportunity. Applies to individuals, corporations, associations, partnerships, unincorporated organizations, and labor unions engaged in business affecting interstate commerce. Excludes employers who have less than 25 employes, private clubs, the U.S. Government, and religious organizations.

Provides that this title becomes effective one year from the date of its enactment. Provides that for one year thereafter, businesses having fewer than 100 employes shall not be covered by this title; for the second year thereafter, businesses having fewer than 75 employes shall not be covered; for the fourth year and thereafter, only businesses having fewer than 25 employes shall not be covered.

Prohibits discrimination and segregation in hiring practices and in wage practices. Prohibits discrimination in labor-union membership. Prohibits discrimination against an employe because the employe has opposed practices prohibited by this title.

Creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be from the same political party. Members are to be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Provides for staggered five-year terms for members of the commission. Provides that the President shall appoint the commission's chairman and vice chairman.

Empowers the commission to investigate charges of employment discrimination and "endeavor to eliminate any such alleged unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion." Prohibits the commission from acting for 60 days in states that have fair-employment laws, if a state or local agency is involved in the case.

Empowers the commission to sue for compliance, and authorizes the court to permit intervention in such a suit by the U.S. Attorney General. Authorizes the Attorney General to sue for compliance, and authorizes the Attorney General to ask for a three-judge Federal court if he certifies the case "is of general public importance." Authorizes appeal from a three-judge court directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Provides that employers covered by

ever possible, in performing its functions, seek and utilize the co-operation of appropriate state or local, public, or private agencies." Provides that the service's conciliation work be confidential and without publicity.

TITLE XI

Provides for a $1,000 fine or six months' imprisonment for a person found guilty of criminal contempt under Titles II, III, IV, V, VI, or VII of this act. Provides for jury trials under these titles if the defendant so requests.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 339,600
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
JUN 22 1964

Policing Civil Rights

Administration Seeks To Ease Way for South In Accepting New Law

Projects Under Way to Get Fast, Peaceful Compliance; Courtroom Headaches Seen

Will Big Firms Take Lead?

By JAMES HARWOOD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Now that Congress is nearing passage of far-reaching civil rights legislation, the Johnson Administration is searching for short-cuts that might help get Dixie's citizens to accept the measure gracefully and thus minimize touchy enforcement problems.

Otherwise, Administration strategists fear the coming law may bear few of the racial-equality fruits promised during the long months of Congressional consideration; enforcement by outright compulsion alone would be tortuous and slow. And civil rights advocates might feel more impelled to carry their struggle into the streets this summer.

Even before the bill passes, Administration agents are trooping the South to set up quick voluntary compliance with its provisions, particularly in desegregation of public accommodations and schools. Much of this missionary work is being done by such race relations groups as the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and the Potomac Institute here in Washington. This week the council is sponsoring an Atlanta gathering of about 30 representatives of women's groups, including the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Council of Catholic Women and National Council of Jewish Women, coming from such Southern cities as Charlotte, New Orleans, Birmingham and Tampa; they'll hear advice on how they can assist home-town compliance on public accommodations. Last Friday the Potomac Institute held a strategy session with representatives of similar groups to plan distribution of "campaign" literature designed to show Southerners that any economic loss from past desegregation moves has been minor.

Meeting With Southerners

So far Federal officials and national business, labor and church leaders have held more than a dozen meetings with local Southern groups, such as chambers of commerce, seeking to promote peaceful compliance. A particular hope is that bigger businesses will take the lead in desegregating such public accommodations as hotels, motels, theaters and restaurants and that smaller proprietors might then fall peacefully into line. While no firm commitments from individual companies have been won so far, some are expected now that the Senate has finally passed the bill.

Julius Manger, chairman of the New York-based Manger Hotel chain with several Southern hotels, and other cooperating businessmen are striving to persuade local Southern leaders that resistance is futile. Says a Government official coordinating the activity: "We are trying to convince them that putting off compliance is only buying trouble for a town. This isn't like prohibition. The law isn't going to go away."

Leaders of the missionary bands believe their forays have set the stage for some immediate compliance in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas, if only in the larger cities. Breakthroughs are looked for in such Dixie landmarks as Savannah and Columbus, Ga.; Nashville, Tenn.; Spartanburg and Charleston, S.C.

In some racially moderate cities where breakthroughs have long since been made, Government men are counting heavily on local initiative to extend the desegregation trend. Toward that end, a subcommittee of the Atlanta coordinating committee, a biracial group appointed by Mayor Ivan Allen, will hold an initial meeting on Wednesday to speed public accommodations compliance in Georgia's biggest city, starting with a scrutiny of what the Senate-passed bill requires. On hand will be some 30 representatives of restaurants and other retail businesses.

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Courtroom Strategies

In case the voluntary efforts fall short, Justice Department attorneys are beginning to draft courtroom strategies that might produce the most results in the simplest fashion. Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, who will be in charge of the department's efforts to enforce the law, says he expects considerable litigation along with voluntary compliance, and civil rights groups have indicated they will try for early court tests of the legislation. The simplest legal actions may add up to an awesome task. During the new law's first year, the department expects to ask Congress to double its present civil rights staff of about 55 lawyers and boost its annual appropriation by more than $1 million.

Meantime, officials at the Health, Education and Welfare Department are charting plans to help schools shed racial barriers, including a scheme for "back-alley academies" where Southern teachers could quietly prepare to cope with integration problems. And the U.S. Civil Rights Commission is pondering past school desegregation cases, searching for keys to quick transformation elsewhere.

Because most of the Government's civil rights talent has been committed to getting a bill passed rather than preparing for its enforcement, there's a frenzied air about the current preparations. In the rush, some of the less urgent matters, such as planning for enforcement of fair employment provisions that won't take effect for another year, are being deliberately allowed to wait.

Right now, some Administration officials see themselves in a race to get meaningful results before segregationist leaders, such as Alabama's Gov. George Wallace, rally Southern resistance like that following the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation. This summer's promised civil rights demonstrations also threaten to inflame local sentiment in the South, making compliance harder to achieve. Furthermore, President Johnson knows that lack of prompt achievements from such a highly touted bill could

Please Turn to Page 14, Column 3

Policing Civil Rights: Drive Seeks to Spur Acceptance of New Law

Continued From Page One

stir disaffection among Democratic-inclined Negro voters this November.

Problem of Acceptance

No amount of effort, it's conceded, will alter the fact that gaining public acceptance for the measure will be far more difficult than passing it, tough as that job has been. Civil rights advocates in and out of Government expect that this summer itself may demonstrate that the measure won't exactly shift the civil rights struggle from the streets to the courts, as former President Kennedy hoped when he proposed it.

But in border areas and some Southern metropolitan centers, Government prompting backed by the new law is expected to accelerate desegregation in such important fields as jobs, public accommodations, and schools.

In the school field, for example, "the bill is coming at a time when it may have the most tangible effect," one Justice Department official declares, explaining that the Government has already done a lot of spadework with Southern school districts, notably in Florida and Texas, trying to get voluntary desegregation. One new target could be Gulfport, Miss. The official says that "five years ago many school districts would have waited to be sued" under the bill's new authority for the Government to institute anti-segregation suits. "Now many will just go ahead," he ventures.

Not only can school districts expect considerably more Federal prodding now, but the Government will stand ready, with financial and other help, to ease the pain of transition. The bill provides that communities can get Federal funds to hire advice from private sources on how to desegregate.

One official frankly calls this a "kind of bribe money." The idea, he explains, is to first unsheathe the threat of court suit, then hope local officials will reason this way: "The Government is going to sue. It will cost us money to defend the case. The law makes it clear we'll probably lose. So if we've got to do it, we might as well get some Federal money to help us."

The bill also authorizes the U.S. Commissioner of Education to set up special "institutes" to train school personnel to deal with desegregation problems. HEW officials now are seeking Southern colleges willing to set up summer training sessions that "teachers can slip off to unnoticed." It's thought such schools will have some euphemistic title like "special education problems institute" that won't give away their real purpose.

"The less publicity the better," a Government official says. "Teachers go off to 'educational institutes' all the time for one reason or another. We hope they can attend these racially oriented ones without attracting local attention."

Equally covert are Government efforts at public accommodations compliance. Under the new law's provisions, lawyers say, there won't be many businesses that can legally seek patronage from the public without welcoming all races. Such sweeping coverage of thousands of shopkeepers raises massive problems of enforcement. So the emphasis will be on persuasion rather than courtroom compulsion.

Drive Will Step Up

After the bill is passed, the drive for voluntary compliance will step up as a new Federal agency, the Community Relations Service, swings into action. When Negroes complain they've been turned away from soda fountains, theaters or similar establishments, the agency will intervene and try to settle the dispute peacefully.

Where efforts at voluntary compliance fail, however, the Government will go to court. And that may surely be necessary in such a Deep South state as Mississippi. "Few Mississippians are expected to throw their doors open to Negroes simply because Congress has passed a law," one attorney says.

In such a state, prosecutors could be heading into a legal labyrinth. Lawsuits in the public accommodations field will break completely new ground. Justice Department lawyers say it isn't certain that a court could enjoin a whole townful of merchants to stop discriminating; if not, each one might have to be prosecuted individually—an almost impossible task. Even if large groups could be enjoined, one attorney muses, the courts might be faced with wholesale problems of contempt actions against individuals refusing to comply with court orders. Moreover, before the Government can win a case, it must show the alleged discrimination is part of a broad "pattern or practice" of racial bias. These three words could take years to define in court, attorneys fear.

Looking at such problems, one of President Johnson's civil rights advisers even goes so far as to say, "I don't think the bill will do much good, except in the marginal Southern areas that have shown progress already."

The Last Resort

Only as a last resort, Administration spokesmen say, will the Government resort to the bill's most drastic provision: Cutting off funds from Federally assisted programs administered locally on a segregated basis. The Government already is acting to remove racial bars in certain aid programs; it will help build no more segregated hospitals, for example. But many considerations argue against any sweeping shutoff of Federal money to Southern states.

"The most difficult area will probably concern welfare payments," a HEW official says. "Suppose we believe Negroes on old-age assistance are being helped at only segregated facilities. And state officials tell us, 'Go ahead and cut them off. Then the Negroes won't get any benefits.' What does the Federal Government do then? I'm afraid I don't have the answer. The last thing we want to do is cut off funds."

Farther down the road, lawyers expect, will be knotty legal questions surrounding the bill's anti-job-discrimination features. A new five-member Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission will set standards for unlawful employment practices much as the National Labor Relations Board determines unfair labor practices. To back up the commission in court the Justice Department must again prove discrimination was part of a "pattern or practice," whether by the employer or by the community. Because of the intricate questions of job qualifications, Government lawyers fear these cases might be far more difficult than ones involving whether a Negro was refused service at a lunch counter.

The job provisions of the new law won't be effective for a year after the President signs it, to let businesses prepare for the changes. Because of the time lapse, firm preparations for enforcing this section will not be made for several months.

Though the Administration considers the bill's voting rights provisions highly important, they mainly follow up more basic safeguards enacted in 1957 and 1960; the new provisions are expected to make it easier for the Justice Department to prove voting-discrimination charges in court.

In all its enforcement planning, the Administration is concentrating on the South almost to the exclusion of the North—assuming that's what Congress intends. "It's become pretty clear that we're not supposed to mess around in the North," one HEW official declares. Lawyers say the "patterns or practices" provisions in effect rule out Government participation when Negroes complain of individual instances of job or accommodations discrimination in the North. Moreover, the law would require the Government to first yield to state anti-discrimination agencies, which exist mainly outside the South. And the bill includes a blunt notice that nothing therein will pertain to so-called "de-facto" school segregation resulting from racially imbalanced neighborhoods.

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Compliance –

US Commission on CR

report: 3 months report on compliance in 1964

July 2, 1964 - Oct 2, 1964 CCR

Alabama 2/2/65 – BP for

Gov. Collins – current

situation – summary

Dorothy

Mrs Dorothy Zellner

SNCC

Harvard Epworth Meth. Ch

Cambridge, Mass.

Va: acting exec Henry Aravate

Public Law 88-352
88th Congress, H. R. 7152
July 2, 1964

An Act

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1964".

Civil Rights Act of 1964.

TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

SEC. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and as further amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), is further amended as follows:

Operation and enforcement.

(a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(2) No person acting under color of law shall—

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law or laws to vote in any Federal election, apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied under such law or laws to other individuals within the same county, parish, or similar political subdivision who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote;

Voting qualifications.

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or

Registration, etc.

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is administered to each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, and (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974–74e; 74 Stat. 88): *Provided, however*, That the Attorney General may enter into agreements with appropriate State or local authorities that preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests in accordance with the provisions of applicable State or local law, including such special provisions as are necessary in the preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests for persons who are blind or otherwise physically handicapped, meet the purposes of this subparagraph and constitute compliance therewith.

Literacy tests. Records.

Attorney General. Agreements with State and local authorities.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning as in subsection (e) of this section;

"Vote."

"(B) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter."

"Literacy test."

(b) Insert immediately following the period at the end of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant fact there shall be a rebuttable

presumption that any person who has not been adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election."

(c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":

"Federal election."

"(f) When used in subsection (a) or (c) of this section, the words 'Federal election' shall mean any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives."

(d) Add the following subsection "(h)":

Suits by Attorney General.

"(h) In any proceeding instituted by the United States in any district court of the United States under this section in which the Attorney General requests a finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination pursuant to subsection (e) of this section the Attorney General, at the time he files the complaint, or any defendant in the proceeding, within twenty days after service upon him of the complaint, may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the entire case. A copy of the request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

Appeals.

Designation of judges.

"In any proceeding brought under subsection (c) of this section to enforce subsection (b) of this section, or in the event neither the Attorney General nor any defendant files a request for a three-judge court in any proceeding authorized by this subsection, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

"It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited."

TITLE II—INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

SEC. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. Equal access.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action: Establishments affecting interstate commerce.

(1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence; Lodgings.

(2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station; Restaurants, etc.

(3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment; and Theaters, stadiums, etc.

(4) any establishment (A)(i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment. Other covered establishments.

(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); (2) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (2) of subsection (b), it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce; (3) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (3) of subsection (b), it customarily presents films, performances, athletic teams, exhibitions, or other sources of entertainment which move in commerce; and (4) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (4) of subsection (b), it is physically located within the premises of, or there is physically located within its premises, an establishment the operations of which affect commerce within the meaning of this subsection. For purposes of this section, "commerce" means travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States, or between the District of Columbia and any State, or between any foreign country or any territory or possession and any State or the District of Columbia, or between points in the same State but through any other State or the District of Columbia or a foreign country. Operations affecting commerce criteria. "Commerce."

(d) Discrimination or segregation by an establishment is supported by State action within the meaning of this title if such discrimination or segregation (1) is carried on under color of any law, statute, ordinance, or regulation; or (2) is carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by officials of the State or political subdivision thereof; or (3) is required by action of the State or political subdivision thereof. Support by State action.

(e) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a private club or other establishment not in fact open to the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such establishment are made available Private establishments.

to the customers or patrons of an establishment within the scope of subsection (b).

Entitlement.

SEC. 202. All persons shall be entitled to be free, at any establishment or place, from discrimination or segregation of any kind on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, if such discrimination or segregation is or purports to be required by any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, rule, or order of a State or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

Interference.

SEC. 203. No person shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person of any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (b) intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person with the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (c) punish or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202.

Restraining orders, etc.

SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, may be instituted by the person aggrieved and, upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the Attorney General to intervene in such civil action if he certifies that the case is of general public importance. Upon application by the complainant and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, the court may appoint an attorney for such complainant and may authorize the commencement of the civil action without the payment of fees, costs, or security.

Attorneys' fees.

(b) In any action commenced pursuant to this title, the court, in its discretion, may allow the prevailing party, other than the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs, and the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

Notification of State.

(c) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting such act or practice and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, no civil action may be brought under subsection (a) before the expiration of thirty days after written notice of such alleged act or practice has been given to the appropriate State or local authority by registered mail or in person, provided that the court may stay proceedings in such civil action pending the termination of State or local enforcement proceedings.

Community Relations Service.

(d) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has no State or local law prohibiting such act or practice, a civil action may be brought under subsection (a): *Provided*, That the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service established by title X of this Act for as long as the court believes there is a reasonable possibility of obtaining voluntary compliance, but for not more than sixty days: *Provided further*, That upon expiration of such sixty-day period, the court may extend such period for an additional period, not to exceed a cumulative total of one hundred and twenty days, if it believes there then exists a reasonable possibility of securing voluntary compliance.

Hearings and investigations.

SEC. 205. The Service is authorized to make a full investigation of any complaint referred to it by the court under section 204(d) and may hold such hearings with respect thereto as may be necessary.

The Service shall conduct any hearings with respect to any such complaint in executive session, and shall not release any testimony given therein except by agreement of all parties involved in the complaint with the permission of the court, and the Service shall endeavor to bring about a voluntary settlement between the parties.

Suits by Attorney General.

SEC. 206. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the Attorney General may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) In any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

Designation of judges.

Appeals.

In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

District courts, jurisdiction.

SEC. 207. (a) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Enforcement.

(b) The remedies provided in this title shall be the exclusive means of enforcing the rights based on this title, but nothing in this title shall preclude any individual or any State or local agency from asserting any right based on any other Federal or State law not inconsistent with this title, including any statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public establishments or accommodations, or from pursuing any remedy, civil or criminal, which may be available for the vindication or enforcement of such right.

TITLE III—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

Suits by Attorney General.

SEC. 301. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied equal utilization of any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof, other than a public school or public college as defined in section 401 of title IV hereof, and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public facilities, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

(b) The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of subsection (a) of this section when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property.

Costs, fees.

SEC. 302. In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs, including a reasonable attorney's fee, the same as a private person.

SEC. 303. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in any facility covered by this title.

62 Stat. 749.

SEC. 304. A complaint as used in this title is a writing or document within the meaning of section 1001, title 18, United States Code.

TITLE IV—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 401. As used in this title—

"Commissioner."

(a) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

"Desegregation."

(b) "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

(c) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution, and "public college" means any institution of higher education or any technical or vocational school above the secondary school level, provided that such public school or public college is operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated wholly or predominantly from or through the use of governmental funds or property, or funds or property derived from a governmental source. "Public school."

(d) "School board" means any agency or agencies which administer a system of one or more public schools and any other agency which is responsible for the assignment of students to or within such system. "School board."

SURVEY AND REPORT OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

SEC. 402. The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia. Report to President and Congress.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 403. The Commissioner is authorized, upon the application of any school board, State, municipality, school district, or other governmental unit legally responsible for operating a public school or schools, to render technical assistance to such applicant in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of plans for the desegregation of public schools. Such technical assistance may, among other activities, include making available to such agencies information regarding effective methods of coping with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation, and making available to such agencies personnel of the Office of Education or other persons specially equipped to advise and assist them in coping with such problems.

TRAINING INSTITUTES

SEC. 404. The Commissioner is authorized to arrange, through grants or contracts, with institutions of higher education for the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. Individuals who attend such an institute on a full-time basis may be paid stipends for the period of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by the Commissioner in regulations, including allowances for travel to attend such institute. Stipends, etc.

GRANTS

SEC. 405. (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon application of a school board, to make grants to such board to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of—

(1) giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and

(2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

(b) In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Commissioner shall take into consideration the amount available Conditions.

for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

PAYMENTS

SEC. 406. Payments pursuant to a grant or contract under this title may be made (after necessary adjustments on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments, as the Commissioner may determine.

SUITS BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SEC. 407. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing—

(1) signed by a parent or group of parents to the effect that his or their minor children, as members of a class of persons similarly situated, are being deprived by a school board of the equal protection of the laws, or

(2) signed by an individual, or his parent, to the effect that he has been denied admission to or not permitted to continue in attendance at a public college by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin,

and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly achievement of desegregation in public education, the Attorney General is authorized, after giving notice of such complaint to the appropriate school board or college authority and after certifying that he is satisfied that such board or authority has had a reasonable time to adjust the conditions alleged in such complaint, to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, provided that nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

Persons unable to initiate suits.

(b) The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of subsection (a) of this section when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property.

"Parent." "Complaint."

(c) The term "parent" as used in this section includes any person standing in loco parentis. A "complaint" as used in this section is a writing or document within the meaning of section 1001, title 18, United States Code.

62 Stat. 749.

SEC. 408. In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

SEC. 409. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in public education.

SEC. 410. Nothing in this title shall prohibit classification and assignment for reasons other than race, color, religion, or national origin.

TITLE V—COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SEC. 501. Section 102 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975a; 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

"RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION HEARINGS

"SEC. 102. (a) At least thirty days prior to the commencement of any hearing, the Commission shall cause to be published in the Federal Register notice of the date on which such hearing is to commence, the place at which it is to be held and the subject of the hearing. The Chairman, or one designated by him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission, shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing.

Publication in Federal Register.

"(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made available to any witness before the Commission, and a witness compelled to appear before the Commission or required to produce written or other matter shall be served with a copy of the Commission's rules at the time of service of the subpena.

"(c) Any person compelled to appear in person before the Commission shall be accorded the right to be accompanied and advised by counsel, who shall have the right to subject his client to reasonable examination, and to make objections on the record and to argue briefly the basis for such objections. The Commission shall proceed with reasonable dispatch to conclude any hearing in which it is engaged. Due regard shall be had for the convenience and necessity of witnesses.

Right of counsel.

"(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum by censure and exclusion from the hearings.

"(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or testimony or summary of such evidence or testimony in executive session. The Commission shall afford any person defamed, degraded, or incriminated by such evidence or testimony an opportunity to appear and be heard in executive session, with a reasonable number of additional witnesses requested by him, before deciding to use such evidence or testimony. In the event the Commission determines to release or use such evidence or testimony in such manner as to reveal publicly the identity of the person defamed, degraded, or incriminated, such evidence or testimony, prior to such public release or use, shall be given at a public session, and the Commission shall afford such person an opportunity to appear as a voluntary witness or to file a sworn statement in his behalf and to submit brief and pertinent sworn statements of others. The Commission shall receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpena additional witnesses.

Executive sessions.

"(f) Except as provided in sections 102 and 105(f) of this Act, the Chairman shall receive and the Commission shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

"(g) No evidence or testimony or summary of evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public

Testimony, release restrictions.

sessions without the consent of the Commission. Whoever releases or uses in public without the consent of the Commission such evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned for not more than one year.

"(h) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The Commission shall determine the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearings.

Transcript copies.

"(i) Every person who submits data or evidence shall be entitled to retain or, on payment of lawfully prescribed costs, procure a copy or transcript thereof, except that a witness in a hearing held in executive session may for good cause be limited to inspection of the official transcript of his testimony. Transcript copies of public sessions may be obtained by the public upon the payment of the cost thereof. An accurate transcript shall be made of the testimony of all witnesses at all hearings, either public or executive sessions, of the Commission or of any subcommittee thereof.

Witness fees.

"(j) A witness attending any session of the Commission shall receive $6 for each day's attendance and for the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the same, and 10 cents per mile for going from and returning to his place of residence. Witnesses who attend at points so far removed from their respective residences as to prohibit return thereto from day to day shall be entitled to an additional allowance of $10 per day for expenses of subsistence, including the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the place of attendance. Mileage payments shall be tendered to the witness upon service of a subpena issued on behalf of the Commission or any subcommittee thereof.

Subpena of witnesses.

"(k) The Commission shall not issue any subpena for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or for the production of written or other matter which would require the presence of the party subpenaed at a hearing to be held outside of the State wherein the witness is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process except that, in any event, the Commission may issue subpenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of written or other matter at a hearing held within fifty miles of the place where the witness is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process.

Organization statement, etc. Publication in Federal Register.

"(l) The Commission shall separately state and currently publish in the Federal Register (1) descriptions of its central and field organization including the established places at which, and methods whereby, the public may secure information or make requests; (2) statements of the general course and method by which its functions are channeled and determined, and (3) rules adopted as authorized by law. No person shall in any manner be subject to or required to resort to rules, organization, or procedure not so published."

SEC. 502. Section 103(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975b(a); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

Payments to members.

"SEC. 103. (a) Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall receive the sum of $75 per day for each day spent in the work of the Commission, shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 73b-2; 60 Stat. 808)."

75 Stat. 339, 340.

SEC. 503. Section 103(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975b(b); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Each member of the Commission who is otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for such other service, but while engaged in the work of the Commission shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with the provisions of the Travel Expenses Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C. 835–42; 63 Stat. 166)."

75 Stat. 339, 340.

SEC. 504. (a) Section 104(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975c(a); 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further amended to read as follows:

"DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 104. (a) The Commission shall—

"(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; which writing, under oath or affirmation, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based;

"(2) study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion or national origin or in the administration of justice;

"(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion or national origin or in the administration of justice;

"(4) serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion or national origin, including but not limited to the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, and transportation, or in the administration of justice;

"(5) investigate allegations, made in writing and under oath or affirmation, that citizens of the United States are unlawfully being accorded or denied the right to vote, or to have their votes properly counted, in any election of presidential electors, Members of the United States Senate, or of the House of Representatives, as a result of any patterns or practice of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of such election; and

"(6) Nothing in this or any other Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commission, its Advisory Committees, or any person under its supervision or control to inquire into or investigate any membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, any college or university fraternity or sorority, any private club or any religious organization."

(b) Section 104(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975c(b); 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further amended by striking out the present subsection "(b)" and by substituting therefor:

77 Stat. 271.

"(b) The Commission shall submit interim reports to the President and to the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress or the President shall deem desirable, and shall submit to the President and to the Congress a final report of its activities, findings, and recommendations not later than January 31, 1968."

Reports to th President and Congress.

SEC. 505. Section 105(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(a); 71 Stat. 636) is amended by striking out in the last sentence thereof "$50 per diem" and inserting in lieu thereof "$75 per diem."

SEC. 506. Section 105(f) and section 105(g) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d (f) and (g); 71 Stat. 636) are amended to read as follows:

Powers.

"(f) The Commission, or on the authorization of the Commission any subcommittee of two or more members, at least one of whom shall be of each major political party, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, hold such hearings and act at such times and places as the Commission or such authorized subcommittee may deem advisable. Subpenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or the production of written or other matter may be issued in accordance with the rules of the Commission as contained in section 102 (j) and (k) of this Act, over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission or of such subcommittee, and may be served by any person designated by such Chairman. The holding of hearings by the Commission, or the appointment of a subcommittee to hold hearings pursuant to this subparagraph, must be approved by a majority of the Commission, or by a majority of the members present at a meeting at which at least a quorum of four members is present.

Ante, p. 250.

"(g) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any territory or possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce pertinent, relevant and nonprivileged evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof."

SEC. 507. Section 105 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d; 71 Stat. 636), as amended by section 401 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(h); 74 Stat. 89), is further amended by adding a new subsection at the end to read as follows:

"(i) The Commission shall have the power to make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act."

TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

SEC. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Rules governing grants, loans, and contracts.

SEC. 602. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 601 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken.

Approval by President.

No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express find-

ing on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made and, shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: *Provided, however*, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the Federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

Termination.

SEC. 603. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 602 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 602, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of that section.

Judicial review.

60 Stat. 243.
5 USC 1009.

SEC. 604. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to authorize action under this title by any department or agency with respect to any employment practice of any employer, employment agency, or labor organization except where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance is to provide employment.

SEC. 605. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

TITLE VII—EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 701. For the purposes of this title—

(a) The term "person" includes one or more individuals, labor unions, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint-stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

"Person."

(b) The term "employer" means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who has twenty-five or more employees for each working day in each of twenty or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year, and any agent of such a person, but such term does not include (1) the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States, an Indian tribe, or a State or political subdivision thereof, (2) a bona fide private membership club (other than a labor organization) which is exempt from taxation under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954: *Provided*, That during the first year after the effective date prescribed in subsection (a) of section 716, persons having fewer than one hun-

"Employer."

68A Stat. 163;
74 Stat. 534.
26 USC 501.

dred employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers, and, during the second year after such date, persons having fewer than seventy-five employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers, and, during the third year after such date, persons having fewer than fifty employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers: *Provided further*, That it shall be the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for Federal employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and the President shall utilize his existing authority to effectuate this policy.

"Employment agency."

(c) The term "employment agency" means any person regularly undertaking with or without compensation to procure employees for an employer or to procure for employees opportunities to work for an employer and includes an agent of such a person; but shall not include an agency of the United States, or an agency of a State or political subdivision of a State, except that such term shall include the United States Employment Service and the system of State and local employment services receiving Federal assistance.

"Labor organization."

(d) The term "labor organization" means a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce, and any agent of such an organization, and includes any organization of any kind, any agency, or employee representation committee, group, association, or plan so engaged in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment, and any conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council so engaged which is subordinate to a national or international labor organization.

(e) A labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if (1) it maintains or operates a hiring hall or hiring office which procures employees for an employer or procures for employees opportunities to work for an employer, or (2) the number of its members (or, where it is a labor organization composed of other labor organizations or their representatives, if the aggregate number of the members of such other labor organization) is (A) one hundred or more during the first year after the effective date prescribed in subsection (a) of section 716, (B) seventy-five or more during the second year after such date or fifty or more during the third year, or (C) twenty-five or more thereafter, and such labor organization—

61 Stat. 136.
29 USC 167.

(1) is the certified representative of employees under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended;

44 Stat. 577;
49 Stat. 1189.
45 USC 151.

(2) although not certified, is a national or international labor organization or a local labor organization recognized or acting as the representative of employees of an employer or employers engaged in an industry affecting commerce; or

(3) has chartered a local labor organization or subsidiary body which is representing or actively seeking to represent employees of employers within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2); or

(4) has been chartered by a labor organization representing or actively seeking to represent employees within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2) as the local or subordinate body through which such employees may enjoy membership or become affiliated with such labor organization; or

(5) is a conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council subordinate to a national or international labor organization, which includes a labor organization engaged in an

industry affecting commerce within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs of this subsection.

(f) The term "employee" means an individual employed by an employer. "Employee."

(g) The term "commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States; or between a State and any place outside thereof; or within the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States; or between points in the same State but through a point outside thereof. "Commerce."

(h) The term "industry affecting commerce" means any activity, business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute would hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry "affecting commerce" within the meaning of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959. "Industry affecting commerce." 73 Stat. 519. 29 USC 401 note.

(i) The term "State" includes a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and Outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act. "State." 67 Stat. 462. 43 USC 1331 note.

EXEMPTION

SEC. 702. This title shall not apply to an employer with respect to the employment of aliens outside any State, or to a religious corporation, association, or society with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporation, association, or society of its religious activities or to an educational institution with respect to the employment of individuals to perform work connected with the educational activities of such institution. Religious organizations, etc.

DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

SEC. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer— Unlawful practices. Employers.

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Employment agency.

(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization— Labor organization.

(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any

way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

Training programs.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

Exceptions.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program, on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise, and (2) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion.

(f) As used in this title, the phrase "unlawful employment practice" shall not be deemed to include any action or measure taken by an employer, labor organization, joint labor-management committee, or employment agency with respect to an individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other organization required to register as a Communist-action or Communist-front organization by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

64 Stat. 987.
50 USC 781 note.

(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire and employ any individual for any position, for an employer to discharge any individual from any position, or for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, or for a labor organization to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, if—

(1) the occupancy of such position, or access to the premises in or upon which any part of the duties of such position is performed or is to be performed, is subject to any requirement imposed in the interest of the national security of the United States under any security program in effect pursuant to or administered under any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President; and

(2) such individual has not fulfilled or has ceased to fulfill that requirement.

(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions, or privileges of employment pursuant to a bona fide seniority or merit system, or a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production or to employees who work in different locations, provided that such differences are not the result of an intention to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this title for any employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)). 77 Stat. 56. 29 USC 206.

(i) Nothing contained in this title shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation. Indians.

(j) Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this title to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area. Preferential treatment.

OTHER UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SEC. 704. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate against any of his employees or applicants for employment, for an employment agency to discriminate against any individual, or for a labor organization to discriminate against any member thereof or applicant for membership, because he has opposed any practice made an unlawful employment practice by this title, or because he has made a charge, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding, or hearing under this title.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer, labor organization, or employment agency to print or publish or cause to be printed or published any notice or advertisement relating to employment by such an employer or membership in or any classification or referral for employment by such a labor organization, or relating to any classification or referral for employment by such an employment agency, indicating any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except that such a notice or advertisement may indicate a preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination based on reli-

gion, sex, or national origin when religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification for employment.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Establishment.

SEC. 705. (a) There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. One of the original members shall be appointed for a term of one year, one for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of four years, and one for a term of five years, beginning from the date of enactment of this title, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of five years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Commission, and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall be responsible on behalf of the Commission for the administrative operations of the Commission, and shall appoint, in accordance with the civil service laws, such officers, agents, attorneys, and employees as it deems necessary to assist it in the performance of its functions and to fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

Term of office.

63 Stat. 954; 76 Stat. 843. 5 USC 1071 note.

(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

Reports to the President and Congress.

(d) The Commission shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the action it has taken; the names, salaries, and duties of all individuals in its employ and the moneys it has disbursed; and shall make such further reports on the cause of and means of eliminating discrimination and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable.

(e) The Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2201-2209), is further amended—

70 Stat. 736. 5 USC 2201 note.

(1) by adding to section 105 thereof (5 U.S.C. 2204) the following clause:

"(32) Chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission"; and

(2) by adding to clause (45) of section 106(a) thereof (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)) the following: "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (4)."

70 Stat. 737. 5 USC 2205.

(f) The principal office of the Commission shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but it may meet or exercise any or all its powers at any other place. The Commission may establish such regional or State offices as it deems necessary to accomplish the purpose of this title.

Powers.

(g) The Commission shall have power—

(1) to cooperate with and, with their consent, utilize regional, State, local, and other agencies, both public and private, and individuals;

(2) to pay to witnesses whose depositions are taken or who are summoned before the Commission or any of its agents the same witness and mileage fees as are paid to witnesses in the courts of the United States;

(3) to furnish to persons subject to this title such technical assistance as they may request to further their compliance with this title or an order issued thereunder;

(4) upon the request of (i) any employer, whose employees or some of them, or (ii) any labor organization, whose members or some of them, refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate in effectuating the provisions of this title, to assist in such effectuation by conciliation or such other remedial action as is provided by this title;

(5) to make such technical studies as are appropriate to effectuate the purposes and policies of this title and to make the results of such studies available to the public;

(6) to refer matters to the Attorney General with recommendations for intervention in a civil action brought by an aggrieved party under section 706, or for the institution of a civil action by the Attorney General under section 707, and to advise, consult, and assist the Attorney General on such matters.

(h) Attorneys appointed under this section may, at the direction of the Commission, appear for and represent the Commission in any case in court.

(i) The Commission shall, in any of its educational or promotional activities, cooperate with other departments and agencies in the performance of such educational and promotional activities.

(j) All officers, agents, attorneys, and employees of the Commission shall be subject to the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (the Hatch Act), notwithstanding any exemption contained in such section. 53 Stat. 1148; 64 Stat. 475. 5 USC 1181.

PREVENTION OF UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

SEC. 706. (a) Whenever it is charged in writing under oath by a person claiming to be aggrieved, or a written charge has been filed by a member of the Commission where he has reasonable cause to believe a violation of this title has occurred (and such charge sets forth the facts upon which it is based) that an employer, employment agency, or labor organization has engaged in an unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall furnish such employer, employment agency, or labor organization (hereinafter referred to as the "respondent") with a copy of such charge and shall make an investigation of such charge, provided that such charge shall not be made public by the Commission. If the Commission shall determine, after such investigation, that there is reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true, the Commission shall endeavor to eliminate any such alleged unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. Nothing said or done during and as a part of such endeavors may be made public by the Commission without the written consent of the parties, or used as evidence in a subsequent proceeding. Any officer or employee of the Commission, who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year.

(b) In the case of an alleged unlawful employment practice occurring in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting the unlawful employment practice alleged and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, no charge may be filed under subsection (a) by the person aggrieved before the expira- Legal proceedings.

tion of sixty days after proceedings have been commenced under the State or local law, unless such proceedings have been earlier terminated, provided that such sixty-day period shall be extended to one hundred and twenty days during the first year after the effective date of such State or local law. If any requirement for the commencement of such proceedings is imposed by a State or local authority other than a requirement of the filing of a written and signed statement of the facts upon which the proceeding is based, the proceeding shall be deemed to have been commenced for the purposes of this subsection at the time such statement is sent by registered mail to the appropriate State or local authority.

Time requirements.

(c) In the case of any charge filed by a member of the Commission alleging an unlawful employment practice occurring in a State or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting the practice alleged and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, the Commission shall, before taking any action with respect to such charge, notify the appropriate State or local officials and, upon request, afford them a reasonable time, but not less than sixty days (provided that such sixty-day period shall be extended to one hundred and twenty days during the first year after the effective day of such State or local law), unless a shorter period is requested, to act under such State or local law to remedy the practice alleged.

(d) A charge under subsection (a) shall be filed within ninety days after the alleged unlawful employment practice occurred, except that in the case of an unlawful employment practice with respect to which the person aggrieved has followed the procedure set out in subsection (b), such charge shall be filed by the person aggrieved within two hundred and ten days after the alleged unlawful employment practice occurred, or within thirty days after receiving notice that the State or local agency has terminated the proceedings under the State or local law, whichever is earlier, and a copy of such charge shall be filed by the Commission with the State or local agency.

(e) If within thirty days after a charge is filed with the Commission or within thirty days after expiration of any period of reference under subsection (c) (except that in either case such period may be extended to not more than sixty days upon a determination by the Commission that further efforts to secure voluntary compliance are warranted), the Commission has been unable to obtain voluntary compliance with this title, the Commission shall so notify the person aggrieved and a civil action may, within thirty days thereafter, be brought against the respondent named in the charge (1) by the person claiming to be aggrieved, or (2) if such charge was filed by a member of the Commission, by any person whom the charge alleges was aggrieved by the alleged unlawful employment practice. Upon application by the complainant and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, the court may appoint an attorney for such complainant and may authorize the commencement of the action without the payment of fees, costs, or security. Upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the Attorney General to intervene in such civil action if he certifies that the case is of general public importance. Upon request, the court may, in its discretion, stay further proceedings for not more than sixty days pending the termination of State or local proceedings described in subsection (b) or the efforts of the Commission to obtain voluntary compliance.

Courts. Jurisdiction.

(f) Each United States district court and each United States court of a place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States shall

have jurisdiction of actions brought under this title. Such an action may be brought in any judicial district in the State in which the unlawful employment practice is alleged to have been committed, in the judicial district in which the employment records relevant to such practice are maintained and administered, or in the judicial district in which the plaintiff would have worked but for the alleged unlawful employment practice, but if the respondent is not found within any such district, such an action may be brought within the judicial district in which the respondent has his principal office. For purposes of sections 1404 and 1406 of title 28 of the United States Code, the judicial district in which the respondent has his principal office shall in all cases be considered a district in which the action might have been brought.

62 Stat. 937.
74 Stat. 912;
76A Stat. 699.

(g) If the court finds that the respondent has intentionally engaged in or is intentionally engaging in an unlawful employment practice charged in the complaint, the court may enjoin the respondent from engaging in such unlawful employment practice, and order such affirmative action as may be appropriate, which may include reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without back pay (payable by the employer, employment agency, or labor organization, as the case may be, responsible for the unlawful employment practice). Interim earnings or amounts earnable with reasonable diligence by the person or persons discriminated against shall operate to reduce the back pay otherwise allowable. No order of the court shall require the admission or reinstatement of an individual as a member of a union or the hiring, reinstatement, or promotion of an individual as an employee, or the payment to him of any back pay, if such individual was refused admission, suspended, or expelled or was refused employment or advancement or was suspended or discharged for any reason other than discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex or national origin or in violation of section 704(a).

(h) The provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes," approved March 23, 1932 (29 U.S.C. 101-115), shall not apply with respect to civil actions brought under this section.

47 Stat. 70.

(i) In any case in which an employer, employment agency, or labor organization fails to comply with an order of a court issued in a civil action brought under subsection (e), the Commission may commence proceedings to compel compliance with such order.

(j) Any civil action brought under subsection (e) and any proceedings brought under subsection (i) shall be subject to appeal as provided in sections 1291 and 1292, title 28, United States Code.

62 Stat. 929.

(k) In any action or proceeding under this title the court, in its discretion, may allow the prevailing party, other than the Commission or the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs, and the Commission and the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

65 Stat. 726;
72 Stat. 348,
1770.
Costs, fees.

SEC. 707. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the Attorney General may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order against the

Suits by Attorney General.

person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) The district courts of the United States shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, and in any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

EFFECT ON STATE LAWS

SEC. 708. Nothing in this title shall be deemed to exempt or relieve any person from any liability, duty, penalty, or punishment provided by any present or future law of any State or political subdivision of a State, other than any such law which purports to require or permit the doing of any act which would be an unlawful employment practice under this title.

INVESTIGATIONS, INSPECTIONS, RECORDS, STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 709. (a) In connection with any investigation of a charge filed under section 706, the Commission or its designated representative shall at all reasonable times have access to, for the purposes of examination, and the right to copy any evidence of any person being investigated or proceeded against that relates to unlawful employment practices covered by this title and is relevant to the charge under investigation.

Agreements, State and local agencies.

(b) The Commission may cooperate with State and local agencies charged with the administration of State fair employment practices laws and, with the consent of such agencies, may for the purpose of carrying out its functions and duties under this title and within the limitation of funds appropriated specifically for such purpose, utilize the services of such agencies and their employees and, notwithstand-

ing any other provision of law, may reimburse such agencies and their employees for services rendered to assist the Commission in carrying out this title. In furtherance of such cooperative efforts, the Commission may enter into written agreements with such State or local agencies and such agreements may include provisions under which the Commission shall refrain from processing a charge in any cases or class of cases specified in such agreements and under which no person may bring a civil action under section 706 in any cases or class of cases so specified, or under which the Commission shall relieve any person or class of persons in such State or locality from requirements imposed under this section. The Commission shall rescind any such agreement whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of effective enforcement of this title.

Records.

(c) Except as provided in subsection (d), every employer, employment agency, and labor organization subject to this title shall (1) make and keep such records relevant to the determinations of whether unlawful employment practices have been or are being committed, (2) preserve such records for such periods, and (3) make such reports therefrom, as the Commission shall prescribe by regulation or order, after public hearing, as reasonable, necessary, or appropriate for the enforcement of this title or the regulations or orders thereunder. The Commission shall, by regulation, require each employer, labor organization, and joint labor-management committee subject to this title which controls an apprenticeship or other training program to maintain such records as are reasonably necessary to carry out the purpose of this title, including, but not limited to, a list of applicants who wish to participate in such program, including the chronological order in which such applications were received, and shall furnish to the Commission, upon request, a detailed description of the manner in which persons are selected to participate in the apprenticeship or other training program. Any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee which believes that the application to it of any regulation or order issued under this section would result in undue hardship may (1) apply to the Commission for an exemption from the application of such regulation or order, or (2) bring a civil action in the United States district court for the district where such records are kept. If the Commission or the court, as the case may be, finds that the application of the regulation or order to the employer, employment agency, or labor organization in question would impose an undue hardship, the Commission or the court, as the case may be, may grant appropriate relief.

Exceptions.

(d) The provisions of subsection (c) shall not apply to any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee with respect to matters occurring in any State or political subdivision thereof which has a fair employment practice law during any period in which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee is subject to such law, except that the Commission may require such notations on records which such employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee keeps or is required to keep as are necessary because of differences in coverage or methods of enforcement between the State or local law and the provisions of this title. Where an employer is required by Executive Order 10925, issued March 6, 1961, or by any other Executive order prescribing fair employment practices for Government contractors and subcontractors, or by rules or regulations issued thereunder, to file reports relating to his employment practices with any Federal agency or committee, and he is substantially in compliance with such requirements, the Commission shall not require him to file additional reports pursuant to subsection (c) of this section.

3 CFR, 1961 Supp., p. 86.
5 USC 631 note.

Prohibited disclosures.

(e) It shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the Commission to make public in any manner whatever any information obtained by the Commission pursuant to its authority under this section prior to the institution of any proceeding under this title involving such information. Any officer or employee of the Commission who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned not more than one year.

INVESTIGATORY POWERS

SEC. 710. (a) For the purposes of any investigation of a charge filed under the authority contained in section 706, the Commission shall have authority to examine witnesses under oath and to require the production of documentary evidence relevant or material to the charge under investigation.

(b) If the respondent named in a charge filed under section 706 fails or refuses to comply with a demand of the Commission for permission to examine or to copy evidence in conformity with the provisions of section 709(a), or if any person required to comply with the provisions of section 709 (c) or (d) fails or refuses to do so, or if any person fails or refuses to comply with a demand by the Commission to give testimony under oath, the United States district court for the district in which such person is found, resides, or transacts business, shall, upon application of the Commission, have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring him to comply with the provisions of section 709 (c) or (d) or to comply with the demand of the Commission, but the attendance of a witness may not be required outside the State where he is found, resides, or transacts business and the production of evidence may not be required outside the State where such evidence is kept.

Petitions.

(c) Within twenty days after the service upon any person charged under section 706 of a demand by the Commission for the production of documentary evidence or for permission to examine or to copy evidence in conformity with the provisions of section 709(a), such person may file in the district court of the United States for the judicial district in which he resides, is found, or transacts business, and serve upon the Commission a petition for an order of such court modifying or setting aside such demand. The time allowed for compliance with the demand in whole or in part as deemed proper and ordered by the court shall not run during the pendency of such petition in the court. Such petition shall specify each ground upon which the petitioner relies in seeking such relief, and may be based upon any failure of such demand to comply with the provisions of this title or with the limitations generally applicable to compulsory process or upon any constitutional or other legal right or privilege of such person. No objection which is not raised by such a petition may be urged in the defense to a proceeding initiated by the Commission under subsection (b) for enforcement of such a demand unless such proceeding is commenced by the Commission prior to the expiration of the twenty-day period, or unless the court determines that the defendant could not reasonably have been aware of the availability of such ground of objection.

(d) In any proceeding brought by the Commission under subsection (b), except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, the defendant may petition the court for an order modifying or setting aside the demand of the Commission.

NOTICES TO BE POSTED

SEC. 711. (a) Every employer, employment agency, and labor organization, as the case may be, shall post and keep posted in conspicuous places upon its premises where notices to employees, applicants for employment, and members are customarily posted a notice to be prepared or approved by the Commission setting forth excerpts from or, summaries of, the pertinent provisions of this title and information pertinent to the filing of a complaint.

(b) A willful violation of this section shall be punishable by a fine of not more than $100 for each separate offense.

VETERANS' PREFERENCE

SEC. 712. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to repeal or modify any Federal, State, territorial, or local law creating special rights or preference for veterans.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 713. (a) The Commission shall have authority from time to time to issue, amend, or rescind suitable procedural regulations to carry out the provisions of this title. Regulations issued under this section shall be in conformity with the standards and limitations of the Administrative Procedure Act. 60 Stat. 237. 5 USC 1001 note.

(b) In any action or proceeding based on any alleged unlawful employment practice, no person shall be subject to any liability or punishment for or on account of (1) the commission by such person of an unlawful employment practice if he pleads and proves that the act or omission complained of was in good faith, in conformity with, and in reliance on any written interpretation or opinion of the Commission, or (2) the failure of such person to publish and file any information required by any provision of this title if he pleads and proves that he failed to publish and file such information in good faith, in conformity with the instructions of the Commission issued under this title regarding the filing of such information. Such a defense, if established, shall be a bar to the action or proceeding, notwithstanding that (A) after such act or omission, such interpretation or opinion is modified or rescinded or is determined by judicial authority to be invalid or of no legal effect, or (B) after publishing or filing the description and annual reports, such publication or filing is determined by judicial authority not to be in conformity with the requirements of this title.

FORCIBLY RESISTING THE COMMISSION OR ITS REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 714. The provisions of section 111, title 18, United States Code, shall apply to officers, agents, and employees of the Commission in the performance of their official duties. 62 Stat. 688.

SPECIAL STUDY BY SECRETARY OF LABOR

SEC. 715. The Secretary of Labor shall make a full and complete study of the factors which might tend to result in discrimination in employment because of age and of the consequences of such discrimination on the economy and individuals affected. The Secretary of Labor shall make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1965, containing the results of such study and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation to prevent arbitrary discrimination in employment because of age as he determines advisable. Report to Congress.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 716. (a) This title shall become effective one year after the date of its enactment.

(b) Notwithstanding subsection (a), sections of this title other than sections 703, 704, 706, and 707 shall become effective immediately.

Presidential conferences.

(c) The President shall, as soon as feasible after the enactment of this title, convene one or more conferences for the purpose of enabling the leaders of groups whose members will be affected by this title to become familiar with the rights afforded and obligations imposed by its provisions, and for the purpose of making plans which will result in the fair and effective administration of this title when all of its provisions become effective. The President shall invite the participation in such conference or conferences of (1) the members of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, (2) the members of the Commission on Civil Rights, (3) representatives of State and local agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, (4) representatives of private agencies engaged in furthering equal employment opportunity, and (5) representatives of employers, labor organizations, and employment agencies who will be subject to this title.

Membership.

TITLE VIII—REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS

Survey.

SEC. 801. The Secretary of Commerce shall promptly conduct a survey to compile registration and voting statistics in such geographic areas as may be recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights. Such a survey and compilation shall, to the extent recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights, only include a count of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin, and determination of the extent to which such persons are registered to vote, and have voted in any statewide primary or general election in which the Members of the United States House of Representatives are nominated or elected, since January 1, 1960. Such information shall also be collected and compiled in connection with the Nineteenth Decennial Census, and at such other times as the Congress may prescribe. The provisions of section 9 and chapter 7 of title 13, United States Code, shall apply to any survey, collection, or compilation of registration and voting statistics carried out under this title: *Provided, however,* That no person shall be compelled to disclose his race, color, national origin, or questioned about his political party affiliation, how he voted, or the reasons therefore, nor shall any penalty be imposed for his failure or refusal to make such disclosure. Every person interrogated orally, by written survey or questionnaire or by any other means with respect to such information shall be fully advised with respect to his right to fail or refuse to furnish such information.

68 Stat. 1013, 1022.
76 Stat. 922.
13 USC 9, 211-241.

TITLE IX—INTERVENTION AND PROCEDURE AFTER REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

63 Stat. 102.

SEC. 901. Title 28 of the United States Code, section 1447(d), is amended to read as follows:

"An order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed is not reviewable on appeal or otherwise, except that an order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed pursuant to section 1443 of this title shall be reviewable by appeal or otherwise."

62 Stat. 938.

SEC. 902. Whenever an action has been commenced in any court of the United States seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws under the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution on ac-

count of race, color, religion, or national origin, the Attorney General for or in the name of the United States may intervene in such action upon timely application if the Attorney General certifies that the case is of general public importance. In such action the United States shall be entitled to the same relief as if it had instituted the action.

TITLE X—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

SEC. 1001. (a) There is hereby established in and as a part of the Department of Commerce a Community Relations Service (hereinafter referred to as the "Service"), which shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for a term of four years. The Director is authorized to appoint, subject to the civil service laws and regulations, such other personnel as may be necessary to enable the Service to carry out its functions and duties, and to fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Director is further authorized to procure services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55(a)), but at rates for individuals not in excess of $75 per diem.

63 Stat. 954; 76 Stat. 843. 5 USC 1071 note.

(b) Section 106(a) of the Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)), is further amended by adding the following clause thereto:

70 Stat. 737.

"(52) Director, Community Relations Service."

SEC. 1002. It shall be the function of the Service to provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect or may affect interstate commerce. The Service may offer its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or difficulties whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own motion or upon the request of an appropriate State or local official or other interested person.

Functions.

SEC. 1003. (a) The Service shall, whenever possible, in performing its functions, seek and utilize the cooperation of appropriate State or local, public, or private agencies.

(b) The activities of all officers and employees of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity, and the Service shall hold confidential any information acquired in the regular performance of its duties upon the understanding that it would be so held. No officer or employee of the Service shall engage in the performance of investigative or prosecuting functions of any department or agency in any litigation arising out of a dispute in which he acted on behalf of the Service. Any officer or other employee of the Service, who shall make public in any manner whatever any information in violation of this subsection, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year.

SEC. 1004. Subject to the provisions of sections 205 and 1003(b), the Director shall, on or before January 31 of each year, submit to the Congress a report of the activities of the Service during the preceding fiscal year.

Report to Congress.

TITLE XI—MISCELLANEOUS

Trial by jury.

SEC. 1101. In any proceeding for criminal contempt arising under title II, III, IV, V, VI, or VII of this Act, the accused, upon demand therefor, shall be entitled to a trial by jury, which shall conform as near as may be to the practice in criminal cases. Upon conviction, the accused shall not be fined more than $1,000 or imprisoned for more than six months.

Exceptions.

This section shall not apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court, or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice, nor to the misbehavior, misconduct, or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to writs, orders, or process of the court. No person shall be convicted of criminal contempt hereunder unless the act or omission constituting such contempt shall have been intentional, as required in other cases of criminal contempt.

Nor shall anything herein be construed to deprive courts of their power, by civil contempt proceedings, without a jury, to secure compliance with or to prevent obstruction of, as distinguished from punishment for violations of, any lawful writ, process, order, rule, decree, or command of the court in accordance with the prevailing usages of law and equity, including the power of detention.

Double jeopardy.

SEC. 1102. No person should be put twice in jeopardy under the laws of the United States for the same act or omission. For this reason, an acquittal or conviction in a prosecution for a specific crime under the laws of the United States shall bar a proceeding for criminal contempt, which is based upon the same act or omission and which arises under the provisions of this Act; and an acquittal or conviction in a proceeding for criminal contempt, which arises under the provisions of this Act, shall bar a prosecution for a specific crime under the laws of the United States based upon the same act or omission.

Attorney General, etc., authority.

SEC. 1103. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority of the Attorney General or of the United States or any agency or officer thereof under existing law to institute or intervene in any action or proceeding.

States' authority.

SEC. 1104. Nothing contained in any title of this Act shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which any such title operates to the exclusion of State laws on the same subject matter, nor shall any provision of this Act be construed as invalidating any provision of State law unless such provision is inconsistent with any of the purposes of this Act, or any provision thereof.

Appropriation.

SEC. 1105. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Separability clause.

SEC. 1106. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Approved July 2, 1964.

(OVER)

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: Nos. 914, 914 pt. 2 (Comm. on the Judiciary).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 110 (1964):
Jan. 31; Feb. 1, 3-8: Considered in House.
Feb. 10: Considered and passed House.
Feb. 26: Senate placed bill on calendar.
Mar. 9-14, 16-21, 23-25: Senate debated motion to consider bill.
Mar. 26: Senate agreed to motion to consider bill.
Mar. 30, 31; Apr. 1-3, 6-11, 13-18, 20-25, 27-30; May 1, 2, 4-8, 11-16, 18-22, 25-28; June 1-6: Considered in Senate.
June 8: Motion for cloture filed in Senate.
June 9: Considered in Senate.
June 10: Senate adopted motion for cloture.
June 11-13, 15-18: Considered in Senate.
June 19: Considered and passed Senate, amended.
July 2: House concurred in Senate amendments.

GPO : 1964 O - 34-996

Many Doors Open Quietly to Negroes

By The Associated Press

Segregation of public accommodations fell away silently Friday in many Southern cities and towns where early testing of the civil rights bill came on a small scale.

The calm with which some hold-out segregationists accepted the change almost matched the historic enactment of the sweeping legislation a century after Lincoln emancipated the slaves.

Even the Ku Klux Klan urged white persons in Mississippi coastal areas to let police handle any racial trouble. Leaflets distributed in the areas called on white persons "to stand back and to avoid conflict." "These people (the Negroes) want Mississippi placed under martial law," the leaflets said.

Negroes quietly obtained service in Birmingham, Ala., where segregation issues boiled to a new height last summer.

They gained admittance to formerly white theaters and were served in restaurants or at lunch counters for the first time in other places of stiff resistance before President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the civil rights bill into law Thursday.

Negroes peacefully integrated places in Montgomery, Ala.; Petersburg, Va.; Albany, Valdosta and Americus, Ga. — seat of Terrell County where the federal government filed its first suit several years ago against voter registration discrimination.

In Tallahassee and Tampa, Fla., and Memphis, Tenn., racial barriers fell away in the first tests.

But not all the tests were successful.

Negroes were refused service at two eating places in Selma, Ala., one Memphis restaurant and three places in Valdosta, Ga. But there was no trouble, no clashes or arrests.

The only arrest, in fact, was of an Atlanta television cameraman, Dave Riggs, jailed in Albany, Ga., for refusing to leave a restaurant where Negroes were served. Riggs said he was trying to film the group when arrested under Georgia's anti-trespass law.

In Mississippi, there were no immediate tests of public accommodations, but Negroes tried to test the voter registration section of the new law.

An attempt to register at Jackson was made by Charles Evers, field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Evers said he was told he had to have certification he had taken part in the last two general elections.

Evers turned away and led a group of Negroes with him out of the courthouse.

In Kansas City, Mo., at the Muelhlebach Hotel barbershop, a 13-year-old Mississippi Negro boy, Eugene Young, got his hair cut after being turned down Thursday.

Another Negro youth got a haircut Friday in the hotel barbershop. Negroes staged a hand-clapping, singing demonstration in the shop Thursday night after the refusal of Young. At that time the barbers said their work mostly was by appointment.

In Birmingham, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Cincinnati, one of the leaders in the antisegregation drive last year, heralded the turn of events as the end of segregation in the steel city.

Referring to a pledge of Gov. George C. Wallace, Shuttlesworth said:

"This is the end of Wallace's pledge of 'segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.' "

Compliance with the law was pledged in a joint statement of the Birmingham Hotel Association and the Motel Association

In Tampa, Fla., a group of young Negroes had lunch at one previously segregated cafeteria and then walked two blocks to have dessert at another place. There was no trouble.

"Everything was very nice," said one of the diners, Miss Velma Shepard. "They gave us the same service they gave everyone else."

Another move affecting the Deep South came with announcement by Morrison's cafeteria chain President J. H. Gibbons of Nashville, Tenn., that his cafeterias would obey the law.

The chain operates 41 restaurants in Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina.

Meanwhile, Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, said in New York that the organization's attorneys would be "highly selective" in deciding which cases to prosecute.

"We want the best possible cases — not just any case,,' he said at a news conference. "Let's not have a case in every

Rights Bill Had a Busy Year

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, July 4—"That was the year that was." — Sen. Everett Dirksen, R-Ill., June 19, 1964.

When the President signed the civil rights bill into law Thursday, it marked an end to slightly more than one year of that process by which our laws are made.

The first year anniversary of the process was June 19, when Sen. Dirksen made his backward-looking remark. The late President John Kennedy had submitted the model for a broad civil rights bill on June 19, 1963.

That bill changed a lot in the year. But it was still the foundation on which the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was built.

THE KENNEDY BILL contained a public accommodations section and a federal funds cut-off, as well sections dealing with the civil rights commission, a community relations service and the public schools.

It was the first major civil rights bill Kennedy had sent to Congress in his two years plus as President. At the same time he sent Congress a civil rights message. He urged support for the bill "because it is right." He told Congress that it was facing a "national domestic crisis."

Associated Press Wirephoto

PRESIDENT JOHNSON HANDS ONE OF 72 PENS TO NAACP'S ROY WILKINS
Civil Rights Bill Had Just Been Signed With Pens Which Were Then Passed Out

The crisis, which more than anything else prompted the legislation, had built up slowly. Suddenly, in the last days of spring, it had shocked the nation — and its president. Here is how it built up and what happened in Congress after Kennedy asked Congress to act.

JAN. 14. In his 1963 State of the Union message to Congress and the nation, President Kennedy all but ignored civil rights. He mentioned the need in the field of voting, but that was all.

Jan. 18. The conflict still went on. Under other laws, the Justice Department filed school desegregation suits in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Jan. 22. The Justice Department filed voter suits in Mississippi.

Jan. 31. A group of Republicans in the House of Representatives introduced a broad civil rights bill.

Feb. 7. In the Senate an attempt to change the rules regarding the filibuster failed as Southerners filibustered and on this date defeated an attempt to shut off their filibuster in support of filibusters.

Feb. 28. President Kennedy sent Congress a civil rights bill. It was narrower than the Republican one. It dealt with voting, technical aid to schools in the process of desegregation and "encouraged" but did not demand nondiscrimination in public accommodations.

THROUGHOUT MARCH, both bills languished in Congress. There was no real pressure for their passage. In April pressure began to build.

April 3. Month-long demonstrations against segregation begin in Birmingham, Ala., with Negroes marching daily to City Hall to protest the city's segregation policies. Gov. George Wallace promises to "stand in the schoolhouse door" to bar integration of the University of Alabama.

April 4. Proponents of the bill suffered their first — and last — defeat. They were unable to get enough senators on the floor for the session to continue. The Senate quit for the weekend.

April 7. Racial violence in Cleveland, Ohio. A white civil rights advocate, a preacher, was accidentally killed when a bulldozer backed over him.

ALABAMA Gov. George Wallace received 33.9 per cent of the Democratic vote in a presidential primary in Wisconsin.

Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen met with the Republican Senate Policy Committee to discuss amendments to the bill. Dirksen, at first reluctant, began to emerge as a key supporter.

April 21. Dirksen introduced an amendment to the employment section of the bill but Sen. Herman Talmadge introduced a jury trial amendment. The latter became the pending business of the Senate.

President Johnson spoke at the World's Fair opening. He was picketed by civil rights advocates. A planned traffic-jamming "stall-in" was unsuccessful.

May 5. Gov. Wallace received 29 per cent of the Democatic vote in Indiana's presidential primary.

ATTY. GEN. KENNEDY, Sen. Dirksen and Democratic Senate leaders began work on a new "package" of amendments to the bill, designed to make it easier to pass the Senate.

May 5. The first votes in the filibuster. After five votes the jury trial amendment was defeated.

May 8. President Johnson, in Atlanta, urged passage of the bill.

May 13. "The time has about come," Sen. Dirksen said, as he announced that a "package" had been agreed on by all concerned.

May 19. Republican and Democratic senators met to have the package, in effect a new bll, explained. Sen. Russell called it "more obnoxious" than the original bill. He said it WAS "aimed" at the South.

THE PACKAGE kept all of the original provisions but relaxed the application except where "patterns" of discrimination existed. State laws — nonexistent in the South—were given some priority over the federal law.

Gov. Wallace received 42.7 per cent of the Democratic vote in the Maryland presidential primary. Wallace said his showing in the three state primaries proved that there was great opposition to the bill in the North as well as the South.

Sen. Dirksen met with reporters and told them the "idea" of civil rights could not be denied. He quoted Victor Hugo: "Stronger than any army is an idea whose time has come." He said, "I am not ashamed to say I am a part of the process by which this idea is made law. I am not ashamed to say I am a part of the process by which this idea is made law. I am not ashamed to say I am a part of the process by which this idea is made law.

port of filibusters.

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THROUGHOUT MARCH, both bills languished in Congress. There was no real pressure for their passage. In April pressure began to build.

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April 23. A white Baltimore postman, William Moore, was killed in Alabama, as he walked with civil rights posters to Mississippi.

May 3. Rioting in Birmingham. Pictures of police dogs and fire hoses being used on Negroes were in newspapers all over the world, leading to demands from many Northern congressmen for action by the president.

May 10. An agreement was reached in Birmingham.

May 11. A Negro preacher's home was bombed in Birmingham. Negores rioted, setting fires.

May 12. Alabama state troopers sealed off the trouble area. President Kennedy went on television to explain why he was well as violence:"

June 12. Medgar Evers of the NAACP was slain in Mississippi.

June 13, 16, 17. President Kennedy met with labor and religious leaders to discuss his proposed bill.

June 19. The bill was sent to Congress. It was introduced as a whole in the House. In the Senate it was introduced as a whole, as a separate bill without the public accomodations section and as a public accomodations bill solely.

Southern congressional reaction was summed up by Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi: "It's a grasp for power. . .. All that's needed to defeat it is time for the implication of this program to soak in on the American public."

PROPONENTS of the bill predicted a filibuster in the Senate that would last, according to one, "a month."

June 26. A House judiciary subcommittee began hearings on the omnibus bill.

July 1. The Senate Commerce Committee began hearings on the public accommodations bill.

July 16. A Senate judiciary subcommittee began hearings on the omnibus bill.

July 22. The House Education and Labor Committee reported out an equal employment op-

therners charged that the Justice Department wrote the bill overnight. James Farmer of CORE said, "The bill is not acceptable."

Oct. 31. A new word was broadcast nationwide. At his press conference, President Kennedy was asked if he expected a "backlash from white voters" in the Philadelphia mayor's election a week away. "It is possible," he replied.

Nov. 5. Election day. The Democrat in Philadelphia won—but by a quarter of a million votes less than President Kennedy had received in 1960. Politicians asked, "Backlash?"

Nov. 20. The House Judiciary Committee reported out its bill, 23-11. The minority report charged it was "the most radical proposal" of its type ever seen.

Nov. 22. President Kennedy was assassinated. Vice President Lyndon Johnson sworn in as President.

Nov. 27. President Johnson told a joint session of Congress: "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long."

IMMEDIATELY after that, Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri began circulating a petition to get the bill discharged from the Rules Committee, where it was feared it would be bottled up.

Dec. 2. Seven Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee issued a statement. "No legislation of greater significance has come before Congress in our lifetime," they said.

Rep. Howard Smith, chairman of the Rules Committee, said he had no plans to call the committee to consider the bill.

Dec. 3. President Johnson and Speaker of the House McCormack said they supported the discharge petition.

Dec. 5. Rep. Smith said hearings would begin in January.

Jan. 7, 1964. President John-

It was not significantly changed. All sections stayed in the bill.

Feb. 10. The bill passed, 290-130.

Feb. 16. Some Republicans charged that a "deal" was to be made in the Senate, weakening the bill.

Feb. 18. Sen. Hubert Humphrey, the assistant Democratic leader, said, "no wheels and no deals."

Feb. 19. Sen. Richard Russell said, after a meeting of Southern senators, that they would wage an "all-out" fight against the bill.

March 9. The House bill was called up in the Senate. Southerners began a "preliminary filibuster."

March 26. By a vote of 67-17, the Senate agreed to take up the bill. By a vote of 50-34 it decided not to send the House bill to the Judiciary Committee, which had not completed hearings on President Kennedy's bill.

March 30. The real debate and the real filibuster began. Sen. Hubert Humphrey spoke first: "I cannot over-emphasize

where patterns of discrimination existed. State laws — nonexistent in the South—were given some priority over the federal law.

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May 26. The package was introduced in the Senate as a substitute for the House-passed bill.

June 1. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said he would attempt to stop the filibuster June 9. He later postponed the attempt to June 10. He needed to get 67 senators to vote to halt the Southern debate. It had never been done before in a civil rights fight.

June 8. A cloture petition —

Vatican to Build Hall for 12,000

VATICAN CITY (AP) — Vatican sources say a large hall will be built inside Vatican City for the Pope's general audiences now held in St. Peter's Basilica.

Plans for a hall to hold 12,000 people have been submitted by Italy's leading modernist architect, Pier Luigi Nervi, and his son Antonio.

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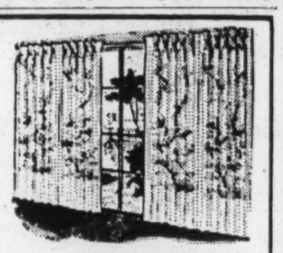

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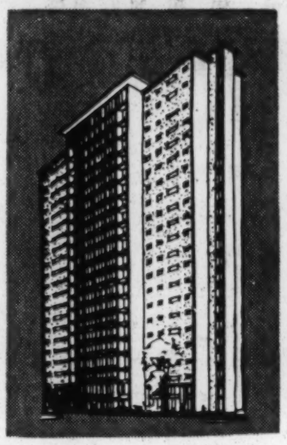

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Bowden Analyzes Accommodations Law

Atlanta City Attorney Henry L. Bowden prepared this analysis of the meaning of the public accommodations section of the civil rights law at the request of Mayor Ivan Allen:

Dear Mayor Allen:

You have requested of me that I write you a general synopsis of the pertinent provisions of that section of the recently enacted United States Civil Rights Ace of 1964 as applied to public accommodations. The synopsis follows:—

(A)—The law is now in effect and does not become effective at some later date as is sometimes the case.

(B)—The law prohibits "discrimination" based upon race, color, religion or national origin and is limited to discrimination. because of any of these four things.

(C)—It requires that all persons shall be entitled to be afforded any or all of the "goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages and accommodations of any place of public accommodation."

(D)—As to what is a place of accommodation the law specifies that the folowing are included in any definition of that term: Hotels, motels, inns (provided they are for transients and contain more than five rooms), restaurants, soda-fountains, cafeterias, lunch counters, gasoline stations, motion picture houses, theaters, sports arenas, stadiums, and similar establishments. The listing does not limit the places of public accommodation to those set forth but the act applies to any others not specifically named.

(E)—All of the facilities at any of the affected places are to be opened, including toilets, waiting rooms, swimming pools, barber shops, and the like. However, if a swimming pool or other facility is restricted to use by the guests of a place of business, persons not guests may not use the pool or other facility.

This, of course, would presume that any persons regardless of race, religion, color or national origin would be eligible to become a guest in such place of business.

(F)—The establishments affected are those engaged in interstate commerce and also any place where discrimination is supported by state action. I would point out in this regard that the federal courts have gone to amazing and seemingly absurd degrees in declaring establishments to be engaged in interstate commerce.

(G)—AS TO ANY PLACE not engaged in interstate commerce which has a policy of discrimination because of race, religion, color or national origin the police department of the city would not be permitted to enforce such discriminatory practices upon request of the proprietor of such establishment since such enforcement by city police would amount to state action (the city being a creature of the state.)

(H)—Private establishments not open to the public generally are excluded from the provisions of the act.

(I)—Any person who seeks to obtain service at any establishment covered by the new law must do so peaceably and if such person or persons disturb the peace, create a riot, obstruct entrances or do anything that violates any law such persons shall be subject to arrest and prosecution for such violations.

(J)—The act provides that an individual against whom any discrimination has been practiced because of race, religion, color or national origin may file suit to enforce his rights in the federal court. The United States government may through the attorney general intervene in any such suit should it elect to do so.

(K)—The court pursuant to such a suit may issue injunctions or restraining orders prohibiting establishments from engaging in any practice that violates the civil rights law. Subsequent to such the proprietor of such establishment would be guilty of contempt of court if the injunction was disobeyed.

(L)—THERE ARE OTHER provisions, set forth in detail in the act, which provide for notice to state authorities where there are state laws on the subject (Georgia has no such law) and also for reference by the federal court to the Community Relations Service for efforts at amicable compliance without further court action.

(M)—The Community Relations Service is a new bureau authorized by the act which will have general supervision over efforts short of court action seeking to obtain compliance with the law.

The foregoing is by no means a detailed statement of the law but does give a short statement of only that portion dealing with public accommodations. It is my understanding that next week in Washington conferences will be held in the Justice Department seeking to work out plans to implement the new law and it may be that from these will come more detailed and explicit statement of the policies and practices to be followed by the government in enforcement of the law. I have furnished the chief of police with a statement of suggested practices for his department to follow in dealing with the new law.

Here's Full Text Of Rights Title II

TITLE II — INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

SEC. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by state action:

(1) Any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence.

(2) Any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station.

(3) Any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment. and

(4) Any establishment (A) (i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment, and (C) where such establishment is supported by such establishment as its principal place of business.

(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); (2) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (2) of subsection (b), it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce; (3) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (3) of subsection (b), it customarily presents films, performances, athletic teams, exhibitions, or other sources of entertainment which move in commerce; and (4) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (4) of subsection (b), it is physically located within the premises of, or there is physically located within its premises, an establishment the operations of which affect commerce within the meaning of this subsection. For purposes of this section, "commerce" means travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several states, or between the District of Columbia and any state, or between any foreign country or any territory or possession and any state or the District of Columbia, or between points in the same state but through any other state or the District of Columbia or a foreign country.

(d) Discrimination or segregation by an establishment is supported by state action within the meaning of this title if such discrimination or segregation (1) is carried on under color of any law, statute, ordinance, or regulation; or (2) is carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by officials of the State or political subdivision thereof; or (3) is required by action of a state or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

(e) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a private club or other establishment not in fact open to the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such establishment are made available to the customers or patrons of an establishment within the scope of subsection (b).

SEC. 202. All persons shall be entitled to be free, at any establishment or place, from discrimination or segregation of any kind on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, if such discrimination or segregation is or purports to be required by any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, rule, or order of a State or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

SEC. 203. No person shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person of any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (c) punish or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202.

SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, may be instituted by the person aggrieved and, upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the Community Relations Service established by title X of this act for as long as the court believes there is a reasonable possibility of obtaining voluntary compliance, but for not more than sixty days: Provided further, That upon expiration of such sixty-day period, the court may extend such period for an additional period, not to exceed a cumulative total of one hundred and twenty days, if it believes there then exists a reasonable possibility of securing voluntary compliance.

SEC. 205. The Service is authorized to make a full investigation of any complaint referred to it by the court under section 204 (a) and shall cooperate with the parties to the dispute in order to secure a voluntary settlement of the matter complained of. If the Service shall be unable to secure such voluntary settlement, it shall immediately notify the court in which the case is pending (or, if such case is not pending in any court, the clerk of the district court of the United States for the district in which the case is pending) and shall furnish such court with a full report of the facts and circumstances of the case. Upon receipt of such report the court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was insituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

In the event the attorney general fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this action to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

SEC. 207. (a) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

(b) The remedies provided in this title shall be the exclusive means of enforcing the rights based on this title, but nothing in this title shall preclude any individual or any state or local agency from asserting any right based on any other federal or state law not inconsistent with this title, including any statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public establishments or accommodations, or from pursuing any remedy, civil or criminal, which may be available for the vindication or enforcement of such right.

Associated Press Wirephoto

ROUGH ROAD TO FREEDOM

WEST BERLIN, July 4—Independence Day became just that for four young East Berliners, including an 18-year-old girl. They escaped to freedom by crashing this truck through barbed wire barricades into a ditch at the West Berlin border. They ran the rest of the way under tommy gun fire in the darkness. They were not hit by the bullets. Communist troops retrieved the truck with a crane.

General Honored

BERLIN, July 4 (AP)—Brig. Gen. Frederick O. Hartel, commander of the U.S. Berlin Brigade, was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal Saturday for meritorious service during his three years here.

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ises or any retail establishment; or any gasoline station.

(3) Any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment. and

(4) Any establishment (A) (i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment.

(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title supported by state action within the meaning of this title if such discrimination or segregation (1) is carried on under color of any law, statute, ordinance, or regulation; or (2) is carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by officials of the State or political subdivision thereof; or (3) is required by action of a state or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

(e) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a private club or other establishment not in fact open to the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such establishment are made available to the customers or patrons of an establishment lishment or place, from discrimination or segregation of any kind on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, if such discrimination or segregation is or purports to be required by any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, rule, or order of a State or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

SEC. 203. No person shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person of any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (b) intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person with the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202.

SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, may be instituted by the person aggrieved and, upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the attorney general to intervene in such civil action if he certifies that the case is of general public importance. Upon application by the complainant and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, the court may appoint an attorney for such complainant and may authorize the commencement of the civil action without the payment of fees, costs, or security.

(b) In any action commenced pursuant to this title, the court, in its discretion, may allow the prevailing party, other than the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs, and the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

(c) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a state, or political subdivision of a state, which has a state or local law prohibiting such act or practice and establishing or authorizing a state or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, no civil action may be brought under subsection (a) before the expiration of thirty days after written notice of such alleged act or practice has been given to the appropriate state or local authority by registered mail or in person, provided that the court may stay proceedings in such civil action pending the termination of state or local enforcement proceedings.

(d) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a state, or political subdivision of a state, which has no state or local law prohibiting such act or practice, a civil action may be brought under subsection (a): Provided, That the court may refer the matter to possibility of obtaining voluntary compliance, but for not more than sixty days: Provided further, That upon expiration of such sixty-day period, the court may extend such period for an additional period, not to exceed a cumulative total of one hundred and twenty days, if it believes there then exists a reasonable possibility of securing voluntary compliance.

SEC. 205. The Service is authorized to make a full investigation of any complaint referred to it by the court under section 204(d) and may hold such hearings with respect thereto as may be necessary. The Service shall conduct any hearings with respect to any such complaint in executive session, and shall not release any testimony given therein except by agreement of all parties involved in the complaint with the permission of the court, and the Service shall endeavor to bring about a voluntary settlement between the parties.

SEC. 206. (a) Whenever the attorney general has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the attorney general may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the acting attorney general), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) In any such proceeding the attorney general may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the attorney general shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge

Mrs. F. E. (Kelley) Clark — Mrs. Camille Holler

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Mrs. Holler, born in Atlanta, is a graduate of Washington Seminary, and has been in the jewelry business on Peachtree for 24 years, twelve of which have been with Schneider & Son. She is a member of the First Methodist Church of Atlanta, and of the Quota Club, a business women's professional and business club. Both these fine saleswomen, thoroughly experienced in jewelry, silver, holloware and gifts, will find it a pleasure to serve you.

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9-6-64 C

Some Integration Tries Fail as Others Succeed

Negroes tried out their newly won civil rights in several Georgia communities Sunday and were successful in some instances, but failed in others.

Twelve Negroes were arrested in Albany when they tried to integrate privately owned Tift Park swimming pool, which formerly belonged to the city of Albany. The Negroes, three of them juveniles, were released on $102 bonds each Sunday night, Police Chief Laurie Pritchett said.

The Albany pool, when it was city owned, was the scene of racial demonstrations during the summer of 1962. Last summer it was declared surplus by the City Commission and sold to James H. Gray's Albany Herald Publishing Co. for $72,000. It was then reopened and has operated on a private, segregated basis.

James Peterson, a member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, said the incident was a planned test of the swimming facility.

Since enactment of the civil rights bill, Negroes have been served without incident at more than 30 restaurants, lunch counters and motel eating facilities in Albany.

An explosion about a block from a previously all-white swimming pool that was desegregated Sunday afternoon rocked East Point shortly before midnight Sunday.

Police Sgt. T. Z. Williams said the explosion apparently was caused by dynamite thrown from a car window into a vacant lot at South Randall street and Francis Way in East Point. No damage was done.

Earlier in the day, East Point's two swimming pools were closed after four Negroes went in swimming and a "highly explosive" crowd gathered outside the previously all-white pool.

A fist fight broke out as the pool was closed around 4:45 p.m. Sunday, and two Negroes and a white youth were charged with fighting.

CLOSED FOR SAFETY

City Councilman H. B. (Buck) Watson said later he took it on himself to close the pools—one previously all-white and the other Negro—"for the safety of all persons there, especially a large number of children."

He said a crowd gathered outside the white pool after four Negroes were sold tickets and went in swimming. "The crowd was getting larger by the minute," he said. "There was a lot of booing and jeering."

He said he was in the bathhouse and did not see the fight in the parking lot when it started. Police said it began when the pool was closed and persons began to leave.

Police did not identify the three who were charged with fighting. They said all were about 18 or 19 years old, and that no one was hurt seriously.

One of the Negro Youths, officers said, was not directly involved in the fight, but was a companion of the other Negro and was seen throwing a small handful of rocks "at no one."

COUNCIL TO MEET

Meanwhile, Watson said he expects the City Council will discuss what to do about the

weeks ago that the integration attempt would be made.

"At every place we were served with decency and respect. It was wonderful," Thomie said.

In Perry, Houston County Negroes tried to integrate three restaurants, but were turned away from all three. At one restaurant, more than 10 white men were waiting, armed with bottles, sticks and rocks. The Negroes did not attempt to enter the restaurant. At another restaurant, the door bore a sign which said it was closed, but white persons were admitted.

A group of Negroes attempted to desegregate a downtown theater in Winder Sunday night but were turned back by a crowd of whites that police estimated at about "three to four hundred."

The whites remained late into the night but the Negroes failed to return and shortly before midnight city Police Chief Gerald Thomas said, "We've got them all on their way home."

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One of the Negro Youths, officers said, was not directly involved in the fight, but was a companion of the other Negro and was seen throwing a small handful of rocks "at no one."

COUNCIL TO MEET

Meanwhile, Watson said he expects the City Council will discuss what to do about the swimming pools at its regular meeting Monday night.

Police reported that the four Negroes who entered the previously all-white pool were sold tickets at about 4 p.m., and that when they entered the pool all white swimmers got out.

In Atlanta, a large crowd gathered Sunday afternoon at a restaurant owned by Atlanta segregationist Lester Maddox, evidently waiting for an integration attempt to be made there similar to the one Friday in which Maddox drew a pistol and ordered three Negro would-be customers off the premises. No Negroes showed up Sunday at the restaurant.

AT WARNER ROBINS

Five Warner Robins restaurants were integrated successfully Sunday night in a demonstration which had been planned for at least two weeks. Oscar Thomie, president of the Warner Robins NAACP chapter, said he had notified the Warner Robins Police department and state and federal officials two

7-13-64

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

Compliance—With Touches of Violence

In Gene's Haircut, a Measure of Reaction to New Rights Law

He was a 13-year-old Negro boy from Jackson, Miss., his name was Gene Young, and he decided he'd like a haircut.

He decided just as soon as he heard an announcement, at the national convention of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) in Kansas City, Mo., that President Johnson had signed the new Federal Civil Rights Act into law. He decided, moreover, that he would like to get the haircut in the barbershop of the Muehlebach, Kansas City's leading hotel. In the memory of the shop's manager, a Negro's hair hadn't been cut there in at least 21 years.

Since the President signed the new law, there have been hundreds of tests of compliance with it. But none typifies better than Gene Young's, perhaps the nation's very first test, what the new law means. No longer was a Negro "sitting-in" at a barbershop in defiance of a tradition of segregation, in protest against the "unjustness" of a local ordinance—such as Kansas City's — exempting barbershops from integration. Gene simply walked in as anyone might, expecting a service that now was guaranteed him by the law of the entire land.

Had to Wait a Bit

Gene got his haircut, but not until the next morning. That was after he was refused on grounds that the barbershop gave service by appointment and was booked up, after a demonstration by CORE members, after six of the shop's nine barbers walked out for the day, and after a night meeting of the hotel's managers, who wanted the barbershop integrated as the hotel itself was. The barber who cut Gene's hair said afterward, "The boy can't help his color."

But under a Kansas City ordinance, Gene Young could have been refused were it not for the Federal law, which says that barbershops in places dealing in interstate commerce, such as hotels, cannot segregate.

Throughout the nation compliance with the law was the general rule, resistance was the exception. But resistance dominated the headlines—especially when it erupted into violence, such as the sniper slaying in Colbert, Ga., Saturday morning of Lemuel A. Penn, a Negro educator from Washington, D.C.

Jackson Hotel Closes

Resistance took many forms. In Gene Young's home town, Jackson, Miss., the 250-room Robert E. Lee Hotel announced it simply would close rather than serve Negroes, and that it would reopen as a private club. Southern restaurants in several places hung out "closed for alterations" signs. The "alterations" they hope for, however, are in the Constitutional status of the new law; the closings were to gain time until the Constitutionality can be tested.

The first major suit to test the law was filed by Atlanta motel owner Moreton Rolleston, Jr., who is seeking $11,000,000 in damages from the Federal Government. He argues that the new law violates the Constitution's Fifth Amendment by depriving him of liberty and property without due process of law.

At Bessemer, Ala., a Negro teen-ager said he and four companions were beaten by white men wielding baseball bats as the Negroes sought service at a white lunch counter. Negroes were stoned at an Americus, Ga., theater; there was a racial fight at a night club at Lafayette, La.; 30 Negroes and 50 whites clashed at a Laurel, Miss., hamburger shop, and at Lake Texarkana, on the Texas-Arkansas border, five Negroes and a white man were wounded by gunfire during a Negro swim-in.

Mr. Hoover to Mississippi

A house where civil-rights workers from the North were staying in McComb, Miss., was bombed. This was slightly more than 100 miles from where the search was continuing for the three civil-rights workers who disappeared weeks ago. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover left Washington for Mississippi, though the FBI denied that he was going to announce anything new on the case. And President Johnson announced 50 more FBI agents are being assigned there. More than 100 already were in the state.

Resistance has not been limited to the South. As far north as Spokane, Wash., a former gas station attendant who calls himself a "white supremacist along the lines of the Southern Democrats," William J. Brophy, announced an organization he heads will seek a court test of the new law.

But the incidents of resistance and violence were far outnumbered by incidents of compliance—in North and South. Attorney General Robert Kennedy praised what he called "nationwide compliance with the law."

Integration took place in previously segregated hotels, restaurants, and theaters in at least 50 of the larger Southern cities within only a few days of the law's passage. Successful tests were made by Negroes in 11 states of the old Confederacy within only 72 hours of the signing.

Telegram to Goldwater

A group of non-Southern NAACP leaders toured Mississippi, and sent a telegram to Sen. Barry Goldwater inviting him to see the "intimidation" Negroes live under there. But the group got service in many of the formerly segregated places tested along their tour.

The sword of resistance in many places was surrendered with all the grace of General Lee 100 years ago; New Orleans Mayor Victor H. Shiro declared the law should be complied with there, even "though this does not mean we necessarily agree with it." He was backed by some 250 leading citizens who took half-page newspaper ads to advise New Orleans that "we must obey this and all laws of our land."

The Jackson, Miss., Chamber of Commerce urged its members to obey the law until its Constitutionality can be tested in court. A majority of Tuscaloosa, Ala., motel and hotel operators issued a statement that they would comply. And the leadership of big cities was followed by many smaller ones: Plant City, Fla.; Thomasville, Ga.; Lafayette, La.; Williamston, N.C.; Allendale, S.C.; Palestine, Texas; Farmville, Va.

Indeed, in Memphis, Tenn., a Negro attorney publicly counseled Negro restaurants that they "must realize the law covers them as well" should they try to discriminate against whites.

SATURDAY

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18

JULY 1964

AUGUST						
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 28, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Cooperating agencies and individuals (lists enclosed)

FROM: Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities

Enclosed are two informal reports on the South's reaction to the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act. One is a summary of field reports which we have received or which cooperating agencies have shared with us. The other is a summary of press reports. Neither report attempts to be complete but only to reflect the information which has come to our attention. They are for your information only.

Several of the agencies and many local women's groups continue to do effective work. Obviously we must continue, and if possible intensify, these efforts to make certain of the accomplishments in the "good" places and to minimize the reaction in the "bad" ones.

We are grateful for your cooperation and would like to continue to be of any possible help.

PA:mm

COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE II: A SUMMARY OF FIELD REPORTS FROM SOUTHERN STATES

The following report on reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is based largely on field reports received by the Southern Regional Council. The accounts, which are more detailed from some states than from others, include those from human relations council personnel, "Operation Opportunity" women's inter-group councils, and a few from allied agencies. This review is not meant to be complete, but only to summarize reports which have come to our attention to date.

The general picture is one of large-scale compliance, but with considerable defiance in Alabama and Mississippi, and pockets of defiance in Georgia, Florida, and other states.

Where there has been conscientious planning and effort to prepare for the transition, compliance has been good and trouble minimal. This is especially so where political and business leaders and the news media have urged compliance.

In many localities the business community has shown a willingness to obey the law without conspicuous leadership from public officials -- and even despite negative reaction from them.

In most localities where there has been trouble political leaders have, at least passively or by silence, encouraged defiance.

ALABAMA

In Huntsville, news media and business leaders are prepared to support compliance, most places of public accommodation are open, and no serious problems are expected. The same situation prevails in the Tri-cities, although leaders plan no public statements unless there is violence. There is no information on testing in the Tri-cities area.

Elsewhere in Alabama there is considerable defiance and some violence, as in Selma and Tuscaloosa. Some restaurants and hotels have been turned into "private clubs." The political leadership has encouraged defiance. But some business leaders have spoken for compliance, and a number of places have desegregated in such trouble-spots as Birmingham and Montgomery.

ARKANSAS

The news media in Arkansas are virtually unanimous in urging obedience to the law, although some smaller papers make it clear that they think the new bill unconstitutional in part.

The reaction of public officials and some prominent citizens is more adverse. Governor Faubus stated that he expects considerable agitation this summer, called the law "a violation of one of our most

precious precepts," and refused to meet Luther Hodges, LeRoy Collins, and Buford Ellington to discuss the act. Amis Guthridge, president of the Citizens Council, said he would advise all clients to ignore the law. Attorney General Bruce Bennett took the position that the law need not be obeyed until tested in the courts.

The Arkansas Bar Association and the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, however, swiftly rejected this notion and urged compliance. UPI polled Arkansas mayors and reported: "House passage of the civil rights bill Thursday found mayors of Arkansas cities generally ready to accept the will of Congress and expecting no trouble in their towns as a result."

Various groups were already working for desegregation when the bill passed. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has been concentrating on compliance for some time. And in Little Rock, for instance, five women's groups, responding to the Operation Opportunity program, with Mrs. Sara Murphy as local co-ordinator, worked through the existing structure of a community coordinating committee composed of 25 organizations.

Initial results in Little Rock and North Little Rock were encouraging. Several restaurants served Negro patrons for the first time. The "holdouts" were "cheap" cafes -- except for the cafeteria in the state capitol, which has been made a "private club."

In Pine Bluff, where considerable progress had already been made, four restaurants served Negroes for the first time. Two refused.

At Fort Smith a swimming pool and two additional cafes were desegregated without incident. One restaurant refused service.

Cinemas in Benton and Malvern admitted Negroes for the first time.

At Forrest City Negroes were admitted to the bowling alley, a restaurant, and a skating rink, but the swimming pool was closed when testers appeared.

At Helena testers were served at a formerly segregated restaurant and the public library, but were arrested when they went to the swimming pool.

Nat Griswold, executive director of ACHR, observes that swimming pools and small restaurants will probably be the most serious holdouts. He believes further testing will reveal wider compliance.

FLORIDA

The reaction in most major Florida cities was favorable. These include Miami, Pensacola, Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach,

Gainesville, Sarasota, and Clearwater. Several cities are listed as "trouble spots," however. These are Tallahassee, Lake Wales, Lake City, Pahokee, Plant City, Lakeland, and Mims. There seemed to be surprising readiness to comply in troubled St. Augustine at first, but subsequent reports show that some restaurants which opened re-segregated after one week. A court case is in progress in St. Augustine.

The press, radio, and TV stations have generally urged obedience to the law, but there are exceptions. The Miami Herald and News, the St. Petersburg Times, and station WFTV are among those urging compliance. The Tallahassee paper conspicuously lacked enthusiasm for the law.

Support from public officials is spotty. Governor Bryant stated that he had no intention of enforcing the law: a federal creation, it would have to be enforced by the federal government. Senator Spessard Holland urged obedience, but made it clear that he felt "the pendulum of our national philosophy has swung too far to the left." On the other hand, Congressman Claude Pepper said he was confident that the new law would be an instrument of peace and urged that it be accepted in good faith as the law of the land.

Edwyn E. Lewis of FCHR reports that city officials are unsympathetic in Jacksonville, Ft. Myers, and St. Augustine -- but favorable in Tampa. There is general compliance in Jacksonville, Tampa, Clearwater, and Daytona Beach. Compliance in St. Petersburg is good, despite "some rock throwing and fights, most of which were related to teenage hoodlums with little racial overtones." There is fair progress in Ft. Myers.

Reports from Tampa and Tallahassee indicate that the women's groups leaders who attended the June 24-25 Operation Opportunity meeting in Atlanta are organizing effectively in support of compliance. Mrs. Nathan Marcus of Tampa reports that a planning meeting was held there on July 6, with representatives of 22 interested civic and religious groups in attendance. She reports a very good reaction to the bill in Tampa, with news media "beautifully attuned to the them of 'Peaceful Compliance.'" Places of public accommodation which desegregated (as most did) were commended by the women's groups.

Miss Louise Blackwell, convener and co-chairman for the Women's Inter-grouop Committee in Tallahassee, reports a thorough organization of the women in that city, despite lack of cooperation from city hall. About 60 women attended the first meeting, and some 100 are presently writing letters, making phone calls, and interviewing managers and owners of public accommodation businesses.

GEORGIA

In Georgia reaction to the bill -- from the papers, from public officials, and from places of public accommodation -- was mixed. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of GCHR, reports:

"...it seems that compliance has been general in the larger cities" and towns where there have been interracial activities and work to encourage compliance. Elsewhere the old patterns remain. There are notably fewer discriminatory signs at service stations and roadside stands.

Mrs. Pauley makes this observation: "In several places the pattern is to allow the Negro to be admitted and then see that he has a beating afterward...We see again the great need for better qualified and trained police."

Excellent compliance is reported in Savannah, Brunswick, Macon, Columbus, Decatur, Dekalb County, Warner Robins, and Thomasville.

Compliance is generally good, but not complete, in Augusta, Rome, Cedartown, Milledgeville, Statesboro, and Griffin. In Atlanta, Pickrick Restaurant and Heart of Atlanta Motel have appealed a court order to desegregate. Difficulty is noted, especially at hospitals, in Augusta and Milledgeville. At Rome, Cedartown, and Griffin there is difficulty over swimming pools. Mrs. Pauley's report notes good police work at Rome and Cedartown.

There has been little or no testing in Cartersville, Rockmart, Greensboro, or Dublin.

There is no evidence of either testing or compliance at Sylvania and Waynesboro.

Some violence and/or mobs are reported at Waynesboro, Thomson, Gainesville, East Point, and Winder.

Defiance is general at Washington, Perry, Cochran, and Valdosta. The most violence has occurred at Americus.

Tacit encouragement of defiance or lack of protection from police and city officials is noted especially at Washington, Thomson, Winder, Perry, Barnesville, Albany, and Americus.

Mrs. Susan Waters reports on behalf of the women's groups in Savannah that they had found a group already working effectively toward compliance in that city.

Mrs. Margaret Belcher reports from Columbus that reaction there is very good. "The Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor, city and county commissioners have all cooperated one hundred percent."

The story in Atlanta is still one of steady progress. "Partners for Progress" is due a lot of credit, as is the city government under Mayor Ivan Allen. Mrs. Edward Vinson of PFP and Mayor Allen both made helpful presentations of desegregation efforts in Atlanta at SRC's Operation Opportunity meeting on June 24-25.

LOUISIANA

Information on Louisiana is sketchy. Clearly, there is some defiance. In Monroe and West Monroe, for example, Negroes were arrested for trying to use the public libraries. Plaquemines Parish seems to be requiring "written permission" to use public facilities, including the garbage dump. About 100 restaurants formed the "Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club" and issued membership cards good in any affiliated establishment.

In New Orleans the mayor refused to speak out, but a group of about 200 business and professional men, including the management of the heretofore segregated Roosevelt Hotel, bought a newspaper ad calling for compliance and acceptance.

Mrs. George Dreyfus, Women's Inter-group Council representative, reports that the women have written personal letters and will seek interviews in support of compliance.

MISSISSIPPI

Reaction to the bill was generally negative. There was some compliance, however. Restaurants, lunch counters and hotels opened in Laurel, Jackson, Vicksburg, and Gulfport. The municipal golf course in Jackson was integrated.

Some leaders came out for compliance. Mayor Thompson and the Jackson Chamber of Commerce recommended that the law be obeyed, pending court tests. Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson restaurateur and attorney challenged the Citizens' Council recommendation of a boycott of all integrating businesses by whites.

Governor Johnson recommended non-compliance, pending a court test, and said, "The legislature and I are determined to toe the line in opposing this vicious measure. They can pass all the laws they want, but they can't make us like it or take it. We must carry our case to the courts."

At least one hotel and many restaurants followed the "private club" gambit. The Robert E. Lee Hotel in Jackson first closed, then re-opened as a "club." In Clarksdale the Alcazat Hotel was closed. The president of the Mississippi Restaurant Association estimated that about ten percent of the approximately 1000 members had become "private clubs."

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina, which had made much progress prior to passage of the 1964 bill, continued its relatively smooth transition. There was some trouble in Henderson and the Hotel Park Central in

Raleigh was put up for sale, the owner declaring that he would rather sell out than integrate.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Integration proceeded without major trouble in Charleston, Columbia, Florence, and Greenville. Greenville leaders expect no trouble unless there is mass testing, in which case some businesses will be holdouts. City leaders there are determined to prevent violence.

Courtney Siceloff reports that "there has been considerable compliance throughout the state, with only a few reports of non-compliance...both theatres in Orangeburg refused Negro patronage and the NAACP is filing suit against them...one theatre in Cheraw also has refused Negroes and restaurants in Allendale with large tourist business from Route 301 have put up signs: 'private club.'"

The SCCHR continues to concentrate a large part of its efforts on compliance.

TENNESSEE

Women's groups are active in Memphis and Nashville. Thirty-three restaurants in Memphis desegregated immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Act. Theaters desegregated without incident. In Nashville both Morrison's Cafeterias and the Krystal chain desegregated peacefully. (The entire Morrison's chain, previously segregated throughout the South, has desegregated.)

The situation in Knoxville, where there has been strong community leadership, is good.

Kay Jones of the TCHR reports that there is general compliance with the provisions of Title II in East Tennessee, at least in the larger public accommodations establishments. Most public swimming pools are open.

TEXAS

Peaceful desegregation is reported in Dallas, Longview, Palestine, Austin, and Beaumont.

Violence erupted on the Texas side of Texarkana when Negroes attempted to use the facilities of Lake Texarkana.

Gustave Falk, of the AJC in Dallas, reports at least 90 percent compliance by eating establishments. There is fine cooperation from city officials and police. "In summary," he writes, "I believe I can report with confidence that forces have been put into motion in Dallas which will assure a peaceful acceptance though not an altogether smooth one, in implementing the Civil Rights Bill of 1964."

Mrs. S. Edward Sulkin, women's groups coordinator, confirms Falk's report. She convened representatives of six women's groups on July 2. They felt that compliance with Title II of the Civil Rights Bill would be little problem, therefore decided to concentrate on a speed-up in school desegregation.

VIRGINIA

Reports have been received from Heslip Lee, executive director of VCHR; Zula Pierce of the Richmond Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, president of United Church Women; Mrs. J. E. Stockman of the Roanoke Valley Y.W.C.A.; Miss Therese Molyneaux and Mrs. G. Hannon, both of the women's inter-group committee in Charlottesville; Miss Margaret Edmonds of Danville; and Mrs. Frank Fullman, for the Newport News and Hampton area. The word that recurs in these reports concerning Virginia reaction is "quiet." But "this does not mean that Negroes are being admitted to all public places."

The reaction of public officials and the press was somewhat disturbing. The papers continued to publish very little news about civil rights incidents and there were relatively few editorial appeals for compliance. The governor of Virginia, in a television interview, asserted that certain sections of the Bill are unconstitutional and should be tested in the courts. The editor of the Richmond News Leader, in an editorial printed several days after passage of the law, stated that Southerners would of course comply with the law, but called for court tests. Press is reported hostile in Newport News.

Most leading restaurants opened throughout the state. Even in Danville and Farmville, where there has been trouble in the past, there was a high percentage of compliance.

From Danville, Miss Margaret Edmunds, women's inter-group coordinator, reports the local press hostile and city officials silent. But acceptance of the public accommodations section of the Bill is surprisingly good. Every place tested has served. The formerly all-white hospital has integrated. The women's groups are writing to express approval of all compliance.

In Petersburg one restaurant refused to serve Negroes. In Hopewell two lunch counters closed for five days, but reopened on a desegregated basis. In Richmond one restaurant took the course of issuing "membership cards," but after four days of publicity and negotiation it was desegregated. In Charlottesville, where most places had desegregated voluntarily before the bill passed, one restaurant went out of business when the bill was signed.

Heslip Lee expressed the fear of many, that some owners would simply give poor service or be discourteous or charge high prices to Negroes. Published reports quote restaurateurs in Danville as saying they will do these things. Negroes were made unwelcome, although not

totally refused service in some South Hill establishments. "Private Clubs" were used in Norfolk and Roanoke.

CONCLUSION

These reports seem to show that the situation is malleable. General reaction to the Civil Rights Act is neither decidedly for compliance nor the reverse. Of particular significance are the indications that political opposition is, in many places, stronger than that of the business community or the general public. Every effort is needed to create a climate of opinion for genuine compliance, lest only the voices of opposition be heard and various evasions be employed to avoid obedience to the spirit -- if not the letter -- of the Civil Rights Law.

Note

Women's groups cooperating with the National Women's Committee on Civil Rights are the American Association of University Women, The National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, United Church Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, and National Council of Catholic Women.

OPERATION COMPLIANCE

Community Assignments

HUNTSVILLE, ALA. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

TRI-CITIES, ALA. - " "
(Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, Muscle Shoals)

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. - Nat Griswold, Ark. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

MIAMI, FLA. - Seymour Samet, AJC, Miami

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. - Irwin Schulman, ADL, Miami

SARASOTA, FLA. - " "

TAMPA, FLA. - " "

PANAMA CITY, FLA. - Edwin Lewis, Fla. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

ATLANTA, GA. - Charles Wittenstein, AJC, Atlanta

COLUMBUS, GA. - Don McEvoy, NCCJ, Atlanta

SAVANNAH, GA. - Frances Pauley, Ga. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

BATON ROUGE, LA. - Wade Mackey, AFSC, Baton Rouge

NEW ORLEANS, LA. - Adolph Botnick, ADL, New Orleans

ASHEVILLE, N. C. - Richard Lobenthal, ADL, Richmond, Va.

CHARLOTTE, N. C. - " "

COLUMBIA, S. C. - Courtney Siceloff, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S. C.

S. C., other - Alice Spearman, South Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)

GREENVILLE, S. C. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

KNOXVILLE, TENN. - " "

MEMPHIS, TENN. - Charles Wittenstein, AJC, Atlanta

NASHVILLE, TENN. - Will Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, Atlanta

TENN., other - Kay Jones, Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)

DALLAS, TEXAS - Gus Falk, AJC, Dallas

HOUSTON, TEXAS - Ted Freedman, ADL, Houston

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA. - Neal Tarplee, Protestant Episcopal Church, Lynchburg

LYNCHBURG, VA. - " "

ROANOKE, VA. - " "

NEWPORT NEWS, VA. - Heslip Lee, Va. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

NORFOLK, VA. - " "

PORTSMOUTH, VA. - " "

RICHMOND, VA. - " "

The New York Times Magazine

Much More Than Law Is Needed

If Americans are not convinced that the Civil Rights Act is just and moral, then it will go the way of prohibition and other laws violated, ignored and unenforceable.

By ALEXANDER M. BICKEL

THE first returns on the effectiveness of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are in. They are, to be sure, incomplete and early. The titles on voting, education and federally assisted programs call for a great deal of administrative activity, and we know nothing yet of their operation. The employment title provides for a year's period of grace before it becomes binding on anyone. But the sections requiring equal treatment in public accommodations address explicit and immediate commands to the general public, and there is evidence that they have been obeyed — more widely, initially, at least, than some had dared hope.

Many restaurants and hotels have been voluntarily desegregated, including a number in such places as Jackson, Miss., and Birmingham, Ala., and most high officials in the South—with the exceptions of Governor Wallace of Alabama and Governor Johnson of Mississippi — have urged compliance with the law, or have, at any rate, not advocated defiance. Particularly good statements came from Senators Russell of Georgia and Ellender of Louisiana, and something of a counsel of moderation and acquiescence was heard even from Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. In some measure, no doubt, this heartening initial response is the result of President Johnson's vibrant appeal to the country, and more particularly to his fellow Southerners, at the signing ceremony, and of the promptness with which he set in motion the administrative machinery for the implementation of the entire statute.

All this must not delude us into thinking, however, that the public-accommodations title (let alone the rest of the act) is now effective, and that the problem is solved. It is an all-too-common delusion with us that the way to solve a problem is to pass a law about it and then forget it, and we are naturally prone to seize on facts that seem to confirm what we wish to believe. But the evidence so far is not conclusive.

THERE is some basis for feeling sanguine, no doubt. And yet a good initial response is not infrequently achieved by laws whose implementation later gives rise to many difficulties. It seemed for a short while, immediately after enactment of the 18th Amendment, that prohibition would prove effective—so the Wickersham Commission reported ruefully a decade later. And, for the first two years or so, there was a good deal of voluntary compliance with the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954.

Outside the Supreme Court, a female figure meditates upon Justice.

"The country now faces a task of persuasion and inducement."

In both instances, of course, there was plenty of trouble later.

Voluntary compliance may loom large at first because there are always people who have been waiting—out of timidity or inertia—for the law to nudge them into doing what they have really considered the right and profitable thing to do all along. The forces of resistance, on the other hand, need time to cohere and to encourage themselves.

It is noteworthy in this connection that some good missionary work by the Department of Justice and others during the last year succeeded in obtaining considerable desegregation even before there was a law to comply with. Mostly it was chain organizations, and establishments in metropolitan areas, that agreed to desegregate. This has, by and large, continued to be the pattern. It remains to be seen what happens in hard-core areas, and how much of the desegregation is genuine, rather than a token show.

These caveats are not meant to suggest that the public-accommodations title and other portions of the Civil Rights Act are likely to fail, or that they can work, as Mr. Goldwater said in the Senate, only if we institute a police state. The point is that the act is likely—it is virtually bound—to fail if we take the fatuous assumption that it is bound to succeed.

Laws are not always effective simply because they are there, and because violators are subject to suit. To think so is to forget what the late Roscoe Pound almost 50 years ago called "the limits of effective legal action," to forget that only in a certain kind of social and political situation is law self-executing through its own institutions, and that there are times when extra-legal resources must be brought to the aid of the law in order to make it attain its end. Enactment and enforcement of law are sometimes only episodes, even if the single most important and influential ones, in a long and varied process by which society, working through a number of institutions, manages to realize a given purpose.

THE limits of law are the limits of enforcement, and the limits of enforcement are the conditions of a free society—perhaps, indeed, the limits of government altogether. If substantial portions of the statute book had to be enforced by direct action, whether through civil or criminal litigation, against large numbers of people, we would have a very different and infinitely more disagreeable society than we do.

To be sure, there is always a residuum of the antisocial, whose numbers the enforcement process, most often the criminal process, strives to reduce, although never with absolute success. And there may be laws, such as narcotics statutes, which some people may be simply incapable of obeying. Still laws about killing and stealing, about the payment of taxes, about contracts, about torts, labor relations—even traffic laws—are effectively, if never absolutely, in force. And yet we have a free society, not a police state.

We invest relatively limited resources in the effort to enforce law, and we sacrifice relatively little of other values in the process. The well-known secret of this operation is that most people, most of the time, need only to be made aware of the law in order to obey it. Much litigation is the consequence of differences of opinion about what the law is or ought to be, not of failure to obey what is clearly the law.

IN a simple system, when, as Pound pointed out, "men demand little of law and enforcement of law is but enforcement of the ethical minimum necessary for the orderly conduct of the society, enforcement of law involves few difficulties. All but the inevitable antisocial residuum can understand the simple program and obvious purposes of such a legal system. . . . On the other hand, *(Continued on Page 66)*

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More Than Law Is Needed

(Continued from Page 7)

when men demand much of law, when they seek to devolve upon it the whole burden of social control, when they seek to make it do the work of the home and of the church, enforcement of law comes to involve many difficulties. . . . The purposes of the legal order are [then] not all upon the surface and it may be that many whose nature is by no means antisocial are out of accord with some or even with many of these purposes." It is then, Pound added, that "we begin to hear complaints that laws are not enforced and the forgotten problem of the limitations upon effective legal action once more becomes acute."

WHEN people in the millions—or even hundreds of thousands—are opposed, intensely, consistently and on principle, to a law bearing directly on their conduct of ordinary affairs, effective enforcement is possible, if at all, only through military occupation. Effective enforcement in the face of determined and widespread opposition is possible, this is to say, only if the private conduct that is to be regulated is subject to more or less continuous official scrutiny, and to more or less continuous coercion. It makes no difference, with regard to the enforcement problem, that the opposition is nationally a minority. As Walter Lippmann remarked in 1926, writing about prohibition: "When the object is to regulate personal habit and social custom, the majority which matters is the majority of the community concerned."

People in the sort of numbers we are talking about will, of course, control some state governments and many other local authorities, and these in turn may decline to cooperate in the enforcement of a locally unpopular Federal law. But the chief source of the difficulty is not that the Federal Government lacks the basic police power and is helpless without the cooperation of the states. The heart of the matter is that no normal police and prosecuting activity can be effective in such circumstances. Nothing short of the pervasive presence of armed men will do.

AS a temporary measure, in case of a breakdown of elementary public order, this has proved necessary in the past, may again be necessary on future occasions, and is well within the authority and capability of the Federal Government. But as a regular and more or less permanent device, it is something from which we recoil, deeming it destructive of the values of a free society, and in the end, quite possibly, ineffective even in terms of its immediate aim.

The true alternatives, therefore, are reducing the opposition by a process of inducement and persuasion, or abandoning the law. Abandonment of the law is not inconsistent with occasional enforcement in specific circumstances. And abandonment does not have to be formal, at least not immediately. The law may stay on the books for a while; it may even be observed in some parts of the country, but if it is substantially abandoned in practice, that ultimately is what really matters. Noncompliance is contagious, and the statute book will conform to the practice.

Most laws—very nearly all laws—it need hardly be repeated, are readily accorded general acquiescence, and are easily effective. But that the alternatives otherwise are as I have stated them, that there are times when law does not gain general consent merely by virtue of having been authoritatively pronounced, and that lacking such consent it cannot be effective—this is demonstrated by antigambling statutes, which coexist with widespread gambling, and by laws regulating common sexual practices, which lie largely in disuse. Further, dramatic proof of the proposition may be drawn from two notorious experiences in American history.

THE Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was enacted as part of that year's broad compromise on the slavery problem, engineered by Henry Clay and seconded by Webster in his famous 7th of March speech. The act had firm support in the Constitution, but it was repugnant to much of the North. Emerson, no wild abolitionist, called it "this filthy enactment," and wrote in his journal: "I will not obey it, by God!" Others, like Theodore Parker of Boston, agitated against it publicly and fiercely. William R. Day, a boy in Ravenna, Ohio, in the eighteen fifties, later a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, remembered to the end of his days the heated meetings and resolutions against the act, and retained a sense of the limits of Federal law. Many Northern states passed "personal liberty laws," as they were called, which were inconsistent with the act and were really thinly veiled attempts to nullify it. Efforts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act were often resisted by mobs, were in any event not significant, and soon pretty well ceased. The end result was a hardening and broadening of Northern anti-slavery sentiment.

Nearly three-quarters of a century later, prohibition was imposed on the country by constitutional amendment. The amendment was proposed by the necessary two-thirds vote of Congress, and was ratified by the legislatures of 10 more states than necessary, 46 in all.

There was some thought that the amendment might, paradoxically, itself be unconstitutional, and the matter was carried to the Supreme Court by distinguished counsel, but the Court held otherwise. In some states, prohibition was effective, and almost everywhere it abolished the old-fashioned saloon. But in many areas, and signally throughout the urban United States, enforcement soon became meaningless. Large numbers of people discovered, if they had ever thought about it before, that they did not really want prohibition. The Volstead Act was, of course, openly disdained. Perfectly respectable and substantial people advised violation of it, and public officials condoned violation, to say the least. By the middle of the decade, when repeal did not yet seem a realistic possibility, leaders of opinion talked of nullification in one form or another.

"Conscience and public opinion," wrote Arthur T. Hadley, president emeritus of Yale, in 1925, "enforce the laws; the police suppress the exceptions." In this instance, conscience and public opinion opposed the law, and the exceptions were the rule. Hence no enforcement was possible; the law was no law. When, under President Hoover, an effort was made to achieve more widespread and efficient enforcement, the only result was that sufficient steam was finally generated for actual repeal.

WHAT do these ominous lessons from history teach about the prospects for realization of the aims of the Civil Rights Act of 1964? It is first to be remarked that the Fugitive Slave Act *was* an immoral law, and that the 18th Amendment attempted to regulate conduct that is morally neutral, and as to which one's neighbor or a majority of one's countrymen ought, of right, to have no power to impose their views. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a very different affair.

Now, such judgments are not to be escaped. They are decisive, and if by any chance the Civil Rights Act cannot validly be distinguished in this fashion from the Fugitive Slave Law and the Prohibition Amendment, then it may meet their fate. That is the blunt truth, and we may as well be aware of it. If, on the other hand, as so many believe, the Civil Rights Act is a just law, embodying minimal moral requirements that a national majority may properly attempt to impose on everyone, then what the earlier experiences teach is that the country now faces a task of persuasion and inducement, a task of political and social leadership and education.

Pronouncement of the law is the first step, and in itself an important persuasive and educational action. It must be followed not merely by a concerted campaign to convince everyone of the morality and justice of the law, but also by an effort to bring home to the minority the intensity with which by far the greater number of their fellow citizens hold to the law. This will appeal to the minority's interest, which goes beyond the immediate issue, in conforming to the wishes of a national majority, with which, we may assume, they desire to continue in mutual profit to form part of a single body politic.

The crucial point is that there is in prospect a contest of wills. We must not think that it was resolved in Congress and is now behind us. The preponderant majority and the resistant minority remain, in the phrase that was so popular in the Kennedy Administration at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, eyeball to eyeball, and if the majority relaxes, in a failure of patience or in discontinuity of purpose, as it did after Reconstruction, or if it thinks it can devolve its responsibility on some enforcement officials in Washington and forget about it, as it largely did during Reconstruction, the law is from that moment moribund.

A NORMAL rate of enforcement is part of the process of persuasion and inducement. Litigation, even if its other consequences are not overly onerous, is at the least expensive, and the possibility of it will deter in some measure, since although not nearly everyone can be sued, no one knows who may be. But other means of pressure and inducement must also be employed, by the Government and by private groups and interests favoring the law. The inducement of compliance with this law must be a consideration at every one of the countless points at which the activities of the Federal Government — both the civil and military establishments — touch on the private sector and constitute an actual or potential source of benefits. Private entities — not only Negro organizations but all who would like to see this statute rendered fully effective—have an obligation to exert economic, social and moral pressure, and to set an unwavering example. If it is understood that the triumphant passage of this civil-rights statute launched a great reforming enterprise, to be carried on by the society as a whole and not merely by the enforcing arm of the Federal Government, then there is every probability of success.

CHALLENGE—We face "a contest of wills between a preponderant majority and the resistant minority."

A segregationist rally in St. Augustine, Fla.

SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES

J. C. HEROLD: THE AGE OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon, at the end of a year's study, was commissioned a second lieutenant. On the roster of graduates, he ranked forty-second among fifty-eight; however, he had completed in just one year a course which took others two or three.

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Civil Disobedience

LWD's speech

August 13, 1964

Dr. Ernest Katin
316 Oak Grove
Aptm. 205
Minneapolis, Minn. 55403

Dear Dr. Katin:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the two requested publications along with several other things on civil rights demonstrations and civil disobedience. We are mailing the materials to Professor Mulford Sibley, as you requested, for his article in the Hastings Law Review.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
New South, June 1963, "Achievement in Albany"
Oct-Nov. 1963, Direct Action in the South
Feb. 1962, Marion Wright, "Right to Protest"
May 1963, Birmingham and Bombings
Feb. 1964, Roy Wilkins, "Flexibility for Civil Rights"
May 1964, "An Affidavit of Faith;" "American Adventure"
Albany
The Question from Jacksonville
Law Enforcement in Mississippi
The Freedom Ride
The Student Protest: A recppitulation

316 Oak Grove
Apt. 205
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403
August 9, 1964

The Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am assisting Political Science Professor Mulford Sibley of the University of Minnesota in the preparation of an article for the Hastings Law Review involving civil rights demonstrations and the problem of civil disobedience. We would appreciate receiving the June, 1963 and October/November, 1963, issues of New South along with other materials dealing with the Negro demonstrations which you may have available.

Please send the materials to:

Professor Mulford Sibley
2018 Fairmont Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota

We will pay any charges which may be involved. Thanking you for your kind cooperation,

Sincerely yours,
Ernest Katin
Dr. Ernest Katin, PhD.

New South, June '63
Oct. Nov. '63

Wright
Alum bar

Albany
Law Enforcement in Miss.
Question from Jacksonville
Recapitulation

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

–a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

–a department store in which there is a restaurant: *so long as* the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or

2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of all sections of this Act except Title I, which retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman Designate
Frankie M. Freeman, Member Designate
Erwin N. Griswold
Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

GSA WASH DC 65-1579

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

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Ebony Photo-Editorial Aug. 1964

BIG STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION

WHEN Congress passed the civil rights bill and President Lyndon B. Johnson solemnly signed it into law, this country took its biggest step toward becoming a practicing democracy since Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation 101 years ago.

Now, equal rights for all citizens (long contained in the original Constitution, the Bill Of Rights and subsequent amendments) are spelled out as the law of the land and the federal government is legally bound to see that no person is denied them.

The law specifically bans discrimination in public accommodations—particularly in establishments offering food, lodging, gasoline or entertainment to the public. It prohibits discrimination by employers and unions in hiring, firing, promotions, apprenticeship training and job referrals. It authorizes the attorney general to file suit to compel desegregation of public schools, parks, playgrounds, libraries and swimming pools. And the law tightens procedures in earlier civil rights laws aimed at preventing discriminatory denial of Negro voting in federal elections.

To Make It Work

THIS bill was designed from the beginning to be a bill with teeth, slow grinding, perhaps, but still teeth. Even after 75 days of Southern filibustering and some 100 proposed amendments, the law emerged as one strong enough to shake Southern politicians right down to their cotton and tobacco growing roots. The bill not only gives the attorney general broad powers in instituting public facility desegregation suits, but further adds to Southern woes by authorizing federal agencies to withhold funds from any program in which discrimination is found. Obviously aiming for as much peaceful compliance as possible, the bi-partisan bill establishes a community relations agency to help local communities settle their racial disputes on a voluntary basis and extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission until 1968 while giving it new powers to collect and disseminate information on a national basis. Former Governor Leroy Collins, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, was named to head the Community Relations Service and will be aided by an advisory committee made up of distinguished Negro and white Americans.

Enforcement Will Not Be Easy

NO ONE, neither Negro nor white, expects the enforcement of the newest and strongest civil rights bill in history to be easy. Long drawn-out court cases will be contested to prove the constitutionality of every provision. Diehard segregationists will fight the law with every weapon at hand. The battle was joined almost immediately after President Johnson had signed the bill, using 72 pens which he gave to congressmen and civil rights leaders as souvenirs (see opposite page where President Johnson, looking remarkably like the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, is pictured giving pen to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.). Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader King pledged test cases of all phases of the bill almost before the ink was dry. All provisions of the bill excepting those concerning equal employment opportunity became operative immediately after the signing. The employment section will go into effect in one year.

And Then There Is Mississippi!

THE BIGGEST, most bitter and, perhaps, bloodiest battle to implement the civil rights law, undoubtedly, will come in Mississippi, a state which has often seemed a state in name only. Inhabited by a populace that appears to be the captive of its own ignorance, Mississippi is desperately trying to preserve a way of life that should have ended with the Civil War. The poorest state in the nation, shunned by industry, educationally arid, deserted by the most talented of its young (both Negro and white), Mississippi receives more federal aid, proportionately, than any other state in the Union. Despite this fact, a great many Mississippians have little respect for the federal government. Brainwashed by generations of Bilbo-type politicians who have preached states rights long and strong, many Mississippians actually believe that they are immune from federal law and are indignant when they find that for the privilege of being a part of the United States, they must guarantee U.S. citizens, regardless of their color, certain rights.

Crack Hardest Nut First

PERHAPS it would be wise for the federal government to crack the hardest nut first—let Mississippi be the first real test of the new civil rights law. Once Mississippi has been made to re-join the Union, even Gov. George C. Wallace's Alabama could turn out to be easy. Mississippi is vulnerable primarily because it is so poor. The civil rights bill's provision allowing for the withholding of federal funds in programs wherein discrimination is found hangs like the sword of Damocles over the heads of Mississippi politicians whose patronage could be greatly curtailed. Even the most ardent state's righters are not known for turning down federal aid to schools, federal road building allotments, federal cotton price support funds, federal housing authority funds and even the location of federal military camps in their areas. In this day and age, the U.S. Government cannot allow its funds to be used to support discrimination in any way. It would be poetic justice to deprive Mississippi of federal funds just as the state has so long kept more than half its population disfranchised, suppressed, uneducated and living in actual fear for their lives.

The Battle Can Be Won

ALL IS not hopeless, even in the state of Mississippi. Throughout the state, hundreds of young Negro and white youths from both within and without the state refused to give up when three young leaders of the Mississippi Summer Project disappeared near Philadelphia, Miss., on the eve of the beginning of one of the greatest campaigns in history to help Negroes in the state win their rights as citizens. Without a doubt, many of the segregationists felt that the program would collapse after the youths (two white and one Negro) were presumably murdered after being released from jail where they had been held on a speeding charge. Realizing that participation in the project could lead to their deaths, the dedicated young people even gained a grudging respect from Southerners when they continued their voter registration campaigning and the operation of Freedom Schools.

The final and inevitable passage of the civil rights bill brought a more moderate response from Mississippi Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., than many had expected. While he warned of possible violence if Negroes tried to move too fast, he said he wanted speedy court tests of the law to decide its constitutionality.

A chink in segregation in the Magnolia State came when two hotels and a motel in the capital, Jackson, registered Negroes for the first time.

Strangely, Mississippians who leave the state soon learn to live with Negroes in Northern colleges, on major league baseball teams, in the rough and tumble world of professional football and in integrated factories. Congressmen from the state seem to still enjoy their grits and gravy on Capitol Hill even when Negroes are lunching in the same room and tourists from Mississippi in cities like New York stay in hotels where Negroes are guests. Mississippians in the army even learn to take orders from Negro non-coms and officers without flinching. Despite what the diehard segregationists say, Mississipians can learn, and quickly, to live in an integrated world.

If they can do it outside Mississippi, why not in their home state?

Ebony, Aug. 1964

PIONEERS IN PROTEST PART VI

BY LERONE BENNETT JR.

Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison:

LEADERS OF THE FIRST FREEDOM MOVEMENT

AMERICA was ablaze with agitation.

Demonstrators were going to prison in droves and men and women were tramping the streets, singing freedom songs. There were sit-ins, freedom rides, long hot summers and fights over de facto segregation. "Good people" were fulminating over bearded white youth who kept the community astir with demonstrations for Negro freedom. And a remarkable man, considered by some the conscience of the age, was preaching the virtues of love and passive resistance.

These events, so modern in tone and texture, were unfolding in America more than one hundred years ago.

The prototypal freedom fighters were abolitionists who provoked an apathetic people into facing the greatest moral issue of the age.

The pioneer apostle of nonviolence was William Lloyd Garrison, a fiery white editor who shared leadership of the militant abolitionist wing with several Negro and white radicals including Wendell Phillips, the Boston blue blood who gave up place and position and dedicated himself heart and soul to the struggle for Negro rights.

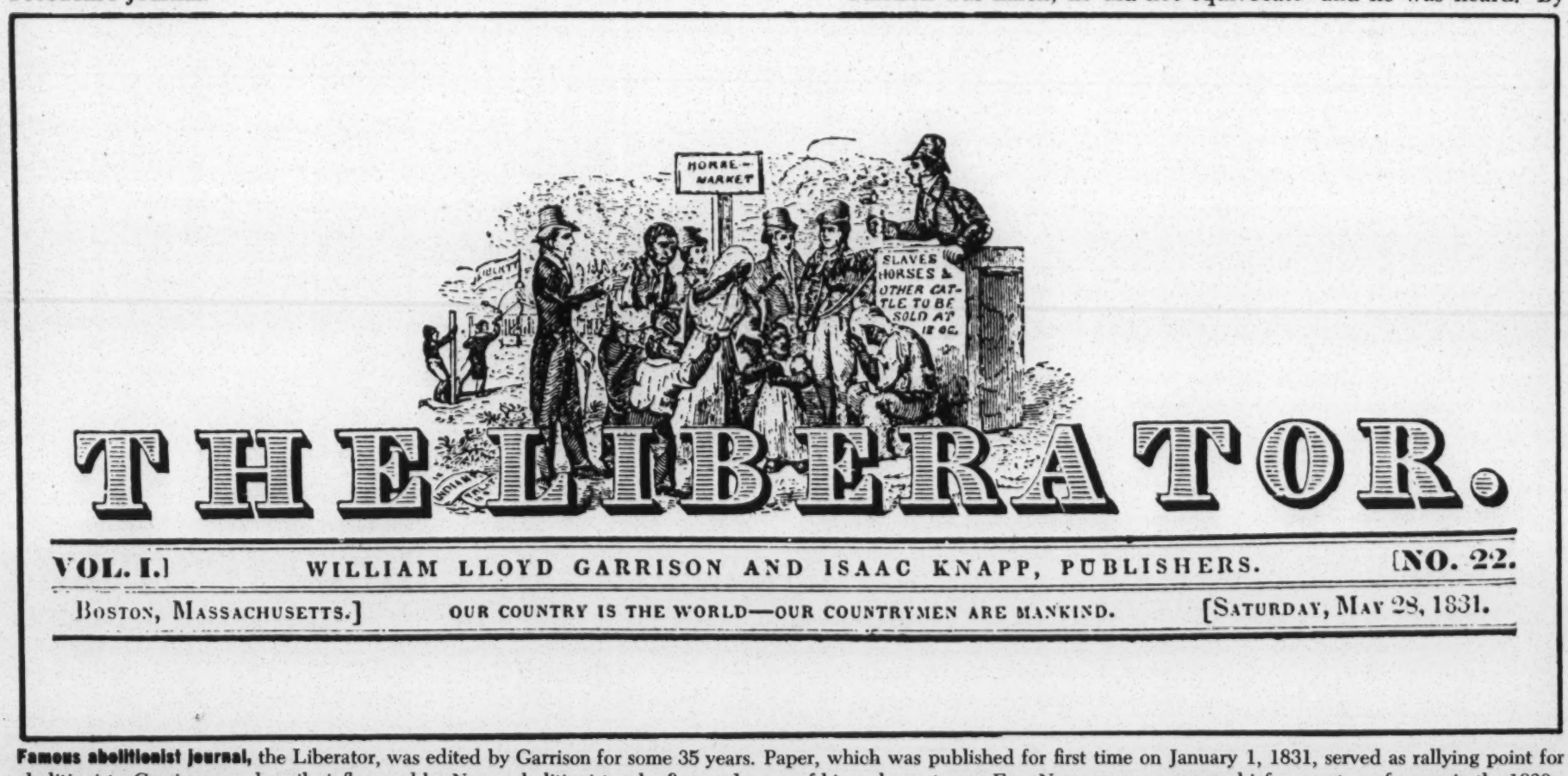
Few white men anywhere have been as dedicated to Negro freedom as Garrison, Phillips and their abolitionist followers. Garrison, the brilliant editor, and Phillips, the eloquent orator, played key roles in the movement which led to the freeing of the Negro slave and the enactment of the Fourteenth and Fifteen amendments. Forsaking all others, identifying themselves totally with the Negro, sparing neither friend nor foe, Garrison and Phillips created an indigenous white radical tradition which echoes today in the words and deeds of white students and adults attached to the second freedom movement.

The two Boston reformers were symbols of an age of reform and rebellion. In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, America was convulsed by wave after wave of reforms, focusing now on prisons, now on schools, now on women's underwear (the Amelia Bloomer crusade). Overshadowing all, subtly shaping and distending all, was a surge of religious enthusiasm which spilled over into the antislavery crusade. This crusade, which started long before Garrison and Phillips were born, was confined largely to the area of innocuous humanitarianism until the latter part of the 1820s and the appearance of radical Negro agitators like David Walker and militant Negro newspapers like Freedom's Journal.

Both Garrison and Phillips were steeped from birth in the fermenting tensions and enthusiasms of the age. Garrison, who ran the first leg of the fight that Phillips carried to a logical conclusion, was born on December 10, 1805, the son of a hard-drinking seaman who wandered off one day and was never heard from again. The future reformer grew up in abject poverty, scrounging for food on the streets of Newburyport, a seacoast community about 40 miles north of Boston. Apprenticed to an editor at the age of 13, he educated himself and became an expert printer and writer. By 1826, at the age of 21, he was editor of a radical local paper. When this paper failed, he moved on to Boston where he came under the influence of Benjamin Lundy, a pioneer antislavery editor. Beginning on the right as an advocate of Lundy's program of gradual emancipation and colonization, Garrison moved to the left under the influence of Negro agitators like Samuel E. Cornish and David Walker. At this juncture, white advocates of Negro freedom were pursuing a program that would be called white liberalism today. Garrison denounced this approach and called for a crusade of total commitment. "A few white victims," he said, "must be sacrificed to open the eyes of this nation and show the tyranny of our laws. I expect and am willing to be persecuted, imprisoned and bound for advocating African rights, and I should deserve to be a slave myself if I shrunk from that duty or danger." Rejecting the liberal-humanitarian rhetoric, Garrison adopted a radical program of immediate and total emancipation. In 1830, he and Isaac Knapp, a Boston printer, resolved to publish a radical anti-slavery journal as long as they could subsist on bread and water. On Saturday, January 1, 1831, the first issue of Garrison's Liberator appeared on the streets of Boston.

"I *will be* as harsh as truth," Garrison announced in his first editorial, "and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject [slavery], I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen;—but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD."

Garrison was harsh; he did not equivocate—and he was heard. By



Famous abolitionist journal, the Liberator, was edited by Garrison for some 35 years. Paper, which was published for first time on January 1, 1831, served as rallying point for abolitionists. Garrison was heavily influenced by Negro abolitionists who financed some of his early ventures. Free Negroes were among chief supporters of paper in the 1830s.

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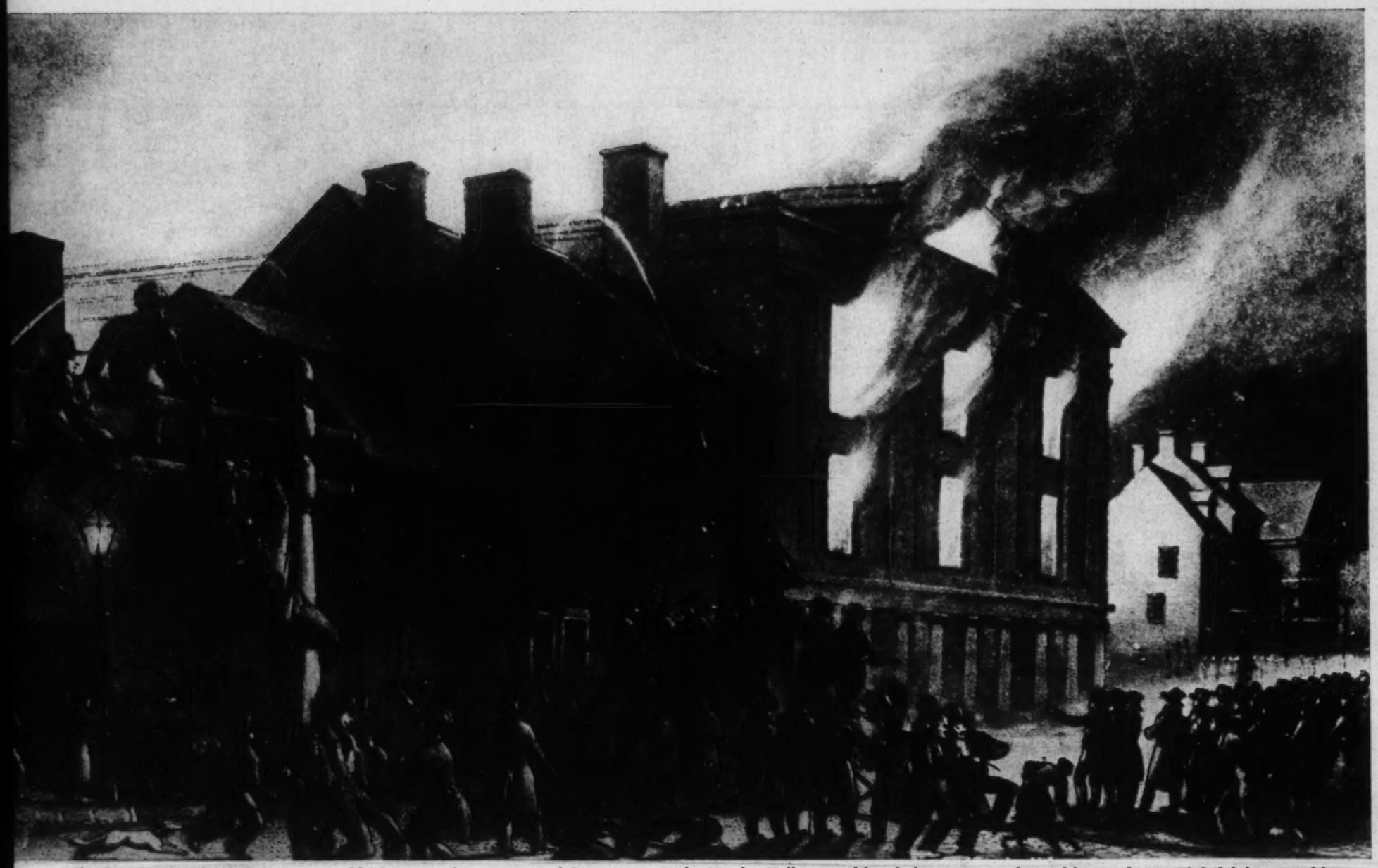

Burning of Pennsylvania Hall was one of high points of persecution of Garrisonians in the North. Hall, erected by abolitionists, was burned by proslavery Philadelphians on May 17, 1838, the day after the first meetings were held. In an attempt to silence supporters of Garrison and Phillips, proslavery Northerners precipitated series of riots in the North.

FIRST FREEDOM MOVEMENT *Continued*

singular circumstance, Negroes played a major role in pushing the 26-year-old editor into the national spotlight. Free Negroes, particularly James Forten, the wealthy Philadelphia manufacturer, were among the chief financial supporters of the Liberator. Negroes also financed Garrison's sensationally successful propaganda foray into England. Of even greater importance in the transformation of Garrison into a person of national importance was the work of David Walker, a free Negro writer, and Nat Turner, a slave insurrectionist. Two years before the publication of the Liberator, David Walker published a radical pamphlet which urged slaves to slit their oppressors' throats from ear to ear. In 1831, shortly after the appearance of the Liberator, Nat Turner cut a black swath of death through Southampton County, Virginia. Walker's words and Turner's deeds caused consternation in the South. The governors of several Southern states asked the Boston mayor to suppress the Liberator which was responsible, they said, for the Walker pamphlet and the Nat Turner insurrection. Garrison was not responsible for the militancy of Turner and Walker who were a great deal more radical than he was, but he shrewdly used the notoriety as a sounding board for the propagation of his own ideas. Shortly after the Nat Turner insurrection, Garrison founded the New England Antislavery Society. The next year he played a key role in the founding of the American Antislavery Society.

With the founding of the New England and American Antislavery societies, abolitionism became an organized force capable of carrying the battle into the enemy camp. Local societies sprang up across the country and agents who lived on subsistence wages were sent out to agitate and organize the countryside. More importantly, vigilance committees were organized to move fugitive slaves from station to station on the Underground Railroad. As a direct result of the efforts of abolitionists, slavery became a living issue in the minds of men and the way was prepared for the Civil War.

The abolitionists came in all sizes and shapes and colors. Some championed political action; others called for passive resistance; still others called for fire and blood and steel. Of whatever persuasion, the abolitionists were totally committed. They staged sit-ins and freedom rides and they traveled hundreds of miles organizing and agitating. Some of the more adventuresome made a practice of invading churches on Sunday and launching anti-slavery speeches at the first lull in the ceremony. When a New York preacher announced that slavery was "a divine institution," an abolitionist stood up and said: "So is hell!"

Most abolitionists were hard-working members of the middle and lower middle classes. But there was a fringe element of cultists. Some abolitionists expressed their defiance by growing long beards. Others chose unconventional acts of commitment. Rev. Henry C. Wright, a Congregational minister, startled his parishioners by stripping in daylight and swimming the Merrimack River "for the cause."

Garrison and other abolitionist leaders welcomed all true believers. "Without a little crack somewhere," Thomas Wentworth Higginson said, "a man could hardly do his duty to his times." Rev. Samuel E. May said: "We Abolitionists are what we are,—babes, sucklings, obscure men, silly women, publicans, sinners, and we shall manage this matter just as might be expected of such persons as we are. It is unbecoming in abler men who stood by and would do nothing to complain of us because we do no better."

As editor of the Liberator and as a major force in the Masschusetts and American Antislavery societies, Garrison was in the forefront of the abolitionist crusade. He served primarily as a catalyst and fertilizing agent, holding up a banner of uncompromising resistance, a banner that attracted men and women as diverse in background as Frederick Douglass, the ex-slave, and the Grimké sisters, the Charleston, South Carolina, aristocrats who scandalized the South with their demands for Negro freedom. Many abolitionists deplored Garrison's enthusiasms (women's rights, peace and passive resistance) and his attacks on structures of power (the church and the Northern business community); but almost all abolitionists were influenced by his posture. Wen-

Continued on Page 72

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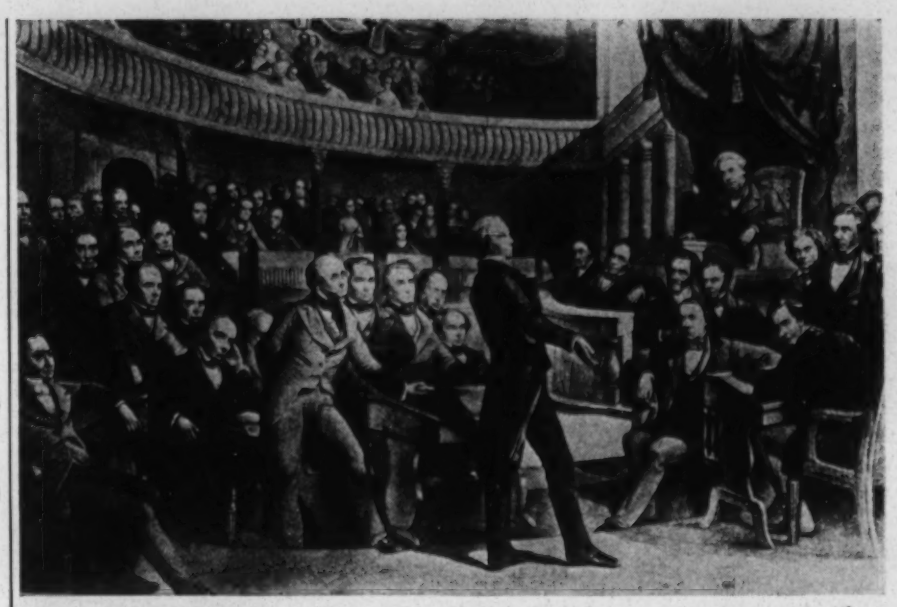

"The Last Compromise," an 1850 omnibus bill making large concessions to South, is urged upon the Senate by Henry Clay. Compromise of 1850 marked fatal turning point in North-South dialogue. Garrison and Phillips called for open resistance.

FIRST FREEDOM MOVEMENT *Continued*

dell Phillips said later that Garrison influenced men who never knew that it was he who influenced them. "The public sentiment which Lincoln obeyed," Archibald M. Grimké said, "(Garrison and) Phillips created."

So devoted was the Boston editor to Negro rights that many people believed he was a Negro, a fact that did not disturb Garrison at all. "I never rise to address a colored audience," he told a Negro group, "without feeling ashamed of my color; ashamed of being identified with a race of men who have done you so much injustice and yet retain so large a portion of your brethren in servitude."

Like most great reformers, Garrison was vain and autocratic. His attempts to control the thinking of his Negro and white colleagues kept the movement in constant turmoil. Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist, and several other Negro leaders acknowledged Garrison's contributions, but they told him in no uncertain terms that he could not define and delimit the Negro's posture of protest. In 1840, after a heated controversy over one of Garrison's pet projects, equal rights for women, the abolitionist movement split into two wings, with Garrison and his adherents, Negroes and whites, standing on the left.

Another Garrisonian plank, passive resistance, generated several controversies. Garrison was a total believer in passive resistance. He not only rejected violent instruments (arms, police forces and armies) but also the instruments (ballots) of a system maintained by violence. Like Tolstoi, Garrison derived his passive resistance doctrines from Jesus and the New Testament. "The history of mankind," he said, "is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of men can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; . . . that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword."

Passivity apart, resistance carried Garrison to some interesting positions. He called for a dissolution of the Union, denouncing the Constitution with its proslavery clauses as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." After passage of the fugitive slave bill of 1850, he burned a copy of the U. S. Constitution before a large audience and shouted: "So perish all compromises with tyranny! And let all the people say, Amen!" It is recorded that most of the people shouted: "Amen!"

Eschewing compromise, preaching sin, guilt and repentance, Garrison focused his fire on Northerners who tolerated slavery and Negro degradation. Like modern crusaders, he tried to mobilize Northern public opinion against Southern atrocities. His aims were simple and direct: to startle, to disturb, to shame. Though mild and meek in his personal relations, he was harsh and passionate in the press and on the platform. A dark, balding man, near-sighed and hard of hearing, Garrison was a master of vituperation and propaganda. Taxed once for his fiery language, Garrison replied: ". . . I have need to be all on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt."

Continued on Page 74

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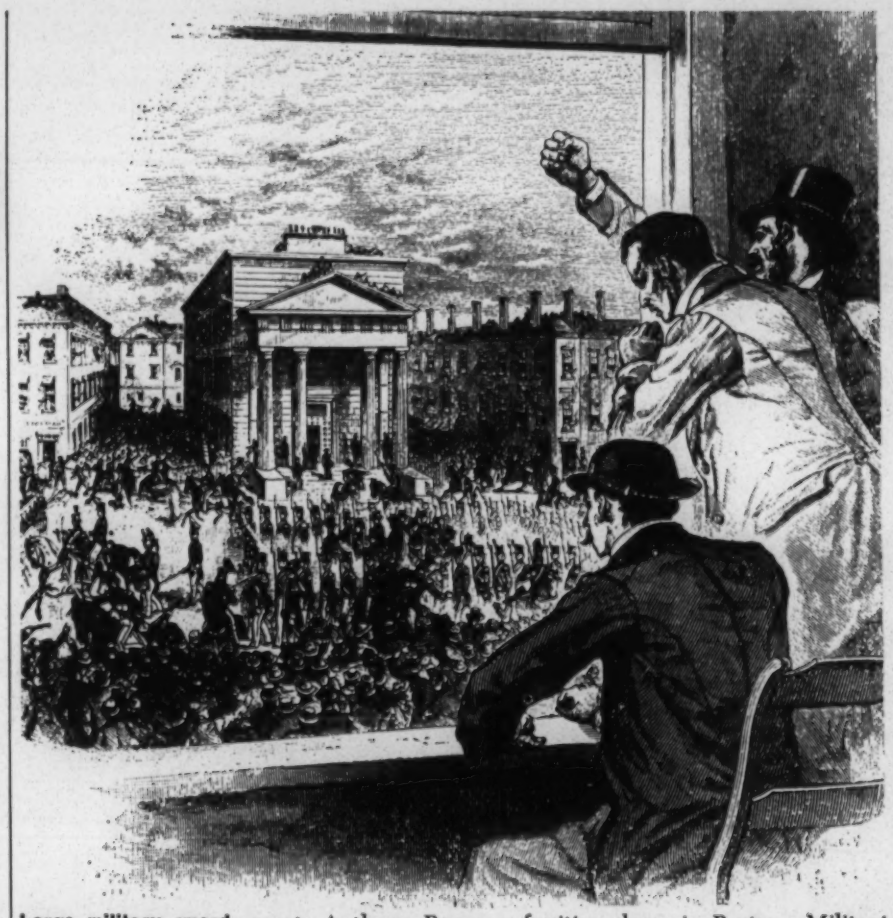


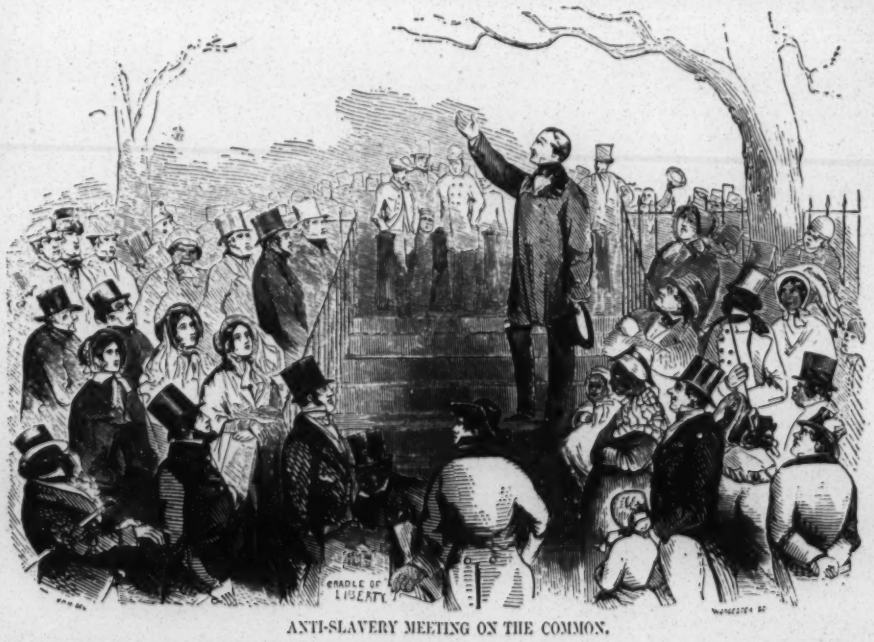
Large military guard escorts Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave, in Boston. Militant Boston abolitionists, including Wendell Phillips, urged citizens to seize fugitive from federal forces. Conflicts over fugitive slaves intensified North-South tension.

FIRST FREEDOM MOVEMENT *Continued*

Alarmed by the success of Garrison and other abolitionists, proslavery forces counterattacked, organizing riots in Northern and Southern cities. In Charleston, South Carolina, the U. S. mail was burned in an abortive attempt to silence Northern "agitators." In Philadelphia, an abolitionist hall was put to the torch and Negro churches and an orphan home were gutted. There were anti-Negro and anti-abolitionist riots in New York, Boston, Cincinnati and other cities. Not only hoodlums but "respectable people" mobilized to silence abolitionists who, they said, were driving a wedge between the North and the South. On one celebrated occasion, a "broadcloth" mob attacked a woman's anti-slavery meeting, lassoed Garrison with a rope and dragged him through the streets of Boston in his underwear.

Enter at this precise moment Wendell Phillips.

As the crowd pulled Garrison through the streets, Phillips watched with amazement. Pushing into the crowd, he called for intervention by the regiment and was told that the guards were members of the mob. Phillips walked away, thinking. Later, when he fell in love with a wealthy young abolitionist who said she would marry him only if he swore "eternal enmity" to slavery, Phillips was more than half prepared.



ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING ON THE COMMON.

Addressing integrated antislavery meeting on Boston Common, Wendell Phillips displays style that made him one of greatest orators of age. Boston patrician gave up wealth, social position to fight for Negro, was called "golden voice" of abolitionism.

The conversion of Phillips was a major turning point in the antislavery drama. Unlike Garrison, Phillips was a child of ease and comfort. Born November 29, 1811, the scion of one of New England's first families and the son of Boston's first mayor, Phillips was a graduate of Harvard College and the Harvard Univeristy Law School. It would be said later that his whole life could be compressed into one sentence: "He was born in Beacon Street and he died on Common Street."

Egged on by Ann Terry Greene, the young woman he later married, Phillips turned his back on wealth and social prominence and threw himself into the antislavery movement. He received his baptism of fire in December, 1837, at a Boston mass meeting called to protest the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy by a proslavery mob in Alton, Illinois. When the attorney general of the Commonwealth shouted that Lovejoy "died as the fool dieth," Phillips strode to the platform. The crowd, swayed by a proslavery claque, was by this time overwhelmingly anti-Lovejoy, and Phillips was greeted by hisses, catcalls and boos. The young lawyer stood his ground, cool, poised, unruffled, staring at the crowd with a mixture of disdain and contempt. Overawed by his presence, the crowd grew silent and the melodious voice that would later charm thousands was heard in public for the first time. By sheer eloquence and force of personality, Phillips turned an anti-Lovejoy plurality into a pro-Lovejoy majority. The speech he gave that day was later called one of the three greatest oratorical triumphs in American history. And from that day, Wendell Phillips was hailed as "the golden voice" of abolitionism.

For more than 30 years, Phillips dominated hostile crowds with the brilliance of his manner and the coolness of his bearing. His speeches were models of simplicity and directness. Speaking in a conversational tone, never raising his voice, he introduced a new style in American oratory and he was hailed by ally and foe as the finest speaker of his day. He was at his best in a hall of hissing enemies ("Hang the nigger"), with heavy objects raining down on the platform and the yolk of a bad egg running down the front of his frock coat. Once, when a pro-slavery mob stormed onto the platform with a rope to hang him, Phillips disdainfully waved them away, saying: "Wait until I tell this story."

Six feet tall, handsome, elegantly dressed, Phillips was a striking exhibit and he soon became a co-leader of the Garrisonian branch of the abolitionist movement. Like Garrison, Phillips was prepared to "pay any price" in the cause of freedom. He refused to practice law or perform any other duty under the Constitution until slavery was abolished. So enamored was he of Negro freedom that his family attempted unsuccessfully to confine him to a sanitarium as a lunatic. "If I die before emancipation," he said, "write this for my epitaph: Here lies Wendell Phillips, infidel to a church that defended human slavery—traitor to a government that was only an organized conspiracy against the rights of men."

Phillips practiced what he preached. He refused to ride in cars that barred Negroes and went hungry rather than eat in rooms that were not open to Frederick Douglass and other Negro abolitionists.

The New England patrician gloried in the name of agitator, choosing as the title of a Harvard Phi Beta Kappa address. "The Scholar in a Republic, of Necessity an Agitator." The agitator, he said, "must stand outside of organizations, with no bread to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but truth,—to tear a question open and riddle it with light."

Phillips supported most of the Garrisonian program, but he drew the line at passive resistance. "No," he said, "I confess I am not a nonresistant. The reason why I advise the slave to be guided by a policy of peace is because he has no chance. If he had one,—if he had as good a chance as those who went up to Lexington seventy-seven years ago,—I should call him the basest recreant that ever deserted wife and child if he did not vindicate his liberty by his own right hand. . . ."

As the Civil War drew near, practically all abolitionists openly abandoned Garrison's passive resistance program and Phillips became the leader of the militant wing of the movement. John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry and the firing on Fort Sumter accentuated the strains in the movement. Garrison called for national unity and denounced "minute criticisms" of Lincoln's racial program. Frederick Douglass and Phillips disagreed, calling for an intensification of antislavery propaganda. Seizing the mantle from Garrison, Phillips dashed from city to city, excoriating Lincoln and calling for the emancipation of the slaves and the arming of the freedmen.

When Lincoln caught up with antislavery advocates, Phillips turned his mind to Reconstruction, articulating a bold program of land, ballots and freedom for Negroes and poor whites. "This nation," he said, "owes the Negro not merely freedom; it owes him land, and it owes him education also. It is a debt which will disgrace us before the peoples if we do not pay it."

Garrison, moving to the right, dismissed Phillips' Reconstruction plan as revolutionary. When he attempted in May, 1865, to dissolve the American Antislavery Society, saying that Negro suffrage was not a part of the original program of the abolitionist movement, Phillips and Douglass opposed him and carried the day. Garrison resigned as president of the Society and Phillips succeeded him.

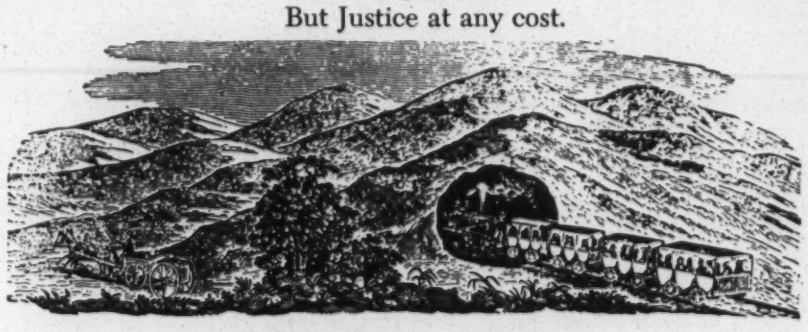
With Douglass and other Negro leaders and the two great congressional radicals, Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, Phillips campaigned for a complete reorganization of the South and passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. America would not heed his call for "a new social system" in the South, but Congress passed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. On March 30, 1870, President Ulysses Grant proclaimed ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Ten days later, the American Antislavery Society met for the last time. Frederick Douglass said that Phillips played the key role in passage of the crucial amendment. "None have been more vigilant, clear-sighted, earnest, true and eloquent," he said. "Without office, without party, only a handful at his back, he has done more to lead and mould public opinion in favor of equal suffrage than any man I know."

With passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, the first freedom movement came to a close. Most of the white abolitionists hurriedly quit the public arena, but Phillips remained in harness, becoming, some said, more radical with each passing year. In his old age, he denounced Southern atrocities and supported the then revolutionary demand for an eight-hour day.

Garrison was comforted in his old age by his four sons and his daughter and his grandchildren. Mellowed by age, the old reformer basked in the glow of a world which no longer found him dangerous. Phillips, who had no children, spent his winter years with his invalid wife, Ann, and his books. Having given thousands of dollars to friends and charities over the years, Phillips now found himself in pinched financial circumstances. It was necessary therefore for him to continue as a Lyceum lecturer.

During the closing phase of the abolitionist crusade, Garrison and Phillips ceased to be personal friends. But they were reconciled later and when Garrison died in 1879 Phillips delivered one of the principal addresses at his funeral. Five years later, on February 2, 1884, Phillips collapsed after a heart attack and died at his house on Common Street. Both Phillips and Garrison went to their graves laden with the praises of men who had once called them fools and fanatics. But they were soon pushed into the background. They were too uncomfortable; even today, they make men squirm. But the fire they started still burns. The second freedom movement is an extended echo of their lives and of Phillips' motto which is etched in the auditorium of Wendell Phillips High School in the heart of the Chicago ghetto:

Peace, if possible;
But Justice at any cost.



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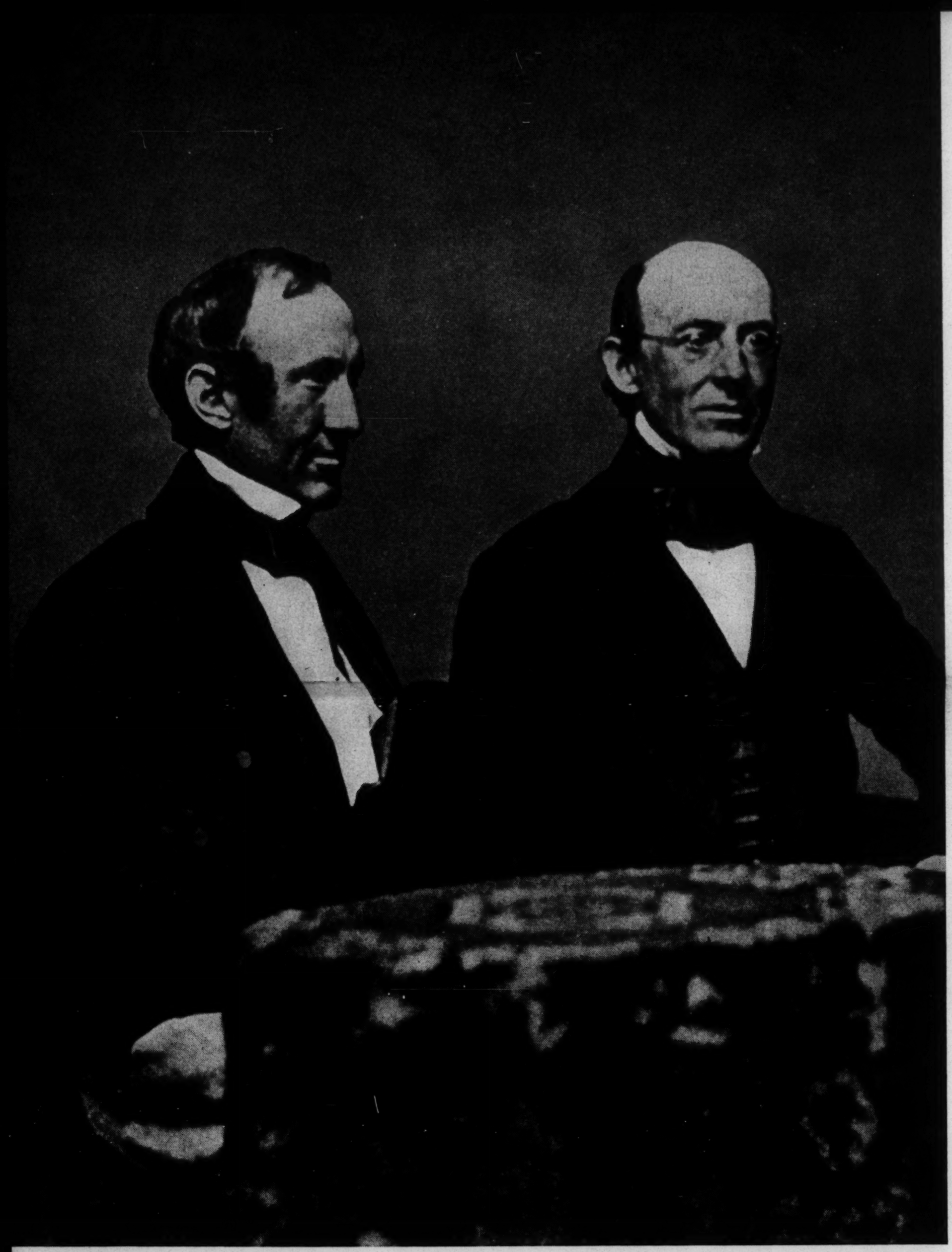
Underground Railroad, network of secret routes from border states to Canada, was manned by Negro, white abolitionists. Garrison and Phillips were in forefront of the movement which also included great Negro leaders like Frederick Douglass.



Nineteenth century freedom fighters, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, shared leadership of militant New England wing of abolitionist movement which pioneered in use of passive resistance and direct action. Though white, Phillips and Garrison championed cause with so much passion that some people believed that they were Negroes.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

—a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

—a department store in which there is a restaurant: *so long as* the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or

2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of all sections of this Act except Title I, which retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman Designate
Frankie M. Freeman, Member Designate
Erwin N. Griswold
Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

GSA WASH DC 65-1579

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

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excerpted from: Americans Are Law-Abiding Citizens, a survey of community compliance, The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1501 18th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. August 1964

Churches (p.6)

In recent years the national religious leadership and official bodies of major denominations have called for fair and equal treatment for Negroes. Following passage of the Civil Rights Act this year many religious organizations in the South--and particularly women's groups--worked quietly to help their communities comply peacefully. Some of their leaders took a public stand, also. For example:

The president of the Southern Baptist Convention, Dr. Wayne Dehoney, suggested to his congregation in Jackson, Tenn., "As citizens, let every one of us give voluntary, peaceful, orderly obedience to law and to the orders of public officials."

Dr. Luther Holcomb, executive director of the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, said in a statement, "Let us remember that the Civil Rights bill is no more and no less than the precepts that shaped and launched us as a nation...equal justice under law... equal opportunities to participate in all of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. We should defend the moral and legal imperatives which our political system has now created." He added that the new bill "narrows the gap between the ideals we profess and the unsatisfactory reality in which we live."

The Most Rev. Richard O. Gerow, Bishop of Natchez-Jackson and leader of Mississippi's 70,000 Roman Catholics, called on them to "accept the action of Congress as loyal Americans and to make a positive contribution in our state by rejecting the spirit of rebellion and by standing for justice, love, and peace."

In April, 6,500 persons, many of them clergymen of all major faiths, gathered at Georgetown University in a show of support for the Civil Rights bill. They came at the joint invitation of the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Black, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church; Rabbi Uri Miller, president of the Synagogue Council of the Synagogue Council of America, and the Most Rev. Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington.

Speaking of the public accommodation section of the bill, Dr. Blake asked, "Where in the Holy Bible, in Old Testament or New, can one find a single passage to support the rights of porperty against the rights of man? Justice, equality and freedom for all men are right. Segregation, discrimination and prejudice are wrong. It is as simple as that."

Rabbi Miller, of Baltimore, called civil rights legislation "basic to the moral principles upon which this country is established." Disagreeing with those who say "you can't legislate morals," Rabbi Miller said, "We must demonstrate that law is the one way civilized communities have found to make effective the moral will of the community."

☆Americans Are Law-Abiding Citizens☆

A Summary of Title II: Public Accommodations

All persons are declared to be entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the public accommodations covered by this title regardless of race, color, religion or national origin.

The following establishments are covered if they affect interstate commerce, or if discrimination or segregation is supported by some form of State action, such as laws, ordinances or other official requirements:

1) hotels, motels or similar places open to transient guests, other than owner-occupied buildings renting five rooms or less;
2) restaurants, lunchrooms, lunch counters or similar eating places, including those located in retail establishments;
3) gasoline stations;
4) movie houses, theaters, sport stadiums or other places of exhibition or entertainment; and
5) any establishment located in, or containing, an otherwise covered establishment, e.g. a barber shop or tavern in a hotel, or a department store with a lunch counter.

A restaurant, gasoline station, or place of entertainment affects interstate commerce if it serves interstate travelers or if its merchandise or exhibition has moved in interstate commerce. Hotels and motels, as such, are considered to be in interstate commerce.

In addition where State or local laws require segregation in such establishments as swimming pools or taverns, the effect of this provision would be to subject those establishments to the Federal law as long as such State and local laws remain on the books.

Suits to enjoin alleged violations may be brought by individuals or by the Attorney General.

The principal features in suits brought by aggrieved individuals are:

—the court may appoint an attorney for the complainants;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to intervene;

—where there is a State law or local ordinance prohibiting discrimination, the suit may not be brought until thirty days after written notice of the alleged improper act has been given to the State or local authorities;

—once the suit is brought and there is an applicable State or local law or ordinance, the court may postpone any action pending the termination of State or local proceedings;

—where there is no applicable State law or local ordinance, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service established in the U. S. Department of Commerce under Title X of the new act, for the purpose of securing voluntary compliance. The referral may be for a period not exceeding 60 days, with a possible further extension of up to 60 days.

The Attorney General may bring a suit to enjoin violation if he believes that "any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance" to this title. There may be a pattern or practice if, for example, a number of companies or persons in the same industry or line of business discriminates, if a chain of motels or restaurants practice racial discrimination throughout all or a significant part of its system, or if a company repeatedly and regularly engages in acts prohibited by the statute. The provisions for referral to State or local agencies or to the Community Relations Service are not applicable to such suits. The Attorney General may ask for a three-judge court, in which case an appeal would go directly to the Supreme Court. Suits before three-judge courts or single judges must be heard promptly.

Relief by the court in individual suits or suits by the Attorney General may be granted by the courts by way of temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders. Failure to abide by a court decree is punishable by contempt proceedings in accordance with Title XI (Jury Trials).

A Survey of Community Compliance

"ITS PURPOSE is to promote a more abiding commitment to freedom, a more constant pursuit of justice and a deeper respect for human dignity.

"We will achieve these goals because most Americans are law-abiding citizens who want to do what is right."

These were the words of President Johnson in his statement to the nation on July 2 as he appeared on television to sign the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

He explained that because most citizens are law-abiding, the Act "relies first on voluntary compliance, then on the efforts of local communities and states to secure the rights of citizens. It provides for the national authority to step in only when others cannot or will not do the job."

At the time the Senate passed the bill in June by a vote of 73 to 27, the President, congratulating members of both political parties who had worked for the bill, said, "It is the product, not of any man or group of men, but of a broad national concensus that every person is entitled to justice, to equality, and to an even chance to enjoy the blessings of liberty.

"It is in the highest tradition of a civilization which, from the Magna Carta on, has used the fabric of law for the fulfillment of liberty."

In the closing minutes of the Senate debate before voting on the bill began, the bi-partisan nature of the legislation was stressed. Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, the Democratic Majority Whip who floor-managed the bill, called on its friends to "mark the occasion with sober rejoicing and not with shouts of victory. And in the difficult months ahead, let us strive to preserve our sense of oneness, our attitude of mutual dependency, and our need for mutual forgiveness."

Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, Republican minority leader, displayed a telegram from 40 governors urging passage of the Civil Rights bill and then concluded his own argument for the bill: "Every denial of freedom, every denial of equal opportunity or livelihood or an education, or a right to participate in representative government, diminishes me."

Many statements from officials, civic, church, and business leaders following the signing of the bill supported the President's belief that this is a nation of law-abiding citizens. Not all of those who spoke for observance of the Act's terms approved of the legislation, but their call for law and order could be heard above the defiance which also attended passage of the new Act.

Congress

SEN. ALLEN J. ELLENDER of Louisiana, who fought hard against the Civil Rights bill, was one of the first to speak out. He said that if the Act is to be resisted, "it must be within the framework of the orderly processes established by law. Any other course is foolhardy and indefensible—much more indefensible and dangerous than it might have been at some other time in our Nation's past."

Laws enacted by Congress must be respected until changed or repealed by Congress or declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, Ellender added. If such laws can be defied with impunity, "then the respect for all law will be diminished."

A colleague, Sen. William J. Fulbright of Arkansas, urged segregationists and Negro rights leaders alike to confine their battles to the courts rather than the streets. In a newsletter to his constituents, he wrote, "Differences of opinion—no matter how deeply felt—must be subordinated to law and resolved in accordance with it. Now that the bill is law, it is time for calmness, reflection and adjustment."

Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia, who led the Southern fight against the bill, nevertheless called on Georgians to avoid all violence and to live with the new law "for as long as it is there. Violence and law violation will only compound our difficulties and increase our troubles." In a speech in his home state, Russell added, "It is a form of anarchy to say that a person need not comply with a particular statute with which he disagrees."

His fellow Georgian, Sen. Herman Talmadge, said he believed the new law is unconstitutional but "it is now the law of the land . . . and I cannot advise anyone to violate the law. I would hope that all American people would exercise restraint and calm judgment."

Other Southern Senators who counseled that tests must be made by legal, not mob, action included Robertson of Virginia, Thurmond of South Carolina, Holland of Florida, Gore and Walters of Tennessee.

A House member who voted against the bill, Rep. Graham Purcell of Texas, told his constituents in a newsletter, "Now that the bill has become law, I hope Texans, and all Americans, will obey it in the spirit urged by our President. To do otherwise is to reject the system which has made ours the greatest Nation on earth."

Rep. Charles Weltner of Atlanta voted against the Civil Rights bill when it was first before the House, but when it returned to that body from the Senate he raised the question as to his proper course in a speech: "Is it to vote 'no' with tradition, safety—and futility?" He gave, then, the reason for switching his vote in favor of the bill:

". . . Change, swift and certain is upon us, and we in the South face some difficult decisions.

"We can offer resistance and defiance, with their harvest of strife and tumult. We can suffer continued demonstrations, with their wake of violence and disorder.

"Or, we can acknowledge this measure as the law of the land. We can accept the verdict of the Nation.

"Already, the responsible elements of my community are counseling this latter course. And, most assuredly, moderation, tranquillity, and orderly processes combine as a cause greater than conformity.

"Mr. Speaker, I shall cast my lot with the leadership of my community. I shall cast my vote with that greater cause they serve. I will add my voice to those who seek reasoned and conciliatory adjustment to a new reality.

"And finally, I would urge that we at home now move on to the unfinished task of building a new South. We must not remain forever bound to another lost cause."

State and City Officials

On the day the President signed the bill, Gov. John M. Dalton of Missouri stated, "As Governor, I am determined that Missouri will move through the transition period of the coming summer in a spirit of law and order just as we took the lead ten years ago among border and southern states in complying with the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of the public schools . . . In the months ahead your state government will be doing everything it can to help this transition."

Many mayors of Southern communities were silent in the month following passage of the Act, some reacted negatively, but there were others who spoke in a different vein.

Dallas Mayor Eric Jonsson promised, "Dallas will abide by the letter and spirit of the new Civil Rights law. We have worked together well as races without a law, and I certainly see no reason for any change of this attitude."

Mayor Beverly Briley of Nashville, Tenn., said he anticipated that residents of the city and Davidson County would not only abide by the new law "but will continue to voluntarily cooperate in solving the complex problems that are of this generation."

Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, Ala., commented, "Nobody will bother the Negroes as long as they seek remedies available to them under the new law."

Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson, Miss., urged businessmen to comply with the Civil Rights Act. He said that the law "must be obeyed until changed" and that the city could not close down "all the stores just to keep from serving a few Negroes." He warned that unless the city kept the racial situation under control, the Federal Government would move in and a "blanket injunction" would be filed against every official, businessman or citizen in the city. Thompson predicted tensions would ease within a couple of months if law and order were maintained.

Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., the only major political leader in the Deep South who testified before a Congressional committee for the Civil Rights bill, said a month before passage, "The overwhelming (Senate) vote for cloture, which guarantees the passage of the Civil Rights bill, means that the conscience of the American people has finally prevailed on the national Congress . . . Atlanta, having adjusted itself to the elimination of discrimination in the past, will accept (the Act) in an orderly and peaceful fashion."

The Press

Reaction of the press was as varied as that of city officials. Some newspapers in the South continued to express bitter resentment against the new Act; a few ignored it, while others stressed the need for acceptance, as in the following examples:

Memphis Press-Scimitar: Southern resistance to desegregation has been based on a theory that Supreme Court decisions were merely the opinions of the court and not the law of the land. This implied clearly that if desegregation were the law they would obey it. Now it definitely is the law, passed by Congress and signed by the President . . . (Now) the need is a breathing spell, giving Deep South areas a chance to comply without outsiders constantly daring them to violate the law.

Memphis Commercial Appeal: It is now up to the people of this nation to recognize once again that this is a country which lives under laws and that there is an obligation on the part of everyone to abide by the laws which have been duly enacted.

Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal: The Act is not so vicious as its opponents asserted in the heat of battle. We may not like it. We may challenge it in the courts. But as long as it remains the law we must respect it.

Atlanta Constitution: The new laws bring a new test for the South; a test of law, and a test of order. For the white American, there is a duty to comply with the law. For the Negro American, there is a duty to maintain order.

Atlanta Journal: Compliance with the open door provisions of this bill is nothing less than pure and simple good business and commonsense—and what is good for business is good for a city like Atlanta.

Birmingham News: The plain stupidity of men who think they can stop Negroes from testing the new Civil Rights Act with baseball bats is obvious—to all except them. Negroes have repeatedly shown that acts of violence against them would not deter them. No matter how rightly or strongly any whites rebel at the thought of desegregation anywhere, and any facility, violent reaction only draws attention . . . to temporary inability to preserve law and order.

Miami News: Now it becomes the duty of the American people to accept this law of the land for ours is a Government of law . . . The Civil Rights law must be obeyed if we are to retain our freedom.

San Antonio Evening News: San Antonio's cosmopolitan population has long been accustomed to serving peoples from many lands and with many customs. It can take the end of legal segregation in stride and be far better for having done so.

Arkansas Gazette: It is difficult to overemphasize in the South the necessity now for accepting the law . . . the demand will now be for the mandate of Congress and of the Nation to be acknowledged and accepted by all of us in all grace and in all good faith.

Churches

IN RECENT YEARS the national religious leadership and official bodies of major denominations have called for fair and equal treatment for Negroes. Following passage of the Civil Rights Act this year many religious organizations in the South—and particularly women's groups—worked quietly to help their communities comply peacefully. Some of their leaders took a public stand, also. For example:

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Business

THE ABOVE ELEMENTS — officials, church, press—all help set the climate of compliance for cities faced with the imperative of racial change now. But those most immediately affected, after the Negro citizens, are businessmen since the public accommodation section of the Act has been the one subject to the quickest testing. Many have arisen to the challenge, the opportunity—and the law.

In Memphis, Tenn., the board chairman of the Holiday Inns of America told the 488 motels in the chain that the new law must be observed. Kemmons Wilson wrote the company-operated motels and their franchised affiliates that the alternative is "anarchy, chaos and destruction."

The Birmingham, Ala., Hotel Association and the Motel Association, in a joint statement issued not long after the new law was passed, announced they would comply with its terms.

Shortly before the bill became law, Tallahassee, Fla., restaurant owners met and elected their most adamant segregationist as chairman, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. He was to "lay down possible battle plans. His advice: 'Go along with the law'."

The Fayetteville, N. C., Restaurant Association announced: "We are loyal Americans and we will obey the law." In Louisiana, the Shreveport Hotel Association also announced it would comply and accept Negro patrons.

Morrison's, a large Southern chain of cafeterias, announced it would serve Negroes at its 41 establishments in seven Southern states, including Mississippi and Alabama. Several of the cafeterias had been the target of demonstrators in the past. The presi-

dent of the firm, J. H. Gibbons, remarked, "We're going to obey the law . . . We can't buck the Federal government."

The Georgia Restaurant Association announced in Atlanta that "we have no alternative" but to comply. An Atlanta grand jury urged citizens to obey the law for "where law ends, tyranny begins."

Even before the bill was passed, the Mayor's Committee for Peaceful and Orderly Desegregation in Knoxville, Tenn., collected nearly 3,500 pledges of cooperation from business. The Chamber of Commerce in Knoxville went on record for compliance, as did those in several other cities, including Jackson, Miss., Atlanta, and Little Rock.

A Nashville barber who operates a shop covered by the public accommodations section of the bill told the *New York Times*, "I worried myself sick about this before it became law, but now that we have it, I'm going to comply."

The president of the Roosevelt Hotel Corp., a hold-out against the desegregation movement of New Orleans hotels in recent months, commented, "I shall comply with the law unqualifiedly." He joined 200 other New Orleans businessmen in signing a newspaper advertisement urging compliance.

The F. W. Woolworth Co., whose lunch counters have been frequent targets of civil rights demonstrators—as have those of other variety stores—announced it now would be able to serve all customers in all stores on a desegregated basis. An official added that most of the stores already were desegregated.

In Missouri, the governor released this statement by 10 business associations: "The undersigned organizations urge voluntary compliance with this new public accommodations legislation. As Americans, some of us may have exercised our democratic right to oppose this legislation, or sections of it, in the drafting and debating stages. However, it is a vital part of our American democratic tradition that this is a Nation ruled by laws, and that all our citizens—whatever their personal views—have a duty to comply fully with all the laws. Law and order is the basis of our civilization, and the only assurance of protection for both property rights and civil rights of all businesses and individuals alike. We urge that all persons covered by the Law comply with it fully without delay, and we pledge to the governor our fullest possible cooperation."

Those signing were: American Motor Hotel Assn., Ozarks Playgrounds Assn., Missouri Restaurant Assn., Missouri Hotel & Motor Inn Assn., Lake of the Ozarks Assn., White River Lakes Assn., Land-o-Lakes Assn., Highway 19 Assn., Headwaters Assn., and Missouri Motel Assn.

Compliance

IN THE FIRST WEEK under the new law, every Southern and border state had its tests. The day after the bill was signed, Negroes were served for the first time in such segregationist strongholds as Birmingham, Ala., and Danville, Va. In the latter city, the owner of a steak house which had turned away Negroes in the past year escorted four Negroes into the main dining room, explaining, "Last year

we fought them because they were breaking the law. This year, I'd be breaking the law if I refused to serve them."

In Birmingham, a Negro minister, the Rev. J. L. Ware, vice chairman of the Bi-racial Community Affairs Committee, said most members of his race, as well as white persons, are grateful to businessmen for "their willingness to abide by the law of the land, and to exemplify a spirit and understanding and helpfulness toward improving the image of our great city." At least four downtown theaters and 10 restaurants were desegregated in Birmingham two days after the new law went into effect.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, praised the way several Alabama cities, including Birmingham, Gadsden, Huntsville, Mobile, and Montgomery, accepted the legislation in early tests of hotels, motels, theaters, and restaurants.

In Tallahassee, Fla., an integration leader, the Rev. C. K. Steele, said Negroes had received cordial treatment even at three restaurants "we had always considered impossible to penetrate."

The week-end after passage of the law 12 Negroes, most of them national directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, checked in without incident at two leading hotels and a downtown motel in Jackson, Miss. Several dined in a hotel coffee shop. Six Negroes were served at a chain lunch counter in Hattiesburg, Miss.

In Kansas City, Mo., a 13-year-old Negro boy was given a haircut in the city's leading hotel, where he had been refused service the night before.

Thirty-three Memphis restaurants, including one of the city's largest downtown cafeterias, served Negroes for the first time.

The manager of a leading Macon, Ga., hotel invited one of the city's Negroes to have dinner with him, while proprietors in some Columbus, Ga., restaurants spoke cordially to Negroes and said they were glad to have them.

In Cambridge, Md., National Guardsmen were withdrawn in July after being called in 13 months earlier to keep the peace when racial rioting broke out. As the town began to adjust to the new Act, 15 Negroes entered a bowling alley and reported they were accepted "very pleasantly." Small groups of Negroes were served at several restaurants without incident.

In Farmville, Va., Negroes were admitted to two facilities which had been sites of racial demonstrations earlier, a lunch counter, and a motion picture theater. In Hopewell, Va., two lunch counters closed for five days but then reopened on a desegregated basis. Theaters and many restaurants in Richmond already had been desegregated voluntarily. One Richmond restaurant decided in July to issue membership cards but after four days of negotiation it was desegregated.

Three small eating places in Nashville, Tenn., refused service to Negroes but a cafeteria, a chain lunch counter, and larger restaurants lowered racial barriers. The major establishments in Knoxville were desegregated. Both Nashville and Knoxville already had achieved voluntary desegregation of some eating places. Chattanooga, too, had acted voluntarily and 70 percent of the leading restaurants had agreed months earlier to serve Negroes.

In South Carolina, integration proceeded without major trouble in Charleston, Columbia, Florence, and Greenville as Negroes entered restaurants which heretofore had served only white customers.

One recalcitrant restaurant owner in Atlanta could not obscure the fact that most of the restaurants and lunch counters which had not already opened facilities to Negroes—and quite a number had—were desegregated. Early compliance was reported excellent in a number of Georgia cities, including Savannah, Brunswick, Warner Robins, Decatur, and Thomasville.

Initial results in Little Rock and North Little Rock were encouraging as Negroes entered the leading restaurants. Elsewhere in Arkansas, a swimming pool and two additional cafes were desegregated without incident at Fort Smith and in Pine Bluff, where considerable progress already had been made, four restaurants served their first Negro customers. In Forrest City, Ark., Negroes were admitted to a bowling alley, restaurant, and a skating rink, while a formerly segregated restaurant and the public library in Helena, Ark., were opened to all.

In most of the major cities of Florida, including Miami, Pensacola, Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach, Gainesville, Sarasota, and Clearwater, many places of public accommodation began serving Negroes.

Compliance was good in many other towns and cities. The *Wall Street Journal* summed up two days after the bill was signed: "Many more Southern businessmen served Negroes than turned them away."

Business Week reported that even before the law was passed a survey of over 500 Southern cities with populations of 10,000 or more showed that, in the past year, at least some public accommodations had been desegregated in 70 percent of the communities.

Defiance

THE TRANSITION PERIOD has not been as free of disorder as the above instances might imply, however. Some cities have as yet experienced no desegregation and seem bent on defiance once Negroes attempt to enter places of public accommodation. In a few instances, restaurants and hostelries which served Negroes in the days immediately following passage of the Civil Rights Act have re-segregated. Violence has broken out in scattered towns and cities across the South, with beatings, threats, and the crackle of gunfire meeting the attempts of Negroes trying to desegregate facilities covered by the new law. Police have been called to quell mobs.

Some restaurants have closed and others, along with a few hotels, have announced they will operate as private clubs. In an article on the "establishments shifting to private operation in a last ditch effort to preserve racial barriers," the *Wall Street Journal* reported:

"Government attorneys concede that the civil rights law can't touch bona fide private clubs. But they say that to qualify legally as a club an establishment must admit no one except members and their guests. 'Private clubs that are open to the public just won't stand up in court,' a Civil Rights Commission lawyer says. On the other hand, he added: 'If the place really is private the operator will severely restrict his traffic and his income.' "

The report added that some Negroes "vow they soon will challenge new clubs in courts. 'They can't get away

with it. They're doing it solely to discriminate and the bill outlaws that,' says Charles Evers, field secretary of the NAACP in Jackson, Miss. 'We'll test them and take them to court, and if they weren't private before the bill, I have all the faith in the world they'll be knocked out.' "

Police and the Courts

ARRESTS OF NEGROES for disturbing the peace and similar charges continued as they tested the new law. However, another type of arrest and another kind of law suit came into the racial picture.

In the first legal test of the Act, a three-judge Federal court enjoined an Atlanta restaurant and a motel from discriminating against Negroes. The judges declared that motels and restaurants offering to serve interstate travelers can be brought under interstate commerce regulations as the Act directs and cannot, therefore, discriminate against Negroes.

(In August, Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, as administrator of the Fifth Circuit where the Atlanta case originated, refused to intervene against the enforcement order. He said that without addressing himself, as a single Justice, to the validity of the provisions under attack, "I believe that the broad grants of power to Congress in the commerce clause and the 14th Amendment are enough to show that Congress does have at least general constitutional authority to control commerce among the states and to enforce the 14th Amendment's policy against racial discrimination." The Justice said he hopes the full Court will hear appeals by the two Atlanta men in October.)

A Federal judge in Florida ordered 17 St. Augustine restaurants and motels to start serving Negroes and warned segregationists not to interfere.

The Department of Justice filed suit under the new Act against 15 eating places in Tuscaloosa, Ala. The action, brought in U.S. District Court in Birmingham, charged that owners and managers of the 15 establishments violated the law by refusing to serve Negroes. The case is expected to be heard in October.

The NAACP filed a suit in Orangeburg, S. C., requesting an injunction against two theaters which it said refused to sell tickets to Negroes at the windows used by white patrons. Negroes brought suit in Jacksonville, Fla., against motel and restaurant operators.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested three white men in Greenwood, Miss., on charges of conspiring to violate the new law. The alleged violation involved the beating of a Negro who had gained admission to a previously white theater.

In Princess Anne, Md., a restaurant owner was convicted and fined $54 for assaulting three Negroes as they tried to test his establishment's compliance with the new Act.

The role of the police will be of increasing importance as Negroes claim their rights under the Civil Rights Act. At a recent police executives conference on the law enforcement implications of the Act, Nelson A. Watson, project supervisor of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, emphasized: "Every officer must put aside his personal feelings and prejudices when he puts on his uniform. He is a policeman for all of the people. He is a public servant who represents the impersonal majesty of the law. He must apply his police powers without regard to race, creed, religion, or situa-

tion in life. He must strive to be both impartial and impersonal. We cannot permit officers to render judgments and to discharge their duties on the basis of personal likes or dislikes."

Some police departments, well aware of their duties under the new national law, already have acted promptly to control violent elements bent on defiance. In Laurel, Miss., an NAACP group was served quietly in a restaurant as sheriff's deputies stood guard outside. Since then, Laurel has hired four Negro policemen. At Atlantic Beach, N. C., a fight began when Negroes arrived at a white amusement center. Police broke it up immediately, announced their intention to maintain order, and said that anyone, regardless of race, was welcome.

The FBI has announced it will hold a series of conferences over the country with law enforcement officers to explain the provisions of the new Act. J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, commented:

"Freedom does not come by law alone. It takes a solid degree of acceptance. That degree of acceptance is based upon understanding and cooperation between all levels of law enforcement. There, of course, will be attempted resistance. There will be some violent resistance. But this resistance must now confront the united will and the united strength of the Congress, the courts, the President, and the law of the land."

Cost of Defiance

THE ECONOMIC LOSSES in the defiance of changing racial patterns in recent years have been tremendous. The stagnation of cities like Little Rock and Birmingham following their racial troubles has been well told in the national press. In addition, many Southern states and cities have seen the costs of government skyrocket as state and municipal funds were spent for legal fees, extra police, and jail custody to block the demands of Negro citizens. Conventions and the dollars they bring to local business have been lost to many cities which refused to provide equal accommodations to Negro delegates.

Boycotts of merchants by Negroes demanding equal treatment and employment of Negroes have cut the profits of stores in a number of communities and forced the closing of other stores. One example is Jackson, Miss., where 23 businesses closed during a 14-month boycott by Negroes against downtown merchants. (The boycott there was lifted briefly following passage of the Civil Rights Act but then was reinstated against restaurants and stores which continued to refuse to serve Negroes.)

One Jackson hotel which was changed, after passage of the Act, to a private club rather than admit Negroes announced annual dues would be $12, according to the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*. Two weeks later the dues dropped to $10 and the management said food business was below normal but so far no employees had been dismissed. A Jackson restaurant which also became a private club said its local business was near normal but it had lost its transient business.

The *Wall Street Journal* carried an article recently on the impressive growth of industrial development in the South in the past two years, ascribed to multiple causes, including tax aid, lower wages, less unionism, and the wealth of natural resources. The question remains, however, how much more sections of the South might

have gained were they free of racial problems. The *Journal* noted:

"While the South has been outstripping the rest of the country in industrial growth, there's no doubt racial tensions here have made some Northern companies apprehensive about a move to Dixie. Many firms worry whether local customs would make it difficult to operate an integrated plant. This problem has gained importance in the last couple of years as the civil rights push, coupled with Government pressure, have led many national companies to begin hiring without regard to race. Says one plant manager: 'We're a completely integrated company, and we can build a plant only where local leaders will welcome us on that basis.'

"Marshal Shepherd, an industry scout for North Carolina, relates that an official of a California company recently asked him: 'What would we do with our wonderful Negro engineers if we came to your state?' Mr. Shepherd says he told the man to bring them along, but he adds that a company employing Negro engineers would do well to locate in one of the more urban areas of the state.

"In spite of some problem spots, toleration of job integration is on the increase in the South. One industrial development specialist observes: 'In most Southern states now you can work colored people in sit-down jobs, side-by-side with whites. The key phrase there is 'sit-down.' This is a big difference from a few years ago."

There has been a big difference, too, in recent years in many Southern communities which achieved a substantial measure of voluntary desegregation of public accommodations before the Civil Rights Act was passed. These communities offer a series of success stories.

In Dallas, where restaurants began integrating three years ago, many operators have reported their business was hurt only briefly. The manager of one major downtown eating place said that although a few regular customers walked out when Negroes first came in, most have returned.

A druggist in Huntsville, Ala., told a reporter, "I could name a dozen people who regarded it as a personal affront when I started serving Negroes, but have come back as if nothing had happened."

The president of Harvey's Department Store in Nashville, Tenn., said that after his store desegregated lunch counters in 1960, only 13 charge accounts out of 60,000 were cancelled.

A Memphis motel which began serving Negroes found its occupancy rate running ahead of the previous year.

Despite the new Act, and despite the success stories, there are communities which have not yet faced the inevitability of change. In this regard, a salient point was made by reporter Claude Sitton in the *New York Times*:

"Businessmen, as property owners, have a crucial economic interest in the preservation of law and order and know that any defiance tends to encourage costly outbreaks of violence.

"Further, those who choose defiance must bear the legal cost of defending themselves. In many of the civil rights controversies of the past, this expense has been borne by state and local government."

The *Memphis Commercial Appeal* reported that one Southern businessman, Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson, Miss., restaurant owner and lawyer, challenged a Citizens Council sugges-

tion that businesses complying with the law be boycotted. Ross said such action would "either bankrupt all restaurants or insure the same through fines and costs levied against non-compliers by the Federal Courts." As to a suggestion of non-compliance until the law has been tested in the courts, Ross added, "I am not going to wait in jail or bankruptcy court until that theory has been tested."

Community Action

MANY SOUTHERN CITIZENS, white as well as Negro, have recognized the necessity of changing old racial customs quickly and throughout the region civic groups are being formed to aid businessmen who want to conform to the new Civil Rights Act. These groups are disseminating information, in some cases taking newspaper advertisements urging compliance, and working generally to help their communities adjust.

Atlanta offers one example of a city which had made widespread preparations to comply when it became evident Congress would pass a new Civil Rights law. The Mayor's Coordinating Committee arranged meetings between businessmen, Negro leaders, and police. Statements were solicited from restaurant, hotel, and motel associations on the need for peaceful compliance. Partners for Progress, an organization of women bent on helping the city conform to the new order, visited restaurants and urged owners to comply. Approximately 20 restaurants already were serving Negroes by the time the President signed the 1964 law.

Louisville, Ky., had an even longer head start in solving its racial problems. It began community-wide preparation in 1954 for the voluntary admittance of Negro pupils into white schools there after the Supreme Court school decision. Last year the Board of Aldermen passed a city ordinance barring discrimination in public accommodations. The city has an 11-member bi-racial human relations commission with a paid staff.

Last year the Chamber of Commerce in Charlotte, N. C., sparked a move to open facilities. When a restaurant agreed to begin serving Negroes if prominent citizens brought Negroes as guests, the mayor, a councilman, a minister, and an editor agreed to do so. Within two months, 100 restaurants, hotels, and theaters were desegregated.

A gradual desegregation of public accommodations in Memphis has been underway for several years. The city has an active, voluntary Committee on Community Relations with business, religious, Negro, civic, and professional organizations represented. Its police department has been pledged to fair and impartial enforcement of the law. Benjamin Muse wrote recently, in a Southern Regional Council report:

"In the desegregation of public cultural and recreational facilities, of places of amusement and of public accommodation, Memphis desegregation has gone well beyond the token state. A dozen Negroes sit on official boards or hold other responsible positions in the city government. Furthermore, the movement toward equality of opportunity in Memphis is going forward with increasing momentum and with the support of the dominant white leadership and the approval of a large element of the white public."

These and other Southern cities which have been most successful in changing racial practices voluntarily

offer guidelines to communities faced with the imperative of the new law. Prerequisites to this change generally include:

1. A bi-racial committee of business and community leaders dedicated to peaceful transition.

2. A considerate hearing of grievances of members of minority groups, including the young Negroes who often spearhead the demonstrations.

3. An effort to involve representatives of the major religious bodies, women's groups, and professional and civic organizations.

4. Cooperation of news media, particularly newspapers.

5. A firm pledge by elected officials to support the law of the land and to assure justice and equal treatment of all citizens.

6. Fair and humane operation of the police department.

7. Continued, vigorous efforts to change the practices of hold-outs.

Some towns and cities undoubtedly will want to take advantage of the conciliation services of the new Community Relations Service, set up in the Department of Commerce, under the direction of LeRoy Collins, a former governor of Florida.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides for establishment of the Community Relations Service to aid in resolving disputes relating to discriminatory practices based on race or national origin. The Service may offer its services "whenever, in its judgment, peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own motion or upon the request of an appropriate State or local official or other interested person." Also, Federal courts may refer public accommodations complaints to the Service, so that it may attempt to secure voluntary compliance.

Meanwhile, Walter F. Carey, President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, has urged businessmen to continue trying to solve integration problems in their communities. In a recent statement, he said:

"Individually and collectively the businessman can exercise special influence over the racial problem. He represents a moderate force where moderation is most needed and he is directly concerned with the economy around which much of the strife centers. He therefore accepts this responsibility with good reason as well as with special competence. The evidence also indicates the businessman has recognized that the problem is intensely human before it is economic.

"The good examples set by businessmen the past several months have contributed to the tranquillity of many communities which might have been torn by strife had the field been left to the extremists . . .

". . . the businessman in virtually any community can and should do this:

—forget any personal prejudices and try to understand all sides of the problem;

—take a leading part in developing a community atmosphere of understanding in which solutions can be sought calmly;

—participate openly in working out dignified solutions;

—set a proper example for the rest of the community in the conduct of his own business.

"Farsightedness and common sense are needed to restore tranquillity in race relations."

☆

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.

1501 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

AUGUST 1964

MONDAY

SEPTEMBER						
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SEPT. 1964

CR - Compliance

Pat Walters

The Reporter 8-13-64

Atlanta Ga.

Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, Inc.
Ninth Floor, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010

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HOWARD MOORE, JR.
Counsel
Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

Executive Secretary
HENRY SCHWARZSCHILD

LWD
MA - please [illegible]

October 1, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Again my thanks for a few very pleasant and useful hours the other week in Atlanta.

Is Les restored to duty? In any event, please give him my best, and remind him to be in touch with me when he comes to New York.

You were kind enough to take my name for the all-inclusive mailing list. I now have a practical and urgent need for SRC material. The American Jewish Yearbook, published for the past sixty or so years by the American Jewish Committee, has asked me to do two articles for their next (1965) annual. One is to be on "The Synagogue and Civil Rights," and to consist of a survey and analysis of the religious Jewish community's involvement with the race problem over the past four or five years. The other is to be a survey of the events in "Civil Rights and Intergroup Relations, 1964," and confined strictly to developments in the current calendar year.

see green sheet attached

I enclose tearsheets from their current annual, just out, on Civil Rights developments in 1963, to give you an idea of what this article deals with. Les knows Harry Fleischman, the author, quite well.

May I ask you to let me have right now any relevant SRC material on 1964 and to put me on the list for any additional things you may put out between now and January?

I'd be very grateful.

Can any of you make it to our Conference on October 10?

Cordially,

Henry

Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary

HS:c

JEWISH INVOLVEMENT IN RACE PROBLEM

STATEMENTS

June 2, 1963. Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, asserted that church and synagogue actions in the struggle for racial justice have been "too little and too late. ...We must act now or bear unendurable consequences. If we religionists fail to move and speedily, we will doom all these moderates, like Martin Luther King, and we will make the success of the racists on all sides, including the Black Muslims, inevitable. ...If we cannot really put flesh on the bare bones of our pretensions about equality, we will stand exposed in every community as champions of an irrelevant faith, trumpeters of empty clichés."

June 18, 1963. The Central Conference of American Rabbis pledged "unequivocal support" to Negroes today in their battle for equal rights and opportunities. The 400 Members of the Reform group called for an "all-out effort" by the 1,000,000 members of Reform Judaism's 650 congregations to press for strong civil rights legislation by Congress. Warning that "a filibuster to prevent passage" of such legislation would "pose a threat to our survival as a democracy," the Rabbis voiced dismay at the "senseless and often brutal delays" in extending "full civil rights for Negro citizens."

Aug. 15, 1963. Two major institutions of American Reform Judaism called on lay and rabbinic leaders of the 650 Reform congregations not to deal with construction companies, banks, and other businesses that discriminate against Negroes. The appeal, also directed to more than 1,000,000 Reform worshippers, was made by the Commission on Social Action, joint body of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (comprising 650 spiritual leaders). Stressing the need for concrete action at the grassroots level, the "Call to Racial Justice" included these recommendations:

1) Businessmen should institute and enforce nondiscriminatory employment and promotion policies, make efforts to introduce Negro employees into work forces, and provide training to upgrade jobs for Negro employees.

2) Members of labor, business and professional groups should take positive steps to encourage the introduction of Negroes into skilled trades and professions.

3) All members are to support and participate in efforts for racial integration in their own communities, neighborhoods, and public schools.

4) Members should not patronize public places or businesses that discriminate against Negroes as either patrons or employees.

5) Members should not frequent private clubs that refuse membership on racial grounds.

6) Members should invest in financial institutions that make funds and services available on a non-discriminatory basis.

7) Members should give active support to the enactment of local, state, and Federal legislation and to forceful executive action on all levels of government.

8) Congregations should use integrated crews in construction of new houses of worship.

Sept. 9, 1963. Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, told the Congress's Governing Council that participation of religious groups in the Negro's struggle for freedom may reflect more a revolution of the clergy than a revolution of the people. "I do not believe that the Jews are with us," he said, and warned that the Congress "is in for a tremendous battle" in winning full civil rights support on the part of American Jews. Many members of his own organization have some misgivings "when it comes to a Negro living next door," Dr. Prinz said. He added that that attitude was "unbecoming a Jew," who, by virtue of his history of being discriminated against could add a "new dimension" to the civil rights fight.

In giving his evaluation of the March on Washington, Dr. Prinz said, "I am still marching. I'll never be the same--as everyone who participated will never be the same--as America will never be the same. By joining in the battle of the American Negro for dignity and freedom, organized religion has ~~fum~~ both found itself and vindicated its existence in our century." Christians and Jews, he said, have "finally got together, not on broad and meaningless statements, but on the basis of the realization that religion must leave the churches and synagogues and walk into the street."

Nov. 18, 1963. Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, told the 4,000 lay and rabbinic delegates the 630 temples of American Reform Judaism that many American Jews, through inactivity or opposition, have failed to support the Negroes' drive for equal rights. "By our craven silence as much as by outward cooperation with the "Let's keep the Negro in his place' advocates, we will force out from leadership...Dr. Martin Luther King, and drive... his followers to a desperate blood-s edding orgy," Rabbi Eisendrath said.

FLORIDA: Nov. 8, 1963--40 Dade County rabbis urged the Jewish community to push for racial integration of housing, education, employment, and public accommodations. Rabbi Solomon Schiff, president of the Greater Miami Rabbinical Assoc'n, said the group agreed on a 9-point policy, which was then sent to all South Florida temples and is aimed at employers, business and labor leaders, builders, and realtors, and apartment and home owners. The rabbis were also urged to reach school children.

LOUISIANA: Feb. 1, 1963--Rabbi Charles Mantinband, then of Hattiesburg, Miss, in speaking at an Insitute of Religion in Baton Rouge, said that patience and determination were necessary virtues needed to overcome racial bigotry. "People are more inclined to lose their identity in a groupon matters of controversy," he continued. "We are inclined to slough off both the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship...In no area has democracy failed as it has in race relations

VIRGINIA: Aug. 28, 1963--Rabbi Paul Reich, of Temple Beth El in Norfolk, mailed a strong endorsement of the civil rights march in Washington to members of his congregation, reminding them that many Jews will be among the marchers. "Our Jewish tradition, our personal experiences as victims of hatred and of oppression should dictate only one course of thought and of action--complete recognition of the cause of equal rights."

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

The Synagogue & Civil Rights

Jewish involvement w/ race problem over past 4 or 5 yrs.

incidents from my thing
updated

Directory of Religious & Race orgs in States, Counties & Cities

Directory of Christian & Jewish Orgs involved in 60-64 Race Relations
over

Dr. J. Oscar Lee
Dept. of Social & Cultural Relations
Nat'l Council of Churches
475 Riverside Dr., NY 10027, NY

Jewish orgs.

Synagogue Council of Am.
235 Fifth Ave. NYC, NY

Commission on Social Action
~~Rabbi Irwin M. Blank~~, Chm.
Dr. Nathan Lander, Dir.

Rabbinical Assembly
3080 Broadway, NYC, NY

United Synagogue of Am.
3080 Broadway, NYC, NY.

Commission on Social Action for
above 2 groups, plus Fed. of Jewish
Men's Clubs, Nat'l Women's League
Mr. Morris Laub, Dir.

October 8, 1964

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, Inc.
156 Fifth Avenue - 9th Floor
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Schwarzschild:

Since Mr. Watters is on vacation for three weeks, your letter to him has been referred to me for reply. I will begin by sending you a few things for your first request: the survey and analysis of the religious Jewish Community's involvement with the race problem over the past four or five years. When Mr. Watters returns, I will confer with him on both requests, letting him know what I have sent and collected to send, and you will hear from either him or me again.

The enclosed materials may help you as background information. The "church and race" thing is unpublished background information. One of our staff members has written an article based on it and later information which will appear soon in New South. I have added some later statements and actions. I would like to stress that this is not complete. You may wish to request additional information from the Jewish social action organizations (listed on the attached sheet) and from the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. Their newsletters and reports would give you additional instances of national and local actions, and it would be nation-wide and not just southern.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

enl
Religion & Race
add'l (attached copy)
newsclip: Delmarva
copy Jewish social action agencies

Civil Rights

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER 10-12-64

Backdrop to Civil-Rights Test

The Court, Congress, and the Commerce Clause

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Congress shall have Power . . . "To Regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes."

That is Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution—16 words, and they seem simple enough. In these words Congress has found the power to exert great influence on the lives of every American—from setting airline fares to breaking up corporations to making it a crime to take women across state lines for immoral purposes.

Again last week, as it has hundreds of times, the Supreme Court was asked to decide if Congress used its power under the commerce clause properly. In question was the public-accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids racial discrimination in such places as hotels, motels, restaurants, and service stations involved in interstate commerce.

It is next to impossible to find any legal authority who thinks the act will be held unconstitutional. This is not, as some might suppose, because the current Court is considered sympathetic to desegregation. It is rather that an almost unchallenged line of decisions dating back to the early 1800s has given Congress the right not only to exercise strong powers over interstate commerce, but to use this power for other, seemingly unrelated, purposes.

'Excuse' Hard to Find

A prominent law professor, one of the men most responsible for Sen. Barry Goldwater's decision to vote against the Civil Rights Act in the Senate, made this assessment:

"The Court would have to look very hard to find some excuse to declare it unconstitutional. I don't think this Court will look for the excuse."

This Goldwater adviser is convinced the act is Constitutional under the series of cases. "It is a relevant consideration for a member of Congress to decide that Congress should not use the interstate commerce power for noncommercial purposes," he explains. "But I think it would probably be improper for the Court to say now that the power did not exist."

Despite this, there does exist a slim chance that the Civil Rights Act might be held unconstitutional in its application to a restaurant serving a neighborhood clientele, such as Ollie's Barbecue in Birmingham, subject of one of the two cases argued last week. If this happens, much of the credit should go to Ollie's lawyers, who wrote a brilliant brief, creating sophisticated, ingenious arguments, and to Robert McDavid Smith, a tall, courtly attorney with a soft Southern accent, who courteously but firmly presented Ollie's case to the justices last week.

Two Contrasting Cases

The two cases up for decision could

movement was enough, the Court held, to bring the firm's labor practices under jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board. Mr. Smith distinguished this case because a specific hearing is held in each labor matter, while in the Civil Rights Act a general statement brings places like Ollie's under the law. The Court may not agree with the distinction, however.

Mr. Smith also argued that there was no relation between the action Congress was trying to prevent, racial discrimination, and the way it tried to prevent it, operations involving interstate commerce. If Congress can reach Ollie's through something as general as its purchasing practices, then attack specifics like discrimination, he contended, it could later use this power to tell restaurants any manner of other things.

A Professor's Opinion

The relationship is a point of dispute. In his testimony during Senate Commerce Committee hearings on the bill, Prof. Paul A. Freund of the Harvard Law School said:

"Like the great variety of regulations that have been sustained, this one rests on a functional relationship between the facilities of interstate commerce and the abuse or evil at which the Federal measure is directed. It would thus differ fundamentally from hypothetical excesses of Federal authority, such, for example, as a Federal code of marriage or divorce enforced by the closing of the channels of interstate commerce to violators of the code."

Whatever the caliber of the arguments, precedents are so strong the other way that Ollie's case is not likely to overturn the act. Of course the Court could overrule precedents, as it has more than 100 times in its 174-year history, or find a way to ignore them. But never has it set aside so many different lines of cases, cases so firmly entrenched, as would be required to hold the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional.

A Marshall Decision

John Marshall wrote the first well-remembered commerce clause decision in 1820. Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston, the inventors, had been granted by the New York State Legislature an exclusive right to operate steamboats in New York waters, and they licensed Aaron Ogden to operate a ferry to New Jersey. Thomas Gibbons began a competitive line using a Federal license. Chief Justice Marshall, in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, held the New York law unconstitutional as an interference with Congressional power over interstate commerce:

"It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed. This power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost ex-

when it substantially affects or burdens interstate commerce.

But those cases are clearly commercial. It took another line to establish that Congress can use its commerce power to attack other issues. The Mann Act, which made a Federal crime the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes, is a frequently cited example. By the same means, Congress has dealt with—and the Court has upheld its power to do so—such subjects as lottery tickets, kidnaping, alcoholic beverages, and milk.

Child Labor Ruling

A high point was the treatment of child labor. Congress passed a law in 1916 barring from interstate commerce goods made by child labor. But in *Hammer v. Dagenhart* in 1918, the Court held that law unconstitutional, deciding that it interfered with the state's power over local trade and welfare.

The most famous thing about *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, however, is one of the greatest dissents of the Great Dissenter, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. He wrote:

"It does not matter whether the supposed evil precedes or follows the transportation. It is enough that, in the opinion of Congress, that transportation encourages the evil. . . . It is not for this Court to pronounce when prohibition is necessary to regulate if it ever may be necessary—to say that it is permissible as against strong drink, but not as against the product of ruined lives. . . . The public policy of the United States is shaped with a view to the benefit of the nation as a whole. . . . The national welfare as understood by Congress may require a different attitude within its sphere from that of some self-seeking state. It seems to me entirely Constitutional for Congress to enforce its understanding by all the means at its command."

Hammer v. Dagenhart was ignored whenever possible by the Court in later decisions: In 1941 it was overruled and the Holmes view prevailed.

Never was the commerce clause more a center of controversy than during the New Deal. Many of the Depression recovery plans of Franklin D. Roosevelt depended on Congressional power over interstate commerce. But by 1936 the Supreme Court, using the standard test of "direct" or "indirect" effect on commerce, had held eight key pieces of New Deal legislation invalid, including the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Railway Pension Act, and the Farm Recovery Act. In five of these decisions, the vote was 5 to 4, with Chief Justice Hughes, and Justices Harlan Fiske Stone, Louis D. Brandeis, and Benjamin N. Cardozo dissenting.

'Swing Man's' Vote

Four important pieces of legislation

be held unconstitutional in its application to a restaurant serving a neighborhood clientele, such as Ollie's Barbecue in Birmingham, subject of one of the two cases argued last week. If this happens, much of the credit should go to Ollie's lawyers, who wrote a brilliant brief, creating sophisticated, ingenious arguments, and to Robert McDavid Smith, a tall, courtly attorney with a soft Southern accent, who courteously but firmly presented Ollie's case to the justices last week.

Two Contrasting Cases

The two cases up for decision could hardly be more different. One involves the Heart of Atlanta Motel in Atlanta, which does 75 per cent of its business with interstate travelers. The other is Ollie's Barbecue, which buys all of its meat (amounting to $70,000 of its $150,000 food purchases) in interstate commerce, but serves the food to an almost purely Birmingham clientele.

The Heart of Atlanta case was argued by the motel's president, Moreton Rolleston. Observers at the Court did not doubt his sincerity or belief, but he made arguments that many Constitutional lawyers would quarrel with: For example, that forcing a motel owner to serve Negroes made him a slave within the meaning of the 13th Amendment, and that people, as contrasted with products, were not a part of interstate commerce.

Mr. Rolleston also argued that the whole Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional. Few seriously believe that, not even Senator Goldwater, who has said he believes only the public - accommodations and employment sections are unconstitutional.

Powers Are Conceded

Mr. Smith, on behalf of Ollie's, conceded Congress' broad powers under the commerce clause; he conceded almost everything—except the grounds he needed to win.

Differentiating between purchases of goods in interstate commerce by Ollie's and its sales locally, Mr. Smith called them separate, and said local acts could not be reached by Congress. This argument, however, flew in the face of a decision by the Supreme Court only last year. A fuel-oil dealer in New York made only local sales of oil purchased in interstate commerce. The fact of the oil's exclusive right to operate steamboats in New York waters, and they licensed Aaron Ogden to operate a ferry to New Jersey. Thomas Gibbons began a competitive line using a Federal license. Chief Justice Marshall, in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, held the New York law unconstitutional as an interference with Congressional power over interstate commerce:

"It is the power to regulate; that is, to prescribe the rule by which commerce is to be governed. This power, like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations, other than are prescribed in the Constitution."

In the Nineteenth Century, those words were aimed largely at competing states that continually wanted to regulate interstate commerce. So little was the Federal Government concerned with the commerce clause that this power was hardly considered in post-Civil War civil-rights legislation. The Government relied entirely on the 14th Amendment ("due process" and "equal protection" for all American citizens); in 1883 the Supreme Court held that amendment did not apply to individuals, only to states.

All on Commerce Clause

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 supposedly relies in part on the 14th Amendment, the Government last week rested its whole case on the commerce clause.

"Are you saying," Justice Arthur Goldberg inquired of Solicitor General Archibald Cox during the argument, "that, 'We stand or fall on the commerce clause'?" Mr. Cox paused, then replied, "Yes, Mr. Justice. If we cannot prevail on the commerce clause, I do not think we can prevail on other grounds."

This reflects a line of Government reasoning that probably began with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. That act regulated interstate railroads and was clearly Constitutional. In the 1914 Shreveport case, Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote the Court's opinion that the Interstate Commerce Commission could regulate intrastate or local railroad rates when they involved discrimination against interstate traffic. Cases through the years have followed the line that local commerce can be regulated by Congress preme Court, using the standard test of "direct" or "indirect" effect on commerce, had held eight key pieces of New Deal legislation invalid, including the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Railway Pension Act, and the Farm Recovery Act. In five of these decisions, the vote was 5 to 4, with Chief Justice Hughes, and Justices Harlan Fiske Stone, Louis D. Brandeis, and Benjamin N. Cardozo dissenting.

'Swing Man's' Vote

Four important pieces of legislation were held valid, however, when the Court's "swing man," Justice Owen Roberts, voted with the Hughes wing. Then came President Roosevelt's "court-packing plan," and, coincidentally or not, Justice Roberts' vote went regularly to the Hughes wing that upheld the New Deal measures.

Shortly afterward the older justices began to retire, to be replaced by Roosevelt appointees. Since 1936 the Supreme Court has never declared unconstitutional an act of Congress under the commerce clause.

A milestone was reached in 1942. An Ohio dairy farmer who fed his cattle with wheat he grew on his own farm was held subject to the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938. Even though he didn't sell or buy any wheat, the Court held, his crop affected interstate commerce because he would have had to buy wheat if he had not grown it himself.

Last year, in the Reliance Fuel case, the Court said:

"Whether or not practices may be deemed by Congress to affect interstate commerce is not to be determined by confining judgment to the quantitative effect of the activities immediately before the (labor) board. Appropriate for judgment is the fact that the immediate situation is representative of many others throughout the country, the total incidence of which if left unchecked may well become far-reaching in its harm to commerce."

Ollie's Barbecue case could be made to fit that language.

As for the distinction that Ollie's made between buying food and selling it—Justice John Marshall Harlan said last week that he found that argument "persuasive"—the Court will face the language of its 1948 decision in *U.S. v. Sullivan*. There a retail druggist was held responsible for mislabeled goods under the provisions of the Pure Food and Drug Act. He had purchased the articles—properly labeled—from a local wholesaler, but the wholesaler had purchased from another wholesaler in a different state.

A Court Precedent

As for the argument about putting all operations under the Civil Rights Act, the same decision has been faced in the child-labor area: All products of a company using child labor can be barred from interstate commerce, not merely those on which children have been employed.

An analysis of the cases allows one conclusion: Congress has vast powers to take broad-ranging actions under the commerce clause, almost certainly including the power to attack racial discrimination.

Arguing for the Heart of Atlanta Motel, Mr. Rolleston advised the Court to look at the Constitution as the framers intended in 1789, not as they might intend today. Comparing 1789 standards to 1964 standards, the commerce clause exists in different worlds. Then commerce was a trickle. Modern American capitalism requires that it be a torrent, and there seems little doubt that the Supreme Court will again sustain the power it historically has allowed the Congress.

—JERROLD K. FOOTLICK

THE SUPREME COURT

Public Accommodations on Trial

The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce . . . among the several states.

—U.S. Constitution

Can those few words—the famous commerce clause—empower Congress to blow down private racial barriers in public accommodations across the land? Yes, says Congress, which deliberately invoked the commerce clause for Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. No, cry Southern businessmen, who argue that Congress has stretched the clause far beyond its proper reach. So anxious is the Supreme Court to rule on the first two test cases that last week it took the rare step of hearing oral argument on the first day of a new term. Said Justice John M. Harlan: "It is of the utmost public importance that this question be settled."

Avoiding Trouble. Congress linked Title II to the commerce clause for a crucial reason: the fate of the 1875 Civil Rights Act, which sought to use the 14th Amendment to ban racial discrimination by privately owned inns, theaters and the like. In 1883, the Supreme Court voided that law on the ground that the 14th Amendment applies only to state-enforced—not private—discrimination. Attacking private discrimination through the 14th Amendment would thus require a grotesque stretch for links to "state action," such as the fact that practically every business needs a state license.

By contrast, the Court has long permitted Congress to regulate anything that it claims has "a substantial economic effect on interstate commerce." Thus in 1942 (*Wickard* v. *Filburn*), the Court upheld the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 as applied to a farmer who sowed only 23 acres of wheat mostly for home consumption. Reasoning: the combined output of many small farmers affects the total flow of interstate commerce.

The Court has also approved federal regulation that has far more social than economic intent—for example, laws against narcotics, gambling and white slavery. In each case the Government did prove a connection with interstate commerce. Now it aims to do the same with racial discrimination—arguing that 1) discrimination is a burden on interstate commerce; 2) segregated businesses are engaged in such commerce; so that 3) they must desegregate within the meaning of Title II.

"Hogwash." The appeal was brought before the Supreme Court last week by the Heart of Atlanta Motel from an adverse ruling by a three-judge lower federal court. Title II requires the motel to serve Negroes, said that court, because it fronts on an interstate highway, welcomes white transients, advertises in national magazines and gets 75% of its guests from outside Georgia.

WALTER BENNETT

SOLICITOR GENERAL COX
For public equality.

Ignoring that evidence, the motel's Owner-Lawyer Moreton Rolleston Jr. proceeded to lecture the Justices: "The argument that this law was passed to relieve a burden on interstate commerce is so much hogwash. It was intended to regulate the acts of individuals." If the commerce clause can be stretched that far, declared Rolleston, "Congress can regulate every facet of life."

Yet the basic question, said Justice Hugo Black, is "whether we can say that Congress was wrong in thinking that to deny hundreds of people a right to stop and spend the night places a burden on interstate commerce that Congress has a right to lift."

AP

APPELLANT ROLLESTON
For private discrimination.

Congress was indeed right, said Solicitor General Archibald Cox, citing one statistic after another. From Miami to Washington in 1963, he said, the average distance between motels that accepted Negroes was 141 miles. The bar against Negroes cuts business for hotels, stores, theaters and restaurants throughout the South. When Negroes demonstrate, Southern retail sales are cut by as much as 50%. When whites resist, as in Little Rock, new plants stop coming in. Race discrimination not only "distorts the flow of commerce," argued Cox, but also "prevents it from flowing freely."

Trickle by Trickle. But what could Solicitor General Cox say about Ollie's Barbecue in Birmingham? In that second case of the day, Cox was himself appealing a lower-court decision that found Title II could not constitutionally reach a strictly local restaurant.

"There is no way of saying that an interstate traveler has ever been served at Ollie's," said Birmingham Lawyer Robert Smith. Ollie's does no advertising, seeks no transients, is eleven blocks away from the nearest interstate highway and buys most of its meat from a packing plant in Birmingham (though the plant gets the meat from outside Alabama). If Title II forced Ollie's to serve Negroes, said Smith, the result "would convert the commerce clause into a general welfare power under which Congress could encroach upon personal liberty and property to a degree never heretofore imagined."

Cox stuck to one rebuttal: Ollie's supplies come from out-of-state and do affect interstate commerce. Ollie's "trickle," said Cox, is "representative of hundreds of thousands of trickles, and together they make a great stream." This is "a national commercial problem" requiring the "wisdom and discretion of Congress," said Cox, and Title II is "reasonably adapted to the problem."

Will the Supreme Court agree? Not since 1936 has the Court struck down an act of Congress based on the commerce clause, and the current Court is obviously concerned with Negro rights. Still, there is no such thing as an absolutely sure bet on Supreme Court decisions, but the smart money is betting that the Court will squarely face the issue and rule before Election Day.

STATUTES

That Spy Loophole: A Deal or a Goof?

Why did the Government really drop its case in Brooklyn two weeks ago against accused Soviet Spies Aleksandr Sokolov and the woman who called herself Joy Ann Baltch? Was it a deal or a goof? Was the Government really foiled because Defense Lawyer Edward Brodsky invoked what newsmen called

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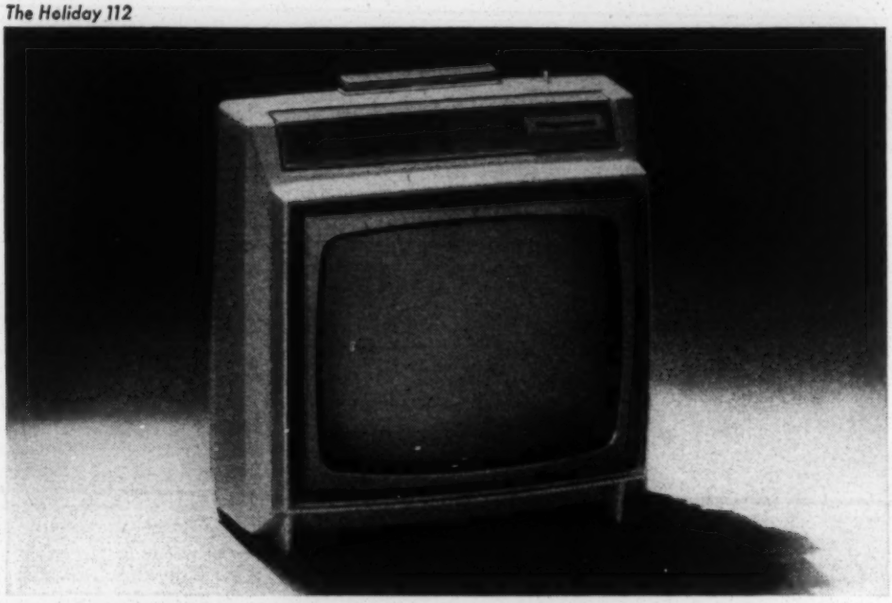

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YORK TOWN
SHULTON

a "1795 law" requiring the names and addresses of Government witnesses—thus endangering U.S. secret agents?

Whatever the answers, the law in question was duly invoked last week in behalf of two more accused Soviet spies facing trial in Newark—and the Government duly cooperated. Fact is, the law is hardly a new discovery. Last revised in 1958, it is plain as day in the U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 3432, which reads: "A person charged with treason or other capital offense shall at least three entire days before commencement of trial be furnished with a copy of the indictment and a list of the veniremen, and of the witnesses to be produced on the trial for proving the indictment, stating the place of abode of each venireman and witness."

Most states have similar laws, and the "place of abode" rule is old news to any good criminal lawyer or prosecutor. It stands, in fact, as one of the milestones of English law, which long held that a criminal defendant had no right to know anything about the witnesses to be used against him. In 1708, Britain's Parliament's own fear of royal persecution moved it to make an exception in the case of treason. In 1790, the U.S. Congress enacted a similar statute for treason, and in 1873 extended it to cover all capital offenses.

Every federal defendant has, thus, long been entitled to a list of Government witnesses in order to decide what testimony he must rebut when he is accused of crimes punishable by death—including espionage. Thus, the Sokolov tactic could not have surprised the Government; in fact, the court had approved it a full year before the abortive trial in Brooklyn. Why the Government really dropped the case is yet to be determined.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Pay as You Stay

When he recently completed a 15-month rap at Michigan's Jackson state prison, Benjamin Ritholz boasted the rare distinction of having paid for paying his debt to society. Reason: Lensmaker Ritholz, who was convicted of trying to bribe the state optometry board, is a millionaire. And under a 1935 state law, Michigan requires rich prisoners to pay their way.

Michigan's unusual statute sets no standard for judging which cons are rich enough to pay as they stay; the law says that an inmate who "appears" solvent enough is subject to being charged the daily $4 to $9 that it costs the state to keep him in jail. Few actually get into this fix; the state has collected only $30,000 from paying prisoners in the past nine years. But the possibilities are clear from the record of Lifer Roman Olezniczak (murder, bank robbery), the state's top paying con. While earning $5 a month in the Jackson prison laundry, Olezniczak has over the past ten years shelled out $13,847.51 for his keep.

How Civil Rights Have Grown in U.S.

EMPHASIS

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1964

The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION 6-B

Any discussion of the problem of civil rights should be based first of all — paradoxical as it may sound — upon an understanding of the essential harmony that exists concerning them, both within the United States, and among the various nations of the Western community.

Basically, authoritarian regimes such as those of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, or their lesser counterparts, exalted the state above the individual, who had no rights or liberties which he could assert against the power of the state. In actual fact, this is also true of Communist states, despite the confusion they inject by the use of misleading terminology, and the lip-service they give to civil rights.

In the United States, and in such countries as France and Britain, the government is subject to popular control, and the individual possesses certain rights and liberties which the government may not invade. The democratic, Western-oriented nations believe that government exists only by consent of the governed, that it has only certain delegated powers, and that the humblest of citizens retains an inviolable residium of personal freedom. Disagreement enters the picture only when the problem is considered of how best to guarantee and implement this freedom.

Two viewpoints are held. The one states that individual rights are best protected by positive governmental action, constantly and aggressively pushing for a more complete realization of the ideal. This implies a need for bigger, more powerful, more thorough centralized government.

The other view asserts the time-honored doctrine that the state itself, with its natural tendency toward increasing size and power, is the most dangerous enemy of individual freedom. It holds that the state's power over individuals must be confined by effective constitutional machinery and workable legal procedures.

Background for article appearing in The Atlanta Journal Oct. 26, 1964.

Better implementation of civil rights is said to be obtainable by more efficient and more broadly conceived application of the traditional restrictions upon government in the interest of personal liberty.

In the last generation, both of these views have been pressed by their advocates. In 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt set forth the famous concept of the "Four Freedoms" — freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—as basic rights to which men everywhere are entitled. Out of this redefinition of ideals there came later consideration of specific conditions and practices which seemed to be inimical to them. Both major parties included civil rights planks in their platforms in 1944.

At the conclusion of World War II, organized civil rights groups brought increasing pressure to bear on the government and the public. In response to this, President Truman in 1947 set up an investigatory Committee on Civil Rights, and early the next year sent to Congress a blueprint for aggressive, positive governmental action in defense of civil rights. He proposed the adoption of laws involving fair employment practices, barring discrimination on grounds of race, color, et cetera; national protection for the right to vote, and the abolition of the poll-tax; national protection against lynching; an end to discrimination in interstate transportation facilities; home rule and presidential suffrage for residents in the District of Columbia; and statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. This document was a forthright repudiation of the older American view that governmental action is itself the chief threat to individual freedom.

Both parties again adopted civil rights planks in their platforms in 1948, though dissenters in the Democratic convention created a split in that party over the issue. Similar declarations were included in the platforms of both parties in each presidential election thereafter, though in 1952 and 1956 diplomatic and evasive language had to be used to soothe internal dissension, particularly in the Democratic party.

Both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower repeatedly urged new civil rights legislation. Eisenhower recommended the establishment in 1956 and 1957 of a bipartisan commission to examine charges of denials of voting privileges and of economic pressures. He also asked for a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, and for further legislation in 1959 and 1960.

In 1957, the first national civil rights legislation since Reconstruction was passed; this was followed by a second act in 1960. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 established a bipartisan Civil Rights Commission of six members in the executive branch, which would investigate alleged deprivations of rights; study all legal developments that involve denials of equal protection of the laws; and appraise the policies of the national government relative to equal protection. The attorney general of the United States was authorized to intercede where a deprivation of voting privileges had occurred, or had even been threatened.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 authorized the Justice Department and the national judicial system to protect voting privileges still further.

Outside of Congress, the process of enlarging and safeguarding civil rights has been even more marked than within it. The courts struck down many forms of racial segregation, and organized groups have actively sought the removal of all barriers to complete and final racial equality. Administrative activity has kept pace with legislative and judicial action, in such things as desegregating the armed forces, and eliminating discrimination in public contracts.

This heavy tendency toward more government action in civil rights has been accompanied by growing tensions, pressures, and a certain amount of violence and disregard for law and order. The Our World Today article will treat the most recent aspects of the problem of civil rights, and the consequent reaction from this activity.

11-1-64 JC

Rights Compliance Reported by LBJ

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (AP)—President Johnson, reporting "widespread compliance" with the new civil rights law, says it "is being obeyed in those areas where some had predicted there would be massive disobedience."

During a campaign stop in Chicago, Johnson released a survey of 53 cities of more than 50,000 population in the 19 states which do not have their own public accommodations laws.

The report was submitted to Johnson by Leroy Collins, the former Florida governor who is director of the Community Relations Service established by the rights law.

The report gave these figures:

—In 51 of the 53 cities, more than two-thirds of the hotels and more than two-thirds of the theaters are desegregated.

—In 46 of the cities, more than two-thirds of the motels are desegregated.

—In 50 of the cities, more than two-thirds of the public parks are desegregated.

—In 52 of the cities, more than two-thirds of the libraries are desegregated.

Nearly 100 school districts were desegregated this fall, the report said. For the first time in the nation's history, it added, there are desegregated institutions of higher education and desegregated public schools at lower levels in every state.

"This year for the first time this desegregation was accomplished without violence, without injury and almost without notice," Johnson said.

The President said Collins reported "there is still considerable work to be done." But he said the exceptions "only serve to point up the basic fact that the general rule is compliance."

In some sections, Johnson said, the changes brought by the civil rights law represent the "reversal of generations of customs in practice."

"Adjustment to the law of the land is being accomplished and recognition is due those who have provided the leadership that has produced these encouraging developments—public officials, clergymen, educators, businessmen, labor leaders and other community leaders and countless private citizens have made the difference."

"Deserving of special note," Johnson continued, "are those members of Congress who opposed the civil rights bill with all their strength and all their eloquence while it was being debated, and who, once the bill was enacted, urged their constituents and followers to comply with the 'law of the land.' "

SUNDAY

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OCT. 1964

Pat — please read & discuss w/me.

Monty

Civil Rights

November 10, 1964

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, Inc.
Ninth Floor, 156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Schwarzschild:

I'm sure you thought we'd forgotten all about your request. I have been accumulating information on each of the areas, and it is enclosed. Our list of desegregated colleges has been stencilled but is not yet mimeographed; it will be along next week with a few other things.

Under separate cover we are mailing you some of our more recent publications which may be of interest to you also. We do not have the tabulation (published) of events of the past summer. We can give you figures and totals if you wish them. Note the caution on the "compliance" material.

If you have any specific questions as you begin writing, let us know and we will see what we can do.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
The Price We Pay
Law Enforcement in Mississippi
Series of cities: Charlotte, Louisville, Memphis, Brunswick
New South: Alabama and St. Augustine

Enclosed:
education
employment
housing
public accommodations: compliance
Voter Registration

To come later:
schools: elementary & secondary (being tabulated now)
reapportionment
L-23D

enclosed

EDUCATION, 1964

Attached: L-Report 23D on Higher Education Desegregation

Copy SSN, Oct. 1964, colleges and universities.

(the difference in the count is due to fact SSN includes only white schools with Negroes in attendance and also includes Negro schools with whites in attendance.)

For more complete report on public education, see U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1964 Staff Report: Public Education, just out.

And the September and October issues of Southern School News.

Press release on above report attached.

EMPLOYMENT, 1964

Attached: U. S. News & World Report, 6-29-64, "How New Law will Police Hiring, Firing, Promoting."

Suggested reading:

Reports from the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Employment.

New York Times Magazine, 5-24-64, Michael Harrington, "The New Lost Generation: Jobless Youth"

AFL-CIO Federationist, June 1964, "The Grip of Poverty on the Unemployed." (has a good many statistics)

Newsweek, June 8, 1964, "The Negro's Search for a Better Job."

Senator Jacob K. Javits speech, "Groundless Fears of the White Backlash," released Sept. 1, 1964 and obtainable from his office.

HOUSING, 1964

Attached are some copies of magazine articles and newsclips, and suggestions for futher reading. + "20 Cities Adopt Fair Housing Laws"

Under separate cover we are sending our studies of four southern cities. Louisville, especially, contains information on housing which may interest you. Other information may be of interest on the other subjects you plan to include.

The Louisville story on integrated housing is typical of southern cities: the Negro population increases, there is great demand and need for additional Negro housing, a breakghrough occurs (sometimes called "block-busting" and sometimes planned) and Negroes buy housing in formerly all-white neighborhoods. Usually within two to three years the neighborhood becomes all-Negro. There are these so-called "transitional" areas in Memphis, Tenn., Mobile, Ala., Miami, Fla., Atlanta, Ga., Greensboro, N. C. In Louisville there has been a real attempt by the socially oriented agencies to persuade home-owners to stay rather than to engage in panic-selling. What success they will have is still undertain.

There is some "token integration" (planned and maintained) in some public housing in Louisville; where this occurs it will be helpful in future housing integration in both public and private housing.

According to the regional H. & H. F. office in Atlanta, there is integrated public housing in the following cities:

Kentucky: Louisville, Lexington, Williamsburg, Newport
Florida: Miami
Tennessee: Rogersville
North Carolina: Winston-Salem, Greensboro
Texas: Houston

In Atlanta there are at least three "transitional" aread: Peyton Road, Grove Park, North Bankhead--but they are gradually becoming all-Negro.

The Current Reports of the Presidents Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing give examples of conferences to encourage integrated housing and also examples of such housing in various states.

HOUSING- 1964

Copies attached--

Bill Moyer, "The Emancipation of the Negro Home Buyer," Community January, 1964.

Lyle E. Schaller, "Churches Enter the Housing Business," Christian Century, Oct. 16, 1963.

Chester Rapkin, "The Heart of the Matter: More Housing for Negroes," Mortgage Banker, Feburary 1964.

"Housing Gets Another Transfusion," Business Week, September 12, 1964.

"Detroit Legalizes Discrimination," Christian Century ed., 1964

Jim Montgomery, "End is Near for Segregation in U.S. Housint," Journal-Constitution, 3-1-64

Suggestions for further reading:

Current Report, The President's Committee on Housing (free) Ask for all 1964 issues.

Renewal, April-May, 1964, 19 South LaSalle St., Room 1302, Chicago, Illinois, "Breaking the Housing Barrier (in the Norhtern Suburbs)," by Carol Kleiman.

Equal Housing Opportunity and Individual Property Rights, by M. Semer and M. E. Sloane. 24 Federal Bar Journal, p. 47, Winter, 1964.

Equal Protection--Racial Discrimination and the Role of the State by W. C. Griffith. 50 Michigan Law Review, p. 1054, May 1961

Executive Order on Housing, the Constitutional Basis for What It Fails to Do, by M. E. Sloane and M. H. Freedman, 9 Howard Law Journal, p. 1, Winter, 1964.

Fair Housing Laws--Design for Equal Opportunity, by L. Pearl and B. Terner. 16 Stanford Law Review, June, 1964.

Fourteenth Amendment Aspects of Racial Discrimination in Private Housing, h. W. Horowitz. 52 California Law Review, p. 1. March, 1964.

One Year's Experience; Current and Potential Impact of the Housing Order, M. E. Sloane, 32 George Washington Law Review, P. 457, March, 1964

Interracial Housing Can Be Stable, Profitable, Contend Authors of a New Exhaustive Study. Reprinted from House and Home, March, by NCDH. Review of major findings of Privately Developed Interracial Housing.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:

Summary of Field Reports from Southern States (copy)

Post Civil Rights Act Passage Compliance and Non-compliance
7-2-64 - 7-23-64

N.Y. Times Magazine, Alexander M. Bickel, "Much More Than Law Is Needed," 8-9-64

Journal-Constitution, "Many Doors Open Quietly to Negroes," 7-4-64

See "Nat'l Resort Hotel Survey," Feb. 1964, by A. W. L. Rights

Wall St. Journal 6-22-64 "Adm. to Ease Way for Death..." James Harwood

REAPPORTIONMENT:

N.Y.Times, 6-21-64, page with maps and several articles: Anthony Lewis, Clayton Knowles

Nat'l Observer, 6-22-64, "How Supreme Court Ruling Will Shake Up the States Politically."

VOTER REGISTRATION:

Latest statistics from Voter Education Project: Sept. 1, 1964
Other VEP statistics

9-9-64

STATE	Negro % Population/1	Total Voting Age Population	Nonwhite VAP	% NW VAP Regis.	Total Registration	Nonwhite/2 Registration	% NW Regis. of Total Regis.
ALABAMA	30%	1,815,000	526,656	21%	1,057,477	110,000	10.4%
ARKANSAS	21.8	1,124,000	209,077	38	715,528	80,000	11.2
*FLORIDA	17.8	3,516,000	508,079	59	2,500,466/3	299,960	12
GEORGIA	28.5	2,636,000	562,910	44	1,610,000	270,000	16.8
*LOUISIANA	31.9	1,883,000	562,535	29.3	1,202,056	164,707	13.7
MISSISSIPPI	42	1,243,000	465,620	6	533,500	28,500	5.2
NORTH CAROLINA	24.5	2,753,000	607,515	43	2,200,000	258,000	11.7
SOUTH CAROLINA	34.8	1,380,000	413,294	35	847,000/4	144,000	17
TENNESSEE	16.5	2,239,000	338,730	64	1,515,026	218,000	14.4
*TEXAS	12.4	5,922,000	700,923	54	2,976,967	375,000	18
VIRGINIA	20.6	2,541,000	473,507	27	1,091,047/5	127,000	11.6
TOTALS		27,162,000	5,418,846	38	15,387,283	2,075,167	13.4

1 - Negro % of Population and Negro Voter Age Population are from NAACP pamphlet A Voters Guide, Septem October, 1964.
2 - All Negro registration, except Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, are estimates as of 9-1-64
3 - Includes 33,547 "others"
4 - South Carolina VEP estimates are: Total Regis.= 786,599; Negro Regis.= 151,253
5 - Includes 23,236 "others"

* - Florida, Louisiana, and Texas figures are official.

Close-Up 11-18-64

The Groundwork for 'Encroachment'

Back during the recent unpleasantness in which the Deep South seceded from the Democratic party, an editorial in Diocese, the monthly publication of the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta, caught my eye.

The editorial put the civil rights debate into what seemed to be the proper perspective, so I put it aside and saved it. Now that the election has measured the depth of the resentment over the civil rights law in this part of the country, it may be worthwhile to turn back to that editorial and quote a few paragraphs from it. Here is the gist of it:

"For a period of about 75 years before 1954, the law of the land was that the races might be separated, provided each race be given equal treatment. However, for the first 50 or 60 years of the time that this was the law, Negro schools were far below the standard of those provided for white children. It was only when the white people were threatened with the repeal of the separate-but-equal provisions that a frantic effort was made to equalize school facilities.

"Some who favor segregation want to blame Northern liberals, do-gooders, or Communists for the pressures that brought about the court decision of 1954, but those who tolerated and fostered the inequities of the separate-but-equal law demonstrated over a period of more than a half century its unworkability.

"Recently we have been shocked by the passage of the 1964 civil rights law because the federal government has regulated the use of private property. This new law moves pretty far along the road of government control and we wish we didn't have such a law..

"But again this law is of our own doing. Private businesses have a responsibility to provide for the general public as well as make a profit. We who are able to go where we wish, obtain food and lodging and seek employment according to our ability, have not been aware that a whole segment of our population has been excluded from these privileges that we take for granted.

"In our failure to consider the needs of the Negro citizens we have been the real authors of the 1964 civil rights law."

The editorial adds that it is being charged that Southern juries will not convict white defendants in crimes involving Negro victims. Here again, the editorial warns, the groundwork is being laid for the federal government to step in. Once more the cries will go up against federal interference and encroachment. However, the editorial concludes, "it will be a situation of our own making. The federal government will be stepping in to fill a vacuum of Southern failure."

It is always easy and convenient to place blame elsewhere. Before his death, President Kennedy got the civil rights blame. Now, the regional election results show, it is Mr. Johnson who does. But as the Diocese editorial suggests, much of the blame should fall much nearer to home than the White House.

MARVIN WALL.

WEDNESDAY

NOVEMBER						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

25

NOV. 1964

Civil Rights
Compliance
Nov. 1964

Progressive
"The Quiet Revolution"
by M. Long

REAPPORTIONMENT 11-29-64 J-C

Katzenbach Views the Decision As a Boon to States' Rights

By MARGARET SHANNON

Washington.

IT TAKES a little doing to see any states' rights in the U.S. Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions, but acting Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach is able to see some.

His idea, as expressed in a speech in Miami the other day, is that malapportioned legislatures often have been unresponsive to public needs and the result has been federal programs to fill the void.

Thus, he said, the reapportionment decisions were not a blow at states' rights, but "a challenge for states to solve their own problems, within the framework of the Constitution."

Mr. Katzenbach admitted that reapportionment of legislatures will rearrange the political power in the states. But he sees this as no threat to states' rights, although it definitely is a threat to the "rights" of some politicians who hold office or power by reason of malapportionment.

"The rearrangement seems to me to be no threat to the continued vitality of states as organs of government closest to the people and as their most effective representative," he said. "On the contrary, one can expect the release of new energy from reapportionment."

NO THREAT

The Supreme Court opened a new era in civil rights with its 1954 school desegregation decision, and the reapportionment decisions apparently have opened a new era in representative state government. Mr. Katzenbach called reapportionment "second only to civil rights in lasting social significance."

The first in the line of reapportionment decisions came in a Tennessee case, and the big breakthrough was the Supreme Court's deliberate venture into the "political thicket" that it had so purposely shunned in the past.

Margaret Shannon is The Atlanta Journal's Washington correspondent.

But for all its importance, the Tennessee case is not as significant to the pattern of reapportionment in the future as the Georgia county unit case. The court's pronouncement of "one man — one vote" is really the basis on which both congressional and legislative representation are being revamped.

It was this "one man — one vote" dictum that formed the basis for the followup decision that both houses of legislatures must be apportioned on the basis of population.

So, in a way, Georgia has only itself to blame for the knotty problem now facing the General Assembly — reapportionment of the House according to population.

Now that it has entered the "political thicket," the Supreme Court seems quite fascinated by what it is finding. Perhaps this is only natural; after all, most of the justices are politicians once-removed.

INTEREST

The court displayed some of its lively interest during the recent hearing on the Georgia case. The only question involved was whether or not the 1965 legislature, with the House not yet reapportioned, should be allowed to act on a new state constitution if it chooses to.

Questions rained down from the bench to attorneys of both sides. Freeman Leverett, of Elberton, deputy assistant attorney general, said afterward, "Now I know what it feels like to be on the witness stand."

It remains to be seen whether or not reapportionment will accomplish as much for states' rights as Atty. Gen. Katzenbach thinks it will. There is always the question of financing state functions even if a fairly apportioned legislature is able to think up things that ought to be done.

President Johnson has under consideration a plan for turning some federal revenue over to states for use as the states please.

This would indeed be a new era in states' rights. One question that comes to mind is: What have state governments done to show that they deserve such handouts?

Cider From the Georgia Press

When a woman reaches an age she likes, she usually sticks to it.—*Kate's Korner, Dawson County Advertiser.*

Experience is a great teacher, but she seldom asks if you can afford her price. — *The Sparta Ishmaelite.*

A race horse: An animal that can take several thousand people for a ride at the same time. — *Banks County Journal.*

Be patient with a woman driver. If she doesn't run into trouble, give her a little time and she'll back into it.—*A. C. Jolly, The Bartow Herald.*

Bias Can Cut Aid and Jobs, Rights Rules Make Clear

By MARGARET SHANNON 12-8-64

Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

NEWS ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8—The first rules promulgated under the federal funds cutoff section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act give U.S. agencies far-reaching means to combat racial segregation and discrimination.

A hospital construction grant, for instance, would be unavailable without assurances of no discrimination in the admission of patients or in the privilege of doctors to practice in the hospital.

A school district in a federally affected area cannot get federal aid if it maintains segregation. About 65 counties in Georgia now get such aid under the program to help schools in areas with defense plants for military installations.

In the federal-state employment service program, no job referrals can be made if the request contains racial specification.

THESE ARE only a few of the situations covered by regulations issued last week by seven departments and agencies, and it's just the beginning. Rules of others will be issued in the next few weeks.

The cutoff of funds is not automatic, and elaborate processes for obtaining voluntary compliance are provided. So are methods for appeals. The law itself says losers may take their cases to the federal courts.

But when all the red tape is stripped away, the rules mean that states, counties, cities, school systems, colleges, hospitals, agricultural extension services, housing authorities and many other agencies eventually can be made to cease racial discrimination—or give up federal funds.

THE RULES issued last week affect programs handled by the Interior, Agriculture, Labor and Health, Education and Welfare departments, General Services Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency and National Science Foundation.

They have passed their first hurdle. Under the Civil Rights Act, the President must approve all regulations. President Johnson approved these Thursday, they were published in the Federal Register Friday and they go into effect Jan. 3.

TITLE 6 of the Civil Rights Act provides, in part: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

Some Southern members of Congress considered Title 6 the most dangerous part of the bill, potentially, to segregation. Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., who led the Dixie filibuster against the bill, called it the "genocide" clause and thought it worse than the public accommodations and fair employment sections, although he despised them, too.

Here, selected from the many federal programs covered, are some programs of particular interest and how the rules affect them:

Agricultural Extension Service—Discrimination is prohibited in the use of facilities and in activities, including fairs, competitions and encampments. This,

Turn to Page 10, Column 4

BIAS CAN CUT FUNDS

Continued from Page 1

of course, could mean desegregation of 4-H and Home Demonstration clubs.

SCHOOL LUNCHES — The Rules recognize the existence of school segregation and reflect Congress' concern for keeping the school lunch program going. The rules do prohibit segregation in lunchrooms in integrated schools. They also say free or reduced-price lunches must be made available on an equitable basis in both white and Negro schools in systems with segregation.

Farmers Home Administration—Segregation is prohibited in senior citizens' rental housing finance with direct loans to private nonprofit corporations and consumer cooperatives and in recreation facilities built with soil and water loans to an association.

LOW - RENT HOUSING— There must be no race barriers. In the case of existing projects, the agency can act to end segregation if it makes periodic payments — and in most public housing projects it does.

Urban renewal — The same rules apply to these projects.

College housing loans—Assurance must be given that not only the housing, but the whole college as well, will be desegregated. This could affect many private colleges in addition to publicly supported institutions.

(Programs under the Housing and Home Finance Agency have been under nondiscrimination regulations for about two years as a result of an executive order issued by President Kennedy.)

Aid for elementary and high schools—The recipient school district must end segregation. This applies to districts receiving funds for construction or general support under the so-called impact program or for vocational education, guidance and counseling and improving instruction in mathematics, science and modern foreign languages.

HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION. —Assurances must be given that there will be no discrimination in the admission of patients, interns, residents, student nurses and other trainees and in the privilege of qualified physicians, dentist and other professional persons to practice.

Research grants for graduate schools — There must be no segregation in the graduate school or in the entire university unless there are exceptional circumstances.

Construction of medical college teaching facilities, mental retardation or community mental health facilities and public libraries — Discrimination in their use is prohibited.

THE LIST could go on and on. The Agriculture Department lists more than 50 programs affected, including control of white blister rust.

The HHFA lists 16, the Labor Department eight and Interior Department 89. The Health, Education and Welfare Department lists 94, including even grants for teacher training and employment of specialists in desegregation problems.

The regulations are directed at recipient political subdivisions, agencies or institutions and not at the individual beneficiaries — that is, the persons who eventually get the old-age pension, the free school lunch, the farm price support payment, the hospital care, the low-rent housing, the vocational instruction, the empolyment service referral or whatever else it may be.

The pensioner, student, farmer, patient or other individual beneficiary can be a segregationist and not imperil the program under which he benefits.

But if administrators or officials refuse to end discrimination in the program or project, the flow of federal funds may cease. It may take time, but the means are at hand.

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

1964

Civil Rights & Intergroup Relations

developments, 1964:

progress in desegregation:

schools - elementary & secondary
college
parochial

ans-plus
SSD

✓ voting - VEP release

employment - ~~Pres. Committee re Equal Empl Oppor~~

housing - ~~Trends in Housing~~

? public accommodations — our compliance report ?

reapportionment

Rights Bill Impact

Many Dixie Busines
Comply With New L
But Holdouts Rema

Jackson, Birmingham M
Restaurants Serve Neg
Small Towns Fight Change

Salty Coffee & High Prices

1-6-65

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

In such major Deep South cities as Jackson, Birmingham and Atlanta, Negroes can stay at first-class motels and dine at top restaurants.

But in Laurel, Miss., a mixed g Negroes and whites who recently tried n a downtown restaurant landed in j in the town of Vidalia, in Louisiana, K Klan members have brought pressure against a local service station that, ng to a Klan publication, has been ng niggers to drink at the water and use rest rooms."

These situations suggest the ra Dixie's responses to the controversial accommodations section of the civil act of 1964. Six months after the bill sage and three weeks after the Suprem ruling upholding the act's curbs on racial di crimination by businesses serving the public, a Wall Street Journal survey of developments from Texas to the Carolinas indicates that white Southerners' reactions run the gamut from full, though often grudging, compliance, to subtle efforts at evasion, to open defiance.

Despite the mixed picture, civil rights leaders, Justice Department officials in Washington and Southern Negroes are optimistic about progress toward desegregating public accommodations in Dixie. "Everybody pleasantly surprised," says Paul Anti rector of field activities for the South gional Council, an Atlanta-based org dedicated to improving race relation South.

"Nothing We Can Do"

And even many diehard segregati beginning to resign themselves to itable opening up of many formerly restaurants, hotels, theaters and othe lishments to Negroes. "There's not can do about it," shrugs a Shreve cab driver. "They've got that bill now."

There are bound to be many exce any generalizations about the exten plance with the public accommoda in various parts of the South. But groups agree that businessmen in N lina, Tennessee and Texas have markable willingness to abide by rules. The law has had considerab pact in Georgia, South Carolina, Florida and Arkansas. And it has had still less impact in hard-core segregationist states of Louisi Alabama and Mississippi.

hin the states there are wide variations. ess places in cities have been much r to drop racial barriers than those in r communities and rural areas. For ple, Negroes seeking service at white sses in Mississippi are far less likely counter trouble in the capital city of n or the Gulf Coast city of Biloxi than ming towns in the Mississippi Delta. And isiana Negroes will find many more open to them in New Orleans than in communities in the northern part of the a recent Negro visitor to one of these communities, Tallulah (population 9,413), noted a "Whites Only" sign over a cafe.

A $5 Steak

There are also differences from one class of establishment to another. A Negro who can afford it will have no trouble buying a $5 steak at the restaurant at Birmingham's swank Parliament House motel. But he stands a good chance of being turned away if he tries to order a 50-cent hamburger at a lunch counter white working-class neighborhood of the city.

t of the desegregation of businesses that ken place so far has occurred without to the courts. Still, there has been con- ble activity on the legal front. The Department is currently investigating 650 complaints of discrimination in pub- ccommodations. Besides successfully off challenges to the public accom- ons law by an Atlanta motel and a ngham restaurant, the department has t six suits against businessmen in where it discerns "patterns" of dis- ation. It is also closely watching the s of about a dozen suits brought by individuals against businesses that allegedly discriminate.

Some legal actions have already had an effect. A Government suit led to an agreement by two Clarksdale motels to accept Negroes, even though other businesses in that Mississippi Delta city remain segregated. In Gadsden, Ala., the Rebel's Roost Restaurant said last week it had decided to start serving Negroes rather than fight a suit brought by individual Negroes under the civil rights act.

A Trickle of Negro Patrons

en where businessmen have dropped barriers, there has been no sudden in- of large numbers of Negro patrons. The iament House in Birmingham still goes ks at a time without registering a Negro t, and the hostess at Corinne Dunbar's, stylish New Orleans restaurant, says three groups of Negroes have eaten there the passage of the rights bill. A recent -hour tour of desegregated eating places downtown Jackson turned up only one ro—and this Negro, a woman, was stand- at a Woolworth's lunch counter, even gh there were empty seats.

Many—perhaps most—of the Negroes break- the color barrier in Southern business es- lishments are civil rights activists out to the public accommodations law.

Charles Evers, Mississippi field secretary the National Association for the Advance- ent of Colored People, has been leading esting teams" through Mississippi; one of Mr. Evers' most recent victories occurred in the Mississippi River city of Natchez, where a group of Negroes and two white ministers

Please Turn to Page 17, Column 3

Rights Bill Impact: Many Businesses In the South Comply With New Law

Continued From First Page

succeeded in integrating two downtown white hotels, as well as a Negro hotel that accepted the white ministers as its first white guests. In October the Mississippi NAACP held its annual banquet in the plush, formerly whites-only Buena Vista Motel in Biloxi. The Arkansas NAACP recently held a state-wide meeting at previously segregated facilities in the city of El Dorado, where, reports L. C. Bates, Arkansas field secretary for the organization, "the people made us perfectly welcome and opened everything to us."

But civil rights leaders concede that rank-and-file Negroes are slow to patronize newly desegregated businesses. Habit and low incomes partially explain this situation. But some Negroes also say they find it difficult to relax and enjoy themselves in establishments that formerly barred them.

"A lot of places aren't being used because it's still like a test to go there," says David Dennis, Mississippi field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality. "You can't enjoy yourself, and it takes a lot for a person to go through this experience continuously."

Despite such misgivings, Negroes who have begun patronizing the better-class places that have desegregated say they generally are treated courteously.

Forgetting an Umbrella

"It's marvelous," says John Drew, a Negro who heads a Birmingham insurance agency. "Since the bill, my wife and I have been eating all over town, and we haven't run into one single incident." Lolis Elie, a dapper young Negro lawyer in New Orleans, pleasurably recalls a recent evening at famed Brennan's Restaurant in the French Quarter. "The lady I was with forgot her umbrella, and as we were leaving a guy came running after us with it, calling me 'sir,'" relates Mr. Elie.

But some Dixie businesses that have just started serving Negroes make no effort to hide their displeasure at the development.

In Columbia, S.C., Negro lawyer Matthew Perry, chief counsel for the state NAACP, says: "While we've had general compliance here, there are still many instances of raised eyebrows when a Negro walks in. For instance, I went to a restaurant with several Negro friends in Orangeburg last week, and instead of greeting us at the door, the hostess just stared across the room at us. Finally she called across the room for us to go to a certain table, and it became obvious that the waitresses were conducting an election to see who got our table."

Some eating places in the South express their distaste for Negro customers in even less subtle fashion. A number of Negroes r port being served coffee heavily laced salt or glasses of warm salt water. Davis, a Negro girl who works for COR Baton Rouge, says she recently ordered chocolate at a drive-in there and receiv cup of chocolate milk with two s cream in it. In Natchez six Negro youngsters who asked for hambur department store lunch counter got no meat. Some restaurants raise Negro customers; a Negro girl w $20 for a hamburger at a restaur New Roads, La.

"Sorry, No Tables"

Some of the Southern business don't serve Negroes at all are em ious ruses to avoid compliance with public accommodations law. At several Little Rock restaurants there are reserved signs on all tables, and Negroes are invariably told that no tables are available. When Negroes show up at some Mississippi restaurants, the proprietors announce that they are closing for the day.

A number of restaurants in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama have become "private clubs" to get out from under the provisions of the new rights law. At least one major hotel, the Robert E. Lee in Jackson, has followed the same course. In some instances the restaurant clubs have banded together in associations that issue membership cards entitling their white holders to dine at any of the eating places belonging to the group. Other than race, the standards for becoming a member of a dining club are usually relaxed or even nonexistent; at one Birmingham night spot a few evenings ago, a blue neon "Private Dinner Club" sign glowed brightly, but a white nonmember was served drinks and dinner without question.

Some Southern businessmen don't bother with elaborate evasive tactics to keep from complying with the public accommodations law; they simply ignore it or defy it openly. Thus, a Negro educator recently found a snack bar on the highway outside Waco, Texas, still tells Negroes to pick up their orders at the back door. In Natchez the manager of a local movie theater turned away 13 Negro high schoolers the other day, labeling the youths "trouble-making integrators."

Disturbing the Peace

In some smaller cities and towns businessmen determined to maintain segregation can count on the cooperation of local law enforcement officials. That was the case in Laurel when a group consisting of four Negroes and two whites sought service at the Pinehurst-Travel Inn Coffee Shop, across the street from the city hall. They were quickly arrested and hauled off to jail. All were charged with disturbing the peace, and four were also charged with resisting arrest.

Despite the general trend toward compliance with the rights law in larger Southern communities, stubborn holdouts remain in cities such as Jackson. In that city the Primos restaurant chain is undoubtedly the best known of the holdouts. Almost daily Negroes try to enter two Primos restaurants and are politely barred. Negroes have brought suit against the Primos chain, however, and Aleck Primos, who is president of the white supremacist Jackson Citizens Council as well as an officer of the restaurant chain, apparently doesn't have much hope of winning his case in the courts.

But, he observes, "I don't see how we can change our stand. We've been led to believe that if we comply with the law, it will kill our trade. So it looks to me like we'll have to be forced by the courts."

Mr. Primos claims that a survey of 2,000 of his customers indicated that 78% would quit patronizing his restaurants if Negroes were admitted. Other Southern businessmen have voiced similar fears about the impact of desegregation.

nearby e office building temporarily stopped eat- lunch at the motel's restaurant after it to Negroes but that most of these

going to abide by it. As his own reaction, adds Mr. Brennan, "business is good, and that's all I worry about."

January 13, 1965

Mr. David Seeley
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, & Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20202

Dear Mr. Seeley:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to write you to acknowledge receipt of the packet of information on compliance and nondiscrimination which you so thoughtfully sent to him. We appreciate this very much; it is now being circulated to the professional staff for thorough reading and study.

Since we do have a fairly large staff, would it be possible for us to receive two more complete sets? In this way we could have one set in Research, and two staff members could have a complete set for ready reference. I am listing below the contents of the package, for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

List of Contents:

- Memo from Francis Keppel to Presidents of Institutions of Higher Edu.
- Memo from Francis Keppel to Chief State School Officers
- Instructions to State Agencies Regarding Compliance, Federally Assisted Programs
  - Statement of Compliance for State Agencies
  - Instructions to School Districts
  - Explanation of HEW Form No. 441
  - Assurance of Compliance
- Title 45--Public Welfare, Part 80
- Equal Educational Opportunities Program folder
- Civil Rights Act 88-352

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

Commentary - Feb 1965
Vol 39 #2
Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the CR Movement"

FRIDAY

15

JANUARY

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
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31						

JAN. 1965

23 ¢

Rose, Arnold Social Change & the Negro Problem. NY A-D Longmans

Nat'l Community Relations Advisory Council. Report of 25th Anniversary plenary session. June 25-28 1964 Denver 96 pp.

Burke Marshall, Federalism & Civil Rights NY, Columbia Univ. Press. 1964 85 p.

Civil Rights

15 - FRIDAY, JAN. 15 - 350

March 5, 1965

Mr. Robert W. Brannan
2434 N. 97th St.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53226

Dear Mr. Brannan:

We are mailing you several things for your M.A. term paper on the 1964 civil rights act, and on attitudes and activities affecting the proposed legislation in the year preceeding passage.

I think you will also find it helpful to look through the Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1963 and 1964.

Since it is generally thought that events in Mississippi during the Summer of 1964 had a great deal to do with passage, we are sending you also a report on Mississippi.

By writing to the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, you may be able to obtain a copy of their Three Months Report on Compliance, issued in late 1964.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
Wall Street Journal, 1-6-65, "Many Dixie Businesses Comply With New Law"
Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 11-1-64, "Rights Compliance Reported by LBJ" (report on 53 cities)

Mailed separately:
Americans Are Law-Abiding Citizens
Law Enforcement in Mississippi

2434 N. 97th St.
Milwaukee Wis 53226
February 25, 1965

Southern Regional Council
atlanta Georgia

Gentlemen:

as a student in the masters (political science) program at the University of Wisconsin, I have a term paper assignment on the 1964 Civil Rights act.

I am especially interested in attitudes and activities affecting the proposed legislation in the year preceeding passage and additional material on reaction to the actual passage

It is my understanding that you may be able to refer me to publications or reports on these topics.

any assistance you can give me will be most appreciated.

Sincerely
Robert W. Brannan

MA ✓
BPhe

ONE MAN"S MANIFESTO

By: Congressman James A. Mackay - 4th District, Ga.
(Some thoughts on the Governor's Meeting, Washington, D.C.
May 18, 1965)

I do not presume to speak for the South for the simple reason that no single individual, no matter what office he might hold, can speak for all of the people in our region.

But, I can speak for a point of view and reflect an attitude that is widely present in our part of the nation.

There are some things we believe with all our heart and there are other things we reject with all of our mind.

We believe that our boys and girls of whatever race, creed or color have a birthright to an opportunity for as much education as they are willing and able to accomplish. We believe that the emphasis ought to be placed on discovering the potential of each child, not on trying to classify him on the basis of accident of birth.

We believe that the right of every qualified citizen to vote should be a reality and not something he or she has to hire a lawyer and file a lawsuit to enjoy.

We believe our legislatures should be made representative and responsive to the pressing needs of our day and time without delay because the unrepresentative structure and irresponsible actions of some of them have caused citizens to seek redress in Washington when they should be able to find it at home.

We believe in the principle of local control. We believe that each school district and each state is unique and that the ultimate achievement of good schools will be accomplished by the finest leaders of both races working together with respect for the law and with regard for the practical problems in each community.

We believe that this is One Nation under God and that we should strive for the unity of our people, for the freedom of our people, not only to enjoy their constitutional rights, but also to accept and discharge the responsibilities of citizenship.

These things we believe with all our hearts.

We reject with all of our minds the counsel of those who deliberately cultivate disrespect for our federal government and for our courts and whose utterances have invited ignorant and misguided people to resort to violence, intimidation and murder by ambush.

We reject the counsel of those who would make the schoolhouse and the schoolyard a battleground.

We reject those who would heap scorn on any man, woman or child because of the color God made him or who would judge a man because of the condition of his pocketbook or the county, state or region in which he lives.

We reject the leadership of those who justify conditions that are wrong in our own region just because it is easy to point to similar wrongs in other regions.

We reject the leadership of those who seek to make short-term political capital by arguing that we should postpone efforts to solve our long-term problems.

We condemn those who, by their contempt for the flag of the United States, show that they have no pride in the glory of our past and have no appreciation for the fact that it is the symbol of our hope for the future.

The South is entering a new century of progress, of power, of prosperity. Good human relations between all of her people can flourish and grow under the leadership of men and women who love God, their country, and their fellow man. It could wither and perish if it chose any other course.

Georgia has chosen the high road and will not take the low.

Memo from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Civil Rights - 1960-63

Facts on File
119 W. 57th St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10019

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Civil Rights

Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. (Policy + action recommendations in furtherance of equal rights. Washington, Jan. 26, 1964- 11p.

Moral Crisis; the case for civil rights, as stated by: John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey, Thomas H. Kuchel. Minneapolis Pub. Co., 1964. 185p.

Community Relations

Natl Community Relations Council. Report of the plenary session, June 27-30, 1963, N.Y. 1964 112p

Rose, Arnold M. ed. Assuring freedom to the free: a century of emancipation in the USA. Detroit: Wayne St. Univ. Press 1963 306 p

Anderson, J.W. Eisenhower, Brownell, & the Congress; the tangled origins of the CR Bill of 1956-1957. Pub. for Inter-Univ. Case Program. U of Ala. Press, 1964. 139 p.

Ky. Commission on Human Rights Questions & answers on the proposed Ky public accommodations bill Lexington 1964. 8 p.

Falier, Shad: The Jew & the Racial Crisis. N.Y. Office of Jewish Rego. AJC 7-15-64 5 p mimeo

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

The Civil Rights & Civil Liberties Decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court for the 1963-64 Term.

summary & analysis

by: Commission on Law & Social Action, Am. Jewish Congress
15 E 84th St. NYC, NY 10028

The Civil Rights Story
1963
a Year's Record
Harry Fleischman
AJC

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Civil Rights

Committee Reporter "Civil Rights: Can the Law Be Enough?" by Robt. F. Kennedy July 1964

Sat. Evening Post, July 25-Aug. 1, 1964 "If we can crack Mississippi ..." by James Atwater

New Republic 7-25-64 Miss: When Law Collides with Custom" by Christopher Jencks

N.Y. Times Mag 7-19-64 James W. Silver, "Miss Must Choose"

Harpers "Jewish Lawyers & Neglected Clients, Alan H. Pollitt Aug. 1964

Newsweek 9-13-64 "The Backlash Issue" by Louis Harris & pall.

Look "Don't Make Our Mistake" by Geo. B. Leonard Aug 11, 1964

Memo from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Civil Rights:

Barnett, Richard, & Garagi, Joseph
Where the States Stand on Civil Rights 1967 (N.Y.: Ballantine Books)

Civic and Political

Civil Rights*

DURING THE period under review (October 1, 1962, to December 31, 1963), the drive to end racial segregation engaged citizens of every race and creed to a degree seldom paralleled in American history.

INTEGRATION

Legislation

The Southern Regional Council reported some progress toward integration in 1963 in an estimated 186 localities in the 11 southern states. In an estimated 102 of these cities, towns, and counties, biracial committees with varying degrees of official sanction were working toward the achievement of further integration.[1]

Additional progress during the period was reflected in these events:

Thirty-six states ratified a Constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax as a voting requirement in Federal elections;

One hundred and eighty-four new public-school districts in the South were desegregated, bringing the total to 1,140, and leaving only one state with total segregation of public elementary and high schools;

The Federal government, as well as dozens of state and city administrations, pressed drives to bar discrimination in employment and to open apprenticeship training to young people of minority groups;

Two new states, Indiana and Hawaii, adopted fully enforceable fair-employment laws, bringing the total to 22; and two more, Iowa and Vermont, joined Idaho and Utah in making employment discrimination subject to criminal penalties;

* Civil rights refer to those rights and privileges which are guaranteed by law to each person, regardless of race, religion, color, ancestry, national origin, or place of birth: the right to work, to education, to housing, and to the use of public accommodations, health and welfare services, and facilities; and the right to live in peace and dignity without discrimination or segregation. They are the rights which government in a democratic society has the duty to defend and expand.

For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 361.

1 Southern Regional Council, *Civil Rights: Year End Summary*, p. 1.

Scores of formerly segregated white and Negro union locals were merged, and the last color bar in the constitution of an AFL-CIO international union was wiped from the books;

California became the 11th state to bar discrimination in private housing; and Connecticut and Massachusetts, as well as several municipalities, strengthened existing statutes toward this end;

Maryland and South Dakota increased to 30 the states with laws against discrimination in public accommodations;

The United States Supreme Court ruled repeatedly that all public facilities must be desegregated and that sit-in demonstrations to bring about such desegregation did not constitute breaches of the peace.

Violence

At the same time, segregationists in the nation struck back, frequently with force and violence, to impede the progress of racial equality. This period was marked by the wanton murders of William Moore, a member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Alabama on April 23, 1963, and Medgar W. Evers, Mississippi field secretary of the NAACP, on June 12, plus the killing of four children by a hate bomb in Birmingham, Ala., on September 15. A Catholic parochial school in Plaquemine parish, La., was bombed and closed after it opened its classrooms to both Negro and white children. Fire hoses, police dogs, and electric cattle-prods were used against many of those who demonstrated for the right to vote, to attend desegregated schools, to be served in public restaurants, to be considered for desirable jobs, and for all the other essential freedoms guaranteed, in the abstract, to every citizen. In 1963 the Southern Regional Council reported about 930 public protest demonstrations in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states. More than 20,000 of the demonstrators, Negro and white, were arrested. Ten persons died under circumstances directly related to racial protests, and 35 bombings took place.[2]

National Conference on Religion and Race

Something new in the struggle for racial equality happened when 657 delegates—clergy, educators, and lay leaders—representing 67 Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish organizations, attended the National Conference on Religion and Race, held in Chicago in January 1963. Convened by the social-action departments of the National Council of Churches of Christ (NCCC), the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), and the Synagogue Council of America (SCA), it was the first joint meeting on this subject of all the major religious and racial groups in the United States. The conference received wide coverage in major news and informational media throughout the country, which thus became aware that America's religious organizations were determined to make a major attack on racial inequities.

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2 *Ibid.*

The conference concluded that churches and synagogues should commit themselves to the fight for racial justice. There was a strong feeling that the church or synagogue should be ready to exercise discipline against members who defied basic religious principles as well as the precepts of their own local religious groups by flagrantly opposing racial justice. A follow-up committee promoted social-action programs in more than two-score cities.

The conference unanimously adopted "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People," which read in part:

> Our primary concern is for the laws of God. We Americans of all religious faiths have been slow to recognize that racial discrimination and segregation are an insult to God, the Giver of human dignity and human rights. Even worse, we all have participated in perpetuating racial discrimination and segregation in civil, political, industrial, social, and private life. And worse still, in our houses of worship, our religious schools, hospitals, welfare institutions, and fraternal organizations we have often failed our own religious commitments. With few exceptions we have evaded the mandates and rejected the promises of the faiths we represent.
>
> We repent our failures and ask the forgiveness of God. We ask also the forgiveness of our brothers, whose rights we have ignored and whose dignity we have offended. We call for a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil. . . .
>
> We call upon all the American people to work, to pray, and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity the Lord has given us for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God.

Scores of Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic groups adopted similar resolutions and promoted active movements to achieve greater justice for the Negro.

In an unprecedented and historic event, the social-action and racial-action departments of NCCC, NCWC, and SCA in July 1963 joined to present joint testimony on behalf of civil-rights legislation to the judiciary committee of the United States House of Representatives.[3] The joint testimony, followed in local communities by religious delegations to congressmen, played a significant part in promoting prospects for the passage of a strong civil-rights bill.

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3 Among the religious groups joining in the statement were the American Baptist Convention; Board of Social Concerns and Department of Christian Social Relations of the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Church of the Brethren; Disciples of Christ; Moravian Church in America; Protestant Episcopal Church; United Church of Christ; United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; National Council of Catholic Youth; National Federation of Catholic College Students and the Newman Club Federation; CCAR; UOJCA and its National Conference of Synagogue Youth and Women's Branch; UAHC and its National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, and National Federation of Temple Youth; United Synagogue and its National Women's League and United Synagogue Youth; Rabbinical Assembly; RCA.

March on Washington

One of the most stirring events of the century was the August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, in which more than 210,000 Americans of all faiths and races demonstrated for equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. While the march was predominantly Negro, estimates of white participation ran from 15 to more than 25 per cent. A spokesman for the National Council of Churches estimated that there were more than 40,000 marching under banners of Protestant and Orthodox churches. Other estimates were that more than 10,000 Catholics and 2,000 Jews marched under their own religious auspices. Typical of the banners was one reading "We March Together—Catholics, Jews, Protestants—For Dignity and Brotherhood of All Men Under God." Negro and union groups made up the bulk of the delegations. The march, initiated by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters Union and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, had as cochairmen leaders of all major Negro groups and Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and labor leaders. Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president of AJCongress, who had lived in Nazi Germany, told the assemblage:

> When I lived under the Hitler regime I learned many things. . . . The most urgent, the most disgraceful problem is silence. A great people had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hatred, brutality, and murder. America must not become a nation of onlookers. It must not be silent. Not merely Black America but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the president down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, but for the sake of America.

A highlight of the march was a stirring address by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in which he proclaimed:

> I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . .
>
> I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. . . .

President John F. Kennedy, meeting with the leaders of the march, pledged to work not only for the civil-rights bill but also for increased employment and the elimination of job discrimination, two of the prime goals of the march.

The impact of the march was at least partially responsible for the approval by the House judiciary committee of a stronger bill than the Administration had previously proposed. The bill, approved October 29, had the support of the Kennedy Administration and the House leaders of both parties. Its major provisions follow:

VOTING RIGHTS—Voting registrars are prohibited from applying different standards to Negro and white voting applicants in all federal elections. Applicants cannot be disqualified because of minor, immaterial errors in filling out registration forms. The law presumes a sixth grade education demonstrates literacy, subject to evidence to the contrary. Federal courts are directed to act quickly on any voting rights cases.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS—Refusal of service, segregation and other forms of discrimination are barred in hotels, motels or other places providing lodging to transients, except for owner-occupied rooming houses with five or less rooms for rent; in public eating places, theaters, concert halls and sports arenas and other establishments used for exhibitions or entertainment.

Places not specifically included are covered if they are located in, or include, establishments covered by the bill.

All forms of discrimination in a public establishment are prohibited if based on state or local law, or "custom" even if not spelled out by law.

Aggrieved persons may bring suit or ask the Attorney General to bring suit barring continued discrimination.

JOB DISCRIMINATION—Employers, employment agencies, unions are barred from job discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex, effective one year after enactment. Prohibited are:

- Refusal to hire on grounds of race, color, national origin, religion.
- Discrimination on these grounds in pay, benefits or other conditions.
- Segregation or classification which deprives any group of job opportunities.
- Employment agency refusal to refer any person to jobs on the above grounds.
- Exclusion from membership, or any other form of discrimination, by unions, on basis of race, religion or origin. Specifically barred are segregation tending to deprive a person of job opportunities, or efforts to cause an employer to discriminate.
- Discrimination in apprenticeship and other training programs.
- Retaliation by employer, employment agency or union against persons bringing charges of violation of civil rights.

The bill establishes a five-member Equal Opportunity Commission with broad powers to investigate complaints and act upon them.

STATE FACILITIES—The Attorney General is empowered to bring suit to desegregate facilities owned or operated by a state or its subdivision and to seek federal court action to aid citizens denied protection of the law on the basis of race, religion or national origin.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION—Several provisions would help school personnel deal with problems of desegregation and would help communities develop desegregation plans. The Attorney General is empowered to initiate suits in behalf of children and their parents.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS—Where discrimination exists in any program receiving federal financial aid, federal agencies are authorized to shut off funds, but first must get presidential approval.

Poverty and Unemployment

While 1963 was a record year for civil-rights legislation at the state level and for the awakening of religious forces to the struggle for equality, it was also a year of great frustration for the civil-rights movement. It had been heralded as the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, as "freedom

year," and the NAACP slogan was "Free by '63!" Nevertheless, the civil-rights movement failed to score a complete victory in any city. Partially, at least, this was because the demands were greater. Whereas the previous lunch-counter sit-ins and freedom rides had accomplished comparatively easy victories, the 1963 demands for integration of public accommodations, accompanied by calls for job integration, desegregation of schools, and creation of biracial commissions, were not so easy of achievement. Lunch counters, hotels, parks, and theaters are relatively easy targets of direct action and boycotts. Indeed, lunch counters could anticipate larger consumer markets once all lunch counters in a city were integrated (and any given establishment was thus secured against segregationist competition). But competition for an inadequate supply of jobs, housing, and schools in the North was far more complicated.

One of the most ominous factors in the situation was the beginning of a decline in the Negro's relative income. From 1940 to 1954 the median Negro income rose from 37 per cent to 56 per cent of the median white income. By 1962 it was 53 per cent—$3,330 for Negro families and $6,237 for white families. The difference was even greater in *per capita* income of male workers. In 1962 the median income of Negro males was 49 per cent of white male income—$2,291 and $4,660, respectively.[4]

Negro employment prospects were gloomy. Most Negroes were unskilled or semiskilled workers, and these were rapidly being displaced by automation. In 1962 one of nine nonwhites (90 per cent of whom were Negroes) were unemployed, but only one of 20 whites. Among male adults the nonwhite rate of unemployment was almost 2½ times the white rate. Among teenagers nonwhite unemployment was catastrophically high; 21 per cent of all nonwhite teenage boys and 28 per cent of all nonwhite teenage girls were jobless in 1962.[5] Without adequate job training and retraining, Negro hopes of leaving the unemployed remained slim. Without adequate vocational education in skills that were in demand, their chances of adding to the jobless ranks were great.

Yet, as demonstrations at construction sites in northern cities revealed, little more than token progress could occur while unemployment was widespread generally. Starting in the summer of 1963, demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins, lie-ins, chain-ins, and other protests for jobs occurred in New York City; Long Island, N.Y.; Newark, N.J.; Cincinnati and Cleveland, O.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Washington, D.C.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Chicago, Ill., and many other cities outside the South. While boycotts and threats of boycotts were successful in winning hundreds of jobs in consumer industries (e.g., bakeries in Philadelphia and banks and shopping centers on Long Island), they were largely ineffective in combating pervasive discrimination in skilled building-trades employment and apprenticeship training.

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4 U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, "Consumer Income," Series P-60, No. 40, June 26, 1963.

5 United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights 1963*, p. 73.

DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS

Similarly, school boycotts in the North to implement demands for an end to *de facto* school segregation, besides demands for transporting children to schools outside of their neighborhoods and other techniques to end segregation, led to increased hostility among many white parents. Many of these were willing to accept optional travel, open enrolment, and strategic location of new schools, but refused to send their own children to other schools. A trend toward the polarization of the Negro and white communities was noticeable.

Desegregation issues in connection with education arose in the North as well as in the South, and in the parochial as well as in the public schools.

South

In December 1963 the 17 southern and border states that had required racial segregation in their public schools before May 17, 1954,[6] presented a slightly different picture from the year before. Desegregation was considered virtually complete in the border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia and in the District of Columbia, while Alabama and South Carolina, in the Deep South, experienced their first desegregation in elementary and secondary schools in the fall of the year. Mississippi remained the only state with complete segregation in elementary and secondary schools.

Of the 3,028 public-school districts in the South having both white and Negro students, 1,140 districts were desegregated in practice or policy—an increase of 184 districts during 1962–63, the largest in any year since 1956. In 1961–62, 7.6 per cent of Negroes were in biracial schools,[7] and by December 1963 the percentage had increased to 9.3, 318,039 of the region's 3,412,799 enrolled Negroes.[8] However, in the 11 former Confederate states, only 30,798 Negroes, 1.06 per cent of the Negro public-school enrolment, were in biracial schools. The increase in the number of Negroes in desegregated schools and in the number of desegregated districts was sharper in the fall of 1963 than at any time since 1960, when the Southern Education Reporting Service first began to keep records.

Of 292 tax-supported colleges and universities in the southern states, 195 were desegregated. All six of the border states and the District of Columbia had begun desegregation of public-school teaching staffs and college faculties. Three southern states, Florida, Tennessee, and Texas, also reported a small amount of staff desegregation at both levels, while North Carolina had some desegregation of college teachers and Virginia of grade-school teachers.

The Roman Catholic parochial schools again extended desegregation to a

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6 The date of the school-desegregation decision, *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347, U.S. 483.
7 Southern Education Reporting Service, *Statistical Summary*, 1963-64, p. 62.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

significant number of parochial schools in the region during the 1963–64 school year.

STATUS OF DESEGREGATION IN THE 17 SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES IN DECEMBER 1963 [9]

State	*Status of Desegregation*
ALABAMA	President Kennedy federalized the National Guard in June 1963 to enforce court-ordered enrolment of two Negro students at the University of Alabama. Auburn University was ordered by a Federal court to admit a Negro student to the graduate school in January 1964. In September 1963 four Negro students enrolled in four previously all-white schools in Huntsville. That month Governor George C. Wallace temporarily blocked school-desegregation court orders in Birmingham, Mobile, and Tuskegee through the use of state troopers, but 20 Negro students began attending previously all-white classes after President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard. The Gadsden school board was directed in December 1963 to draft plans for desegregation of its school system at the beginning of the 1964–65 school term. Three white men were convicted in October in Birmingham, sentenced to six months in jail, and fined $100 each for the illegal possession of dynamite after a church bombing which killed four Negro girls in September (p. 16).
ARKANSAS	One more school district, Pine Bluff, began a voluntary desegregation plan in September 1963, bringing the total of such districts to 13 and the number of integrated Negro children to 1,084, compared with 271 the previous year. (The new figure included 718 Negroes in a Pulaski county school desegregated by the entrance of one white child.) Little Rock had 123 Negro pupils, 45 more than in 1962, attending classes with whites in junior and senior high schools and in the first and fourth grades of elementary schools.
DELAWARE	All 86 school districts were considered desegregated by virtue of a Federal court order, but Negro students attended schools with whites in only 40 districts. Of Delaware's 18,422 Negro students, 10,209 were attending biracial schools.
FLORIDA	Schools completed the greatest amount of desegregation since the 1954 Supreme Court decision, as 3,650 Negro students attended schools with whites, compared with 1,300 in September 1962. Six new counties (Duval, St. Johns, Oskaloosa, Santa Rosa, Leon, and Charlotte) joined the ten that had desegregated schools earlier. In November 1963 the United States Justice Department filed suit in Federal court to force school desegregation in Bay county, whose school board received about $3 million annually in Federal funds to subsidize the education of children of service families at Tyndall Air Force Base.
GEORGIA	At the end of the first three months of the 1963–64 school term, Negroes attended schools with whites in four of Georgia's 181 biracial school disricts. Three were desegregated without incident

9 Based on issues of September 1963 through January 1964 of *Southern School News*, published by the Southern Educational Reporting Service, Nashville, Tenn.

in the fall of 1963. Of the 177 Negro students in former all-white schools, 145 were in Atlanta (compared with 44 the previous year.) In Chatham county (Savannah) 21 Negroes attended classes with whites. Glynn county (Brunswick) voluntarily opened its only white high school to Negroes; six were in the 12th grade. Clarke county (Athens) also desegregated voluntarily, and five Negroes attended schools with white students. Six units of the state university system were desegregated, with 35 Negro students, while Savannah State College, which had 1,150 Negro students, enrolled one white student.

KENTUCKY — With 20 new districts desegregated in the fall of 1963, all but two of 165 school districts with Negro and white students were desegregated in practice or policy. Another biracial district, Shelby county, announced that a free-choice policy of desegregation would take effect in the fall of 1964, leaving Graves county as the only biracial district apparently lacking a policy of desegregation. Of the desegregated districts, 153 had actual biracial classes at 620 schools, with 29,855 Negroes in attendance (54.4 per cent of Kentucky's Negro pupils).

LOUISIANA — New Orleans began its fourth year of desegregated education with 333 Negroes in integrated grades 1–4; one formerly white special high school for superior students had 14 Negro students, and one formerly Negro elementary school had one white among 1,439 Negroes. East Baton Rouge parish had four desegregated high schools with 28 Negro seniors among 5,380 white students. St. Helena parish was under Federal court order to desegregate "with all deliberate speed," and Terrebonne parish was under order to desegregate all white and Indian schools by August 1964. Six white colleges desegregated under court order and enrolled 848 Negroes (to 31,365 whites).

MARYLAND — All of Maryland's 23 biracial school districts were desegregated, but three were so in policy only. Nearly half of all Negro pupils attended biracial schools, a gain of 8,669 over the previous year. In Baltimore, 62 per cent of Negroes were in desegregated schools; in the counties, 22.5 per cent. A total of 609 schools enrolled both races, 120 more than in the previous year.

MISSISSIPPI — There was no desegregation of elementary or secondary schools. James Meredith, enrolled by court order at the University of Mississippi in October 1962 (AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], pp. 80–84), was graduated in June 1963, still under the protection of Federal marshals. In June 1963 Cleve McDowell became the second known Negro to enroll in the University of Mississippi, under a Federal court order, but was expelled in September after being found guilty by the Student Judicial Council of carrying a concealed weapon on the campus. (He said he was carrying it to protect himself.)

MISSOURI — Of the estimated 212 biracial school districts, 203, with about 90,000 Negro pupils, were believed to be desegregated. An estimated 40,000 Negroes attended school with whites, mostly in St. Louis and Kansas City. In 1962 St. Louis had 74 elementary and 10 high schools with both white and Negro pupils; in the fall of 1963 Kansas City had 46 elementary and 15 high schools of that character. While St. Louis elected a Negro, the Rev. John J. Hicks, to be president of the board of education, *de facto* school segregation

in both St. Louis and Kansas City continued to be a major problem. Federal court actions brought desegregation in Charleston (Mississippi county) and in two Pemiscot county districts in the "Bootheel" area of southeast Missouri.

NORTH CAROLINA — Desegregation was in effect in 40 of the state's 171 biracial school districts—an increase of 24 over the previous year. More than 1,850 Negroes were attending schools with white students, compared with 650 the year before. All 17 colleges and universities were desegregated, with 254 Negroes attending formerly all-white institutions.

OKLAHOMA — More than 12,000 Negroes were attending 499 schools with whites, 2,000 more than the year before. They were in 197 desegregated school districts of the state's 241 biracial school districts—an increase of two from the previous year. All 23 colleges and universities were desegregated, with 851 Negro students at 22 formerly all-white campuses.

SOUTH CAROLINA — One school district, Charleston, desegregated in September 1963, with ten Negro children attending four previously all-white schools by court order. In addition, four schools operated by the Federal government for children of military personnel were desegregated. Following Harvey B. Gantt's court-ordered enrolment at Clemson College in January 1963, five other Negro students were accepted there and at the University of South Carolina. Twenty Negroes were enrolled with white students at three state technical-education centers.

TENNESSEE — Forty-four school districts were desegregated—21 more than a year earlier. A total of 4,466 Negroes attended classes with whites, compared with 1,200 the previous year. All seven state-supported colleges and universities were desegregated and at least 403 Negro students attended formerly white institutions. Five Negro teachers were on desegregated faculties in Putnam county district, believed to be the first rural school district in the South to desegregate its teaching staff.

TEXAS — Seventy districts abolished segregation in the period under review, mostly by voluntary school-board action. Of 899 districts with both white and Negro students, 244 had desegregated. About twice as many Texas Negroes attended public-school classes with whites as did a year earlier, 14,000. A survey by the Dallas *Morning News* revealed that more than 2,000 Negroes were enrolled with white students in 40 desegregated colleges and universities, compared with an estimated 1,205 the year before. It was estimated that about 60 per cent of the state's 2,045,449 white public-school students and more than half of its 326,409 Negro pupils lived in districts which had at least started desegregation.

VIRGINIA — Fifty-five of the state's 128 biracial school districts had desegregated, 25 more than the year before. A total of 3,721 Negroes were in desegregated schools, more than three times the 1,230 Negroes in such schools during the previous year. Public schools remained closed for the fifth year in Prince Edward county, but free schools for 1,570 Negroes were opened by the Prince Edward Free School Association. The Virginia supreme court ruled, 6 to 1, that the state was under no obligation to operate public schools in Prince Edward county, and the case was to go to the Federal courts. More

than 50 Negroes were enrolled in six predominantly white public colleges and universities.

WEST VIRGINIA — All 44 biracial districts were desegregated. Of the estimated 21,055 Negro pupils in desegregated districts, 18,500 were in classes with whites. All 11 state-supported colleges and universities were desegregated. Bluefield, formerly a Negro college, had 637 white and 325 Negro students.

Catholic Schools[10]

By August 1963 there were only three southern dioceses out of a total of 25 which had neither announced a policy of desegregation nor had one in effect for some time.

In Pine Bluff, Ark., St. Peter's elementary school opened on an integrated basis in early 1963 while Annunciation Academy (grades 1-8) was desegregated in September, when a Negro second-grader enrolled. Negroes in the diocese of St. Augustine, Fla., were admitted in September 1962 to the only Catholic high school in Jacksonville, and to Blessed Sacrament (elementary) school in Tallahassee. Although the public schools of Lee county remained segregated, the Bishop Verot high school at Fort Myers (serving Lee, Charlotte, and Collier counties) admitted a Negro girl to the eighth grade. The diocese of Savannah, Ga., announced on June 24, 1963, that its schools would be integrated in September 1963. Mt. de Sales high school in Macon admitted Negroes for the first time in the fall of 1963.

No statistics on Negro enrolment in the archdiocese of New Orleans, La., were available in the fall of 1963, but general enrolment was up and the Southern Regional Council reported that Negro enrolment had increased in the 11 parishes of New Orleans. East Baton Rouge parish was to begin desegregation in the 11th and 12th grades of four high schools in 1964.

While there was no known desegregation in elementary parochial schools in the diocese of Natchez-Jackson, Miss., there was one instance in higher education—in the seminary at Bay St. Louis. When a court order forced Charleston, S.C., public schools to desegregate in September 1963, Bishop Francis H. Reh moved up his timetable one year to invite Negro students to attend the city's white Catholic parochial schools. Fifteen of the city's 202 Negro Catholic children enrolled. All other South Carolina parochial schools were to be integrated in the fall of 1964.

Catholic schools in Memphis, Tenn., admitted Negro students to biracial classes for the first time in the fall of 1963.

Parochial schools in Bryan and Beaumont, Tex., desegregated in the fall of 1963.

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10 *Southern Regional Council Report*, L-34-A, August 19, 1963, Southern Regional Council letters of March 5 and 9, 1964, and *Southern School News*, September through December 1963.

North

By September 1963, 26 systems had integrated or taken steps to do so[11] —sometimes spontaneously, sometimes in response to pressure or litigation.

DESEGREGATION ACTIVITIES IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN STATES

State	*City or Locality*	*Type of Community Action*
CALIFORNIA	Berkeley	After protests by NAACP and CORE, the board of education appointed a citizens' committee to study problems of *de facto* segregation.
	Los Angeles	NAACP, CORE, and the United Civil Rights Committee pressed the board of education to eliminate *de facto* segregation. The board responded by ordering a study of alleged racial gerrymandering of school districts and ordered schools to inform pupils and parents of transfer privileges. The board agreed to consider racial composition of neighborhoods as a factor in deciding school boundaries.
	Oakland	Although a Negro school-board member backed open enrolment, NAACP opposed it and urged rezoning of schools to end *de facto* segregation.
	Oxnard	NAACP won new zoning for high schools to prevent creation of a *de facto* segregated school.
	Pasadena	In June 1963 the supreme court of California ruled that a child assigned to a *de facto* segregated school was denied equal protection of the laws (*Jackson* v. *Pasadena City School Board*). The court also approved the California state board of education's regulations requiring consideration of racial integration in school zoning and site selection.
	Sacramento	NAACP protested site location for a new school on the ground that a *de facto* segregated school would result.
	San Francisco	The board of education in April 1963 unanimously adopted a broad program to alleviate racial imbalance in the schools. NAACP, however, did not drop its court case against the board.
COLORADO	Denver	After complaints of *de facto* segregation, the board of education appointed a citizens committee to formulate recommendations affecting policy and practices.
CONNECTICUT	Stamford	After a delay of more than two years, the two high schools were rezoned in September 1963 to eliminate *de facto* segregation.
	Norwalk	Initial steps were taken to end *de facto* segregation at the Ely elementary school.

11 Communication from June Shagaloff of NAACP, April 7, 1964.

State	*City or Locality*	*Type of Community Action*
ILLINOIS	Chicago	On October 23, 1963, about 225,000 pupils remained absent during a "Freedom Day" boycott by civil-rights groups to protest *de facto* segregation and demand the resignation of the superintendent of schools, Benjamin C. Willis, whose pupil-transfer policy—requiring pupils to attend schools near their homes rather than permitting them to transfer freely to schools of their own choice—was blamed for segregation.
	Mount Vernon	The segregated Washington elementary school was closed, with pupils reassigned to other schools.
INDIANA	Gary	The neighborhood-schools policy of the school board was backed by Judge George N. Beamer of the Federal district court, who held that the 14th Amendment to the Constitution would be violated if some students were required "to leave their neighborhood and friends and be transferred to another school, simply for the purposes of balancing the races in the various schools (*Bell* v. *Schools City of Gary*). The decision, upheld in November 1963 by the United States court of appeals, was appealed to the Supreme Court.
KANSAS	Kansas City	An NAACP lawsuit against *de facto* school segregation was pending in the Federal court.
	Topeka	A program to eliminate discriminatory practices affecting Negro pupils and teachers was put into effect.
MARYLAND	Baltimore	After repeated demands and protest demonstrations, the board of education agreed: 1. to assign pupils from overcrowded Negro schools to underutilized white schools, thereby ending double sessions in Negro schools for the first time since 1945; 2. eliminate discriminatory zoning, and 3. adopt a policy statement recognizing the educational harm of *de facto* segregated schools.
MASSACHUSETTS	Boston	About 3,000 Negro students participated in the first school boycott in the North on June 18, 1963, to protest *de facto* school segregation. The Boston school committee refused to acknowledge its existence. In the November election, all five incumbents were reelected, the chairman, Mrs. Louis Day Hicks, by a landslide.
	Springfield	Suit was brought in a Federal court against *de facto* segregation in the schools.
MICHIGAN	Detroit	Two Federal lawsuits were pending, charging perpetuation of *de facto* segregated schools.
MISSOURI	St. Louis	To protest segregated classes of Negro children assigned to all-white schools to relieve overcrowding, there were demonstrations and litigation.

State	*City or Locality*	*Type of Community Action*
NEW JERSEY	Bridgeton	After a school boycott, a case was filed with the state commissioner of education, challenging *de facto* segregation.
	Elizabeth	The school board was urged to end *de facto* segregation.
	Englewood	The state commissioner of education held that *de facto* segregated schools were discriminatory and directed the board of education to eliminate existing segregation even though no intent to segregate was found (*Ancrum* v. *Board of Education*). The board reorganized the segregated Lincoln school in September 1963 into an integrated central sixth-grade school for the whole city.
	Franklin Township	Demonstrations were held daily for three weeks and a case was filed before the state education commissioner charging *de facto* segregation.
	Jersey City	The board of education voted in September 1963 to let children transfer to any school that had room for them. This failed to satisfy leaders of a school boycott. They asked for the closing of two Negro schools and the transfer of their pupils to nearby, largely white schools. The board rejected this on the ground that it would force double sessions.
	Linden	NAACP urged the school board to end *de facto* segregation.
	Orange	The state education commissioner directed the board of education to eliminate *de facto* segregation even though no intent to segregate was found (*Fisher* v. *Board of Education*). As a result, in September 1963 one segregated elementary school was closed, and open enrolment was instituted in another.
	Plainfield	NAACP held picket demonstrations daily for three weeks in 1963 and filed a suit (*Booker* v. *Board of Education*). The state education commissioner ruled as in the Englewood and Orange cases. In September 1963 the segregated Washington elementary school was reorganized as a central sixth-grade school for all pupils in Plainfield.
	Rahway	The school board was urged to end *de facto* segregation.
NEW YORK		The state commissioner of education, in June 1963, requested every board of education in the state to submit to him plans for eliminating racial imbalance in the schools.
	Amityville	Suit was brought in Federal court against *de facto* segregation. In 1963 there was a school boycott, besides a month-long boycott of local business.
	Buffalo	Demonstrations and marches protested racial imbalance in schools.

State	City or Locality	Type of Community Action
	Freeport	In September 1963 the segregated Cleveland Avenue elementary school was closed.
	Glen Cove	NAACP had a case challenging *de facto* segregation pending before the state commissioner of education.
	Hempstead	Suit was brought in Federal court attacking *de facto* segregation and there were demonstrations against racial imbalance in the schools.
	Malverne	NAACP, CORE, and other groups held a one-week school boycott. The state education commissioner ruled that the *de facto* segregated Woodfield elementary school was educationally undesirable and discriminatory. He directed the school board to adopt the Princeton Plan (AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], pp. 88, 92), to eliminate existing segregation. The ruling was challenged by white Malverne parents in December 1963, and the New York supreme court (the lowest state court) ruled that the commissioner's order violated the state's anti-discrimination laws. This decision was being appealed to the state court of appeals.
	Manhasset	A case pending in the Federal court charged *de facto* segregation.
	Mount Vernon	The school board was repeatedly urged to end *de facto* segregation.
	New Rochelle	The school board ended open enrolment, closed the segregated Lincoln school, and reassigned pupils to existing schools.
	New York City	Three civil-rights groups and two parent organizations called off a school boycott when the board of education, in negotiations initiated by the City commission on human rights, agreed to formulate a comprehensive plan of desegregation. When the board announced its tentative plans in December 1963, the civil-rights groups denounced them as inadequate and jointly called two sit-ins and protest demonstrations at the offices of the superintendent of schools and the board of education.
	Port Chester	The school board was asked to end *de facto* segregation.
	Rochester	A case pending in the Federal court charged *de facto* segregation.
	Roosevelt	The school board was asked to end *de facto* segregation.
	Westbury	There was a school boycott and a case charging *de facto* segregation was pending in the Federal court.
OHIO	Cincinnati	The board of education was picketed and accused of *de facto* segregation for its decision to transport four classes from overcrowded, predominantly Negro Evanston school to largely white

State	City or Locality	Type of Community Action
		Oakley school, but keeping transferred classes intact.
	Cleveland	NAACP, the United Freedom Movement, and the school board agreed on the naming of a citizens' committee to expedite meaningful integration in the 1963–64 school year. Other points agreed upon included employment of Negroes in administrative positions, reassignment of teachers, and new apprenticeship-training procedures.
	Portsmouth	Some school-zone boundaries were redrawn to promote integration.
	Xenia	Open enrolment was adopted until school-zone boundaries could be redrawn.
PENNSYLVANIA	Ardmore	The segregated elementary school was closed and pupils were reassigned to existing schools.
	Philadelphia	An out-of-court agreement was reached in September 1963 in a suit filed against the board of education. The agreement included a stipulation by the school board that all qualified teachers entering the school system would be assigned to all-Negro or predominantly-Negro schools until the proportion of substitute teachers in those schools was reduced to the citywide level. The suit was reinstated in November, on the allegation that the board had failed to act in good faith. It was dismissed by the Federal district court but was being appealed.
WISCONSIN	Milwaukee	The school board was urged to adopt a policy and plan to end *de facto* segregation.

HOUSING

More fair-housing laws have been enacted in a shorter time than laws governing other civil rights, such as employment and public accommodations. In the past six years, 28 governmental jurisdictions adopted measures affecting private housing—13 states, 14 cities, and the Virgin Islands. Four additional states and at least 50 cities prohibited discrimination in government-aided housing.[12] Over 40 per cent of the population of the United States—at least a quarter of the nation's nonwhite citizens and about three-quarters of all American Jews—lived in the 13 states which prohibited discrimination in private housing.

In November 1962 President Kennedy issued Executive Order #11063 barring racial and religious discrimination in housing built or purchased with Federal aid, and establishing the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. In the first year of its operation the order had little effect,

12 National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, *Trends in Housing*, September-October and November-December 1963.

with only 27 complaints filed and fewer than a third satisfactorily settled during the year. The real-estate industry's fear that the order would play havoc with business proved unfounded. Builders, noted the Philadelphia *Bulletin* (October 5, 1963), "report that the customer with the cash in his pocket and the desire for new shelter has not been scared off by the housing order." *House and Home* (January 1964) reported that "home building apparently ended the year 10 per cent ahead of 1962 levels."

At the same time, a growing movement developed among opponents of open-occupancy legislation to seek referenda. In Berkeley, Calif., the city council's fair-housing ordinance, enacted in January 1963, was rejected in April by a referendum vote of 22,000 to 20,000. Similar attempts to defeat fair-housing ordinances and state laws were under way in California, Illinois, Michigan, and Washington. Those pushing the referenda denounced "forced housing laws" and urged giving the people "a chance to vote on an issue this large." Opponents of such referenda contended that moral and constitutional rights are not subject to the popular will, that since it is not possible for the electorate as a whole to make informed and objective judgments on complex issues, responsibility should be placed with elected representatives, and that issues which arouse racial or religious prejudice should not be involved in election campaigns. Even some who opposed the passage of anti-bias housing laws, including local real-estate boards, conservative newspapers, and others, were against placing such emotion-laden issues on the ballot. For instance, the Detroit Bar Association, which took no stand on open occupancy, in the fall of 1963 filed an *amicus curiae* brief to prevent a so-called "Homeowners' Rights Ordinance" from being put on the ballot. It also called that proposed ordinance unconstitutional.

Legislation

The California legislature passed a law, effective September 20, 1963, forbidding discrimination in the sale or rental of all multiple dwellings with three or more units and sale or rental of all government-aided housing, including housing with mortgages guaranteed by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) or Veterans Administration (VA). The law applied to all transactions of real-estate brokers, home builders, and mortgage lenders, and provided injunctive relief to hold housing at issue available while a complaint was pending, or for damages up to $500.

Connecticut amended its law in 1963 to make it applicable to all housing except the rental of an apartment in a two-family dwelling where the other apartment was occupied by the owner, and the renting of rooms to boarders.

In Massachusetts the law was amended in 1963 to cover all housing publicly offered for sale or lease, as well as open land intended for the erection of housing otherwise covered by the statute.

Michigan adopted a new constitution in 1963. The state attorney general ruled that the State Civil Rights Commission, created under that constitu-

tion and scheduled to take office January 1, 1964, had authority "to enforce civil rights to purchase, mortgage, lease, or rent private housing."

Minnesota passed a law, effective December 31, 1962, covering sale or rental of all housing except rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied two-family house; rental of rooms in private homes; and owner-occupied, privately-financed, single-family houses.

New York State amended its housing law in 1963 to cover sale or rental of all housing, except rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied two-family house or rental of rooms in private homes. It covered commercial space, and applied to real-estate agents, mortgage lenders, and advertising.

City Ordinances

More than 60 cities in the United States had laws or resolutions affecting discrimination in housing. Fourteen of these enacted ordinances which prohibit discrimination in private housing; the others had measures applying to government-aided accommodations, such as those in public housing or urban redevelopment projects.

In addition, five cities (Baltimore, Md.; Detroit, Mich.; Kansas City, Mo.; Shaker Heights, Ohio, and Washington, D.C.) had special legislation barring real-estate brokers from engaging in certain practices designed to induce panic selling due to the entry or prospective entry into a neighborhood of persons of another racial or ethnic background.

In June 1963 Albuquerque, N.M., passed an ordinance covering the sale or rental of all housing, excluding subletting of a portion of an apartment or house occupied by a single family. It covered building lots, applied to real-estate agents and mortgage lenders, and violators were liable to fines up to $300.

An Ann Arbor, Mich., ordinance, effective January 1, 1964, covered sales or rentals by persons owning or controlling five or more housing units, and activities of real-estate agents, mortgage lenders, and advertising. Persons "wilfully" filing false complaints of discrimination were liable to fines of $100 or ten days in jail.

Chicago, Ill., passed an ordinance, effective October 4, 1963, banning discrimination by licensed real-estate brokers and barring panic peddling, such as soliciting listings or trying to induce sales on grounds of loss of value due to entry or prospective entry into an area of minority-group families. Violators were liable to loss of city licenses.

Duluth, Minn., passed an ordinance, effective October 19, 1963, covering the sale or rental of all housing and building lots, except rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied two-family house; rental of rooms in any owner-occupied one-family house, and sale or rental of any owner-occupied one-family house not defined as "publicly assisted." Violators were liable to fines up to $100 or a maximum of 85 days in jail.

An Erie, Pa., ordinance, effective September 1, 1963, covered the sale or rental of all housing, including building lots, except for owner-occupied one-

TABLE 1. LAWS AFFECTING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, SEPTEMBER 30, 1963

State	*Coverage*							
	Public Housing	*Urban Renewal*	*FHA and VA*	*Private Housing*	*Real-estate Agents*	*Mortgage Lenders*	*Advertising*	*Official Enforcement Agency*
Alaska	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
California	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Colorado	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Connecticut	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Indiana	X	X						
Massachusetts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michigan	X	X[a]	X[a]	X[a]	X[a]	X[a]	X[a]	X[a]
Minnesota	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Montana		X						
New Hampshire	X			X	X			
New Jersey	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
New York	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Oregon	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
Pennsylvania	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rhode Island	X							X
Washington					X[b]	X[b]		X
Wisconsin	X	X						
Virgin Islands	X	X	X	X	X			X

Source: Trends in Housing, September-October 1963, p. 7.

[a] The state attorney general ruled that the State Civil Rights Commission, created under Michigan's revised constitution, to take office January 1, 1964, would have authority "to enforce civil rights to purchase, mortgage, lease or rent private housing."

[b] A ruling that Washington State's law barring discrimination in places of public accommodation applied to the operations of real-estate brokers and salesmen was in the courts.

Illinois prohibited restrictive covenants on urban redevelopment land.

Kansas and Alabama prohibited racial zoning.

and two-family houses. Discriminatory advertising was made illegal. Violators might be fined up to $100 or sentenced to 30 days imprisonment.

A Philadelphia, Pa., ordinance, effective June 10, 1963, covered the sale or rental of all housing, except owner-occupied one- and two-family houses. Violators might be punished by fines up to $300, 90 days in jail, or both.

Schenectady, N.Y., adopted an ordinance in 1963 covering all housing except owner-occupied buildings with three or fewer dwelling units. The ordinance was not enforced in view of the more comprehensive coverage provided by the New York State legislature later in the year (p. 34).

Tacoma, Wash., passed an ordinance in 1963 covering the sale or rental of all housing and building lots, except rental of rooms in private homes. It applied to real-estate agents and advertising. Violators were liable to fines up to $250 or 30 days imprisonment.

On December 12, 1963, the city council of Madison, Wis., passed a fair-housing ordinance, 12 to 11, covering the sale or rental of all housing except owner-occupied structures with four or fewer dwelling units and the rental of rooms in private residences. Persons not *bona fide* homeseekers were barred from "testing" for the sole purpose of securing evidence of discrimi-

natory practices. Violators of the ordinance were liable to fines from $25 to $500.

The board of commissioners of the District of Columbia unanimously adopted a fair-housing order on December 31, 1963. It barred discrimination in the sale of building lots and residences, and in all rentals except rooms or apartments in owner-occupied one- and two-family dwellings. Panic peddling or the use of blockbusting tactics by real-estate agents or others was forbidden. Violators faced fines up to $300 or 10 days in jail.

Litigation

The courts in Colorado; New Jersey; New York; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Toledo, O., and the state of Washington ruled in favor of fair housing.

Colorado

On December 17, 1962, the Colorado supreme court reversed an adverse decision of a lower court and upheld the constitutionality of the state's law covering private housing (*Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, et al.,* v. *J. L. Case, et al.,* 380 Pac. 2d 34). The high court did, however, strike down a provision in the statute which authorized the enforcement agency to order a respondent to make available comparable housing when the property at issue had been sold while a complaint was pending.

New Jersey

This state's law covering private housing won approval in a lower court on November 13, 1963 (*N.J. Home Builders Assn., N.J. Assn. of Real Estate Boards, and Joseph V. Montoro* v. *Division on Civil Rights,* Docket No. C-2196-61, N.J. Superior Court, Chancery Div., Atlantic County). An appeal was expected.

In a second case (*Vesta Co. et al.,* v. *Division on Civil Rights,* Bergen County Court, N.J.), a trial judge, on December 10, 1963, ruled the law unconstitutional on the ground that it makes an unreasonable classification between housing which is covered and that which is not. An appeal was being taken.

New York

On June 17, 1963, a New York State lower court ruled that New York City's fair housing ordinance was not nullified when the state adopted legislation covering the same area (*City of New York* v. *Claflington, Inc.,* 243 N. Y. S. 2d 437).

In a decision handed down on October 29, 1963, a lower court declared that the state law barring discrimination in private housing "is constitutional and valid." (*Cooney* v. *Katzen, et al.,* New York State Supreme Court, Onondaga County.)

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Constitutionality of this city's fair housing ordinance was upheld in a lower court decision on November 30, 1963 (*Stanton Land Co.* v. *City of Pittsburgh and Dr. Oswald J. Nickens,* Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny county, Pa., Docket No. 1741). The Court said

> There is no doubt that the possession and control of private property is a fundamental right in a free and open society . . . None the less our commitment to liberty is even deeper than our commitment to property as may be observed in various pronouncements of national policy beginning with the Declaration of Independence . . .
>
> . . . the best available data impressively undermine the prevailing thought among whites that integration in itself always, or almost always, lowers the value of surrounding real estate.

TOLEDO, O.

On July 13, 1963, the court of common pleas of Lucas county, O. upheld the constitutionality of this city's fair housing ordinance, dissolved a temporary restraining order which had been granted in a taxpayer's action, and denied petition for a permanent injunction (*Terry* v. *City of Toledo, et al.,* No. 191309). An appeal was being taken.

WASHINGTON

On April 13, 1962, a Washington superior court ruled that the state's law barring discrimination in places of public accommodation is applicable to real-estate offices (*Curtis and Washington State Board Against Discrimination* v. *Interlake Realty, Inc. et al.,* Docket No. H-708). An appeal to this ruling was dimissed on procedural grounds by the state's highest court on September 19, 1963 (Docket No. 36696). The case was pending.

EMPLOYMENT

Despite passage of state laws against discrimination in employment and more effective activity by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, employment discrimination was becoming more serious because of a combination of growing and longer-lasting Negro unemployment, a widening income gap between Negroes and whites, and the large Negro percentages in most of the job categories that were declining because of automation.

Legislation

Hawaii and Indiana adopted fully enforceable fair-employment practice laws in 1963, bringing the total to 22. The other states with such laws were Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and

Wisconsin. Iowa and Vermont adopted laws in 1963 making discrimination in employment subject to criminal penalties, joining Idaho and Utah.

Hawaii's law provided for administrative enforcement, but with a significant change from the usual procedure for court decrees requiring the respondent to comply with the order. Instead, the act provided that any person "wilfully" violating an enforcement order from the state department of labor and industrial relations should be fined up to $200 for the first offense and up to $500 for subsequent offenses, besides imprisonment up to 90 days.

Indiana was the last industrial state outside the South to adopt a fully enforceable fair-employment law, replacing a "voluntary" law of 1945. The new act covered employers of six or more persons, but exempted non-profit, fraternal, and religious institutions.

The Iowa law banned discrimination by all employers and labor unions, with violations punishable by a fine up to $100 or imprisonment up to 30 days.

The Vermont law forbade discrimination by employers, employment agencies, and unions, as well as discriminatory advertising. Anyone "wilfully" violating the law might be fined up to $500 for each violation. The law required all public contracts to contain a clause obligating contractors and subcontractors to comply with the statute.

Additional laws or amendments affecting discrimination in employment or professional activity were enacted in seven states. In California a law barring civil-service discrimination because of sex, race, or marital status was amended to add, "religious creed, color, national origin, ancestry." Colorado extended the jurisdiction of its antidiscrimination commission to cover apprenticeship training, on-the-job training programs, and vocational schools. Illinois amended its law to cover state and city jobs as well as private employment. Missouri revised its law regulating veterinarians to provide that licenses should not be denied, revoked, or suspended because of race, creed, color, or national origin. New Jersey authorized its division on civil rights to initiate investigations of employment discrimination and transferred the division from the department of education to the department of law and public safety. New York barred racial discrimination by private hospitals in the selection of physicians accorded hospital privileges. Oklahoma set up a human-relations commission and barred discrimination in state employment on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

Administrative Action

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity continued to be much more aggressive than its predecessor under the Eisenhower administration. After a new surge of protests throughout the nation, including Negro picketing of construction sites in Philadelphia, New York, and other northern cities, President Kennedy issued Executive Order #11114, extending the committee's charter to cover discrimination on federally assisted construction projects, including those financed by FHA mortgages and VA

loans. At the same time the government invoked strict new standards in banning bias from federally aided apprenticeship programs. By November 1963, 117 companies [13] with government contracts and 118 of the 130 AFL-CIO international unions had signed long-range "Plans for Progress" with the committee. These programs were designed to give Negro workers fair access to jobs and promotions in the firms and industries involved.

In December 1962 the National Labor Relations Board ruled that an NLRB election might be requested at any time by a union challenging the representation rights of any union whose contract with management sanctioned racial discrimination. In July 1963 the United States Employment Service ordered state employment agencies to fill jobs without discrimination or face loss of Federal funds.

City administrations in New York, Philadelphia, Trenton, Newark, Chicago, Detroit, and other large northern cities took steps to bar discrimination in the construction industry and pressed drives to open apprenticeship-training and union-membership rolls to qualified minority group workers.

The New York office of the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO), which had been ordered by the State Commission for Human Rights in 1961 to cease discriminating against Jewish applicants, hired Jewish personnel in 1963. The Pennsylvania Unemployment Compensation Board of Review ruled that a Jewish worker dismissed for failing to report to his job on Jewish High Holy Days was entitled to unemployment compensation.

Court Action

The United States Supreme Court (*Sherbert* v. *Verner*)[14] in June 1963 reversed a lower court's decision and ruled that South Carolina's denial of unemployment benefits to a Seventh Day Adventist who refused to work on Saturday for religious reasons violated his constitutional rights to free exercise of religion. The court also reversed another lower court decision (*Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission and Green* v. *Continental Air Lines, Inc.*) and upheld the constitutionality of Colorado's fair-employment practice law as applied to an interstate carrier.

In August 1963 New York's state supreme court ordered an employment agency to cease discriminating against Negro, Puerto Rican, and Jewish job applicants and ordered the agency to pay $1,000 for the costs of investigation.

Voluntary Action

In September 1963 the Construction Industry Joint Conference of management and labor issued detailed guidelines for local joint apprentice committees, designed to eliminate racial segregation in job training. When, in July 1963, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen repealed its

13 President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, *Committee Reporter*, November 1963, p. 1.

14 374 U.S. 398.

87-year ban on membership of nonwhites and workers of Mexican extraction, its action removed the last color bar in the constitution of an AFL-CIO international union. Of the 130 AFL-CIO international unions, it was reported in December 1963, only 19 still had segregated locals—172 such locals out of a total of more than 55,000. Unions and management alike took the initiative in various cities in setting up civil-rights programs. In Milwaukee, Wis.; Detroit, Mich.; Memphis, Tenn.; Atlanta, Ga., and Cincinnati. O., Negro, labor, and industrial leaders were meeting to foster job integration, training, and allied programs.

Of 60,000 new workers hired by companies participating in Plans for Progress between September and November 1963, 25 per cent were Negroes, compared with only three per cent for comparable previous periods. In December 1963 President Lyndon B. Johnson announced that the employment of nonwhites in salaried posts gained 23.5 per cent, in a general rise of 13.8 per cent in nonwhite employment:

> Employment of nonwhites in management categories rose by 46.3 per cent . . . and by 37.4 per cent in professional and administrative jobs. In sales positions, the increase was 33.1 per cent and in technical jobs, 31.6 per cent. Within those companies whose reports have been received, the ratio of white salaried employees to nonwhite dropped from 65 to 1 at the beginning of the reporting period to 60 to 1 at the end. We still have a long way to go.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

The United States Supreme Court in several 1963 decisions reaffirmed that no municipally-owned and -operated facilities might be segregated and no unreasonable delay would be allowed in effectuating their desegregation. It ruled unanimously in *Johnson* v. *Virginia* [15] that racially segregated seating in any courtroom was unconstitutional, and in *Wright* v. *Georgia* [16] that a municipality might not arrest and prosecute Negroes for peaceably seeking the use of city-owned and -operated recreational facilities. In *Watson* v. *Memphis,*[17] the court ordered immediate desegregation of public parks and playgrounds in Memphis, Tenn. The court reversed breach-of-peace convictions of anti-segregation demonstrators in Columbia, S.C., in *Edwards* v. *South Carolina,*[18] ruling that the defendants had exercised their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly "in their most pristine and classic form." In May 1963 the court ruled in *Peterson* v. *Greenville;* [19] *Gober* v. *Birmingham;* [20] *Shuttlesworth* v. *Birmingham;* [21] *Avent* v. *North Carolina,*[22] and *Lombard* v. *Louisiana* [23] that cities and states with segregation laws or official segregation policies might not prosecute Negroes seeking service in

15 373 U.S. 61.
16 373 U.S. 284.
17 373 U.S. 526.
18 372 U.S. 229.
19 373 U.S. 244.
20 373 U.S. 374.
21 373 U.S. 262.
22 373 U.S. 375.
23 373 U.S. 267.

private establishments. Other Federal courts ordered desegregation of public golf links, swimming pools, parks, and recreation facilities in scores of cities throughout the South.

Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska and New Mexico in 1963 strengthened their civil-rights statutes covering public accommodations, while Maryland and South Dakota passed laws prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation. The Maryland law applied in Baltimore and 11 counties, covering particularly the troublesome Route U.S. 40, where repeated incidents involving foreign diplomats had occurred. The law specifically excluded "bars, taverns and cocktail lounges." The Maryland legislature also amended a statute so as to permit Baltimore to enact legislation preventing discrimination in places open to the general public, which the Baltimore city council promptly did. The South Dakota law provided that violators would be subject to a fine of up to $200.

Louisville, Ky., Philadelphia and Erie, Pa., and St. Joseph and Kansas City, Mo., adopted ordinances in 1963 to bar discrimination in public accommodations. The governors of Kentucky and Indiana issued executive orders barring discrimination in public accommodations.

The American Library Association reported in July 1963 that at least 24 per cent of cities in 16 southern and border states had integrated library systems.

In December 1962 the Cone Memorial Hospital at Greensboro, N.C., opened staff appointments to Negro professionals.

As a result of contracts between Actors' Equity and the League of New York Theaters to bar performances in any theater permitting racial segregation "in front or behind the footlights," six legitimate theaters in the South ended segregation. The American Guild of Variety Artists also voted in 1963 to boycott entertainment centers that practiced segregation in dealings with customers or employees. That vote was expected to affect night clubs, rodeos, circuses, ice shows, and other forms of professional entertainment throughout the South.

VOTING

The United States Commission on Civil Rights, established in 1957, reported in 1963 that "the right to vote is still denied many Americans solely because of their race." It added that five years of Federal litigation had made it clear that case-by-case proceedings did not provide a "prompt or adequate remedy for widespread discriminatory denials of the right to vote." The commission called for uniform voter registration standards throughout the country and proposed enforcement of the 14th Amendment by legislation reducing congressional representation for states denying Negro citizens equal voting rights.

The Supreme Court in *Alabama* v. *U.S.*[24] unanimously affirmed in the fall

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24 373 U.S. 545.

of 1962 lower-court decisions that the Civil Rights Act of 1957 empowered Federal judges to order specific Negroes entered on the voting rolls of Macon county, Ala. In 1963 the court refused in *Coleman* v. *Kennedy*[25] to review a lower-court decision upholding the justice department's demand for Mississippi voting records.

By the end of 1963 a constitutional amendment outlawing the poll tax as a voting requirement in Federal elections had been ratified by 36 of the 38 states needed to make it law.

About 265,000 Negroes in 11 southern states registered to vote from April 1, 1962, to December 31, 1963, as a result of voter-education projects coordinated by the Southern Regional Council. Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, said a total of 327,588 persons were registered during the 21-month period as a result of the project, of whom 99 per cent were Negroes, except in Texas. In that state the 120,590 persons registered for the first time were divided between Negroes and Mexican-Americans. New registrations for other states were: Alabama, 13,487; Arkansas, 8,756; Florida, 37,111; Georgia, 46,347; Louisiana, 5,899; North Carolina, 23,323; South Carolina, 20,727; Tennessee, 34,243, and Virginia, 13,877. Branton estimated that 90 per cent of the new registrants were in urban areas, where civil-rights activity had been greatest. Participating in the project were NAACP, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the National Urban League, and a number of local groups.

REAPPORTIONMENT

On March 26, 1962, the Supreme Court decided, in *Baker* v. *Carr*,[26] that Federal courts had jurisdiction when a voters' suit charged that a state apportionment statute deprived them of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the 14th Amendment (AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], pp. 103–04). The decision prodded state legislatures into moving to give urban and suburban voters a more equal voice. Until that decision, unrepresentative state legislatures, in which the less populated rural counties outvoted the more populous urban areas, had became traditional in the United States. In Tennessee, before *Baker* v. *Carr*, a single vote in a rural county was equivalent to 19 votes in an urban county. In Georgia, before reapportionment in 1962, 5.5 per cent of the people controlled the lower house; in Vermont, 11.6 per cent, and in Kansas, 18.5 per cent.

Since 70 per cent of the American people were estimated to live in cities and suburbs, and since Negroes and other nonwhites were increasingly becoming city dwellers, the court's decision in *Baker* v. *Carr* was expected to have a significant impact on civil rights.

By November 11, 1963, a New York *Times* survey showed that lawsuits

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25 373 U.S. 950.
26 369 U.S. 186.

had been brought in 39 states to challenge existing legislative apportionments.[27] In 20 states legislative districts had been revised by legislative action or constitutional amendment, usually under the compulsion or threat of a court order.[28] The courts found a number of the new apportionments still inequitable and struck them down.[29] In three cases a court itself drew new district lines.[30]

The final outcome of these developments was still uncertain. The Supreme Court had not yet ruled whether the United States Constitution requires the districts in either house of a state legislature, or neither, or both, to be approximately equal in population. Those questions were expected to come before the court in a series of cases in the future.

HARRY FLEISCHMAN

Church-State Issues*

THE PERIOD under review (July 1, 1962, to December 31, 1963) was by any standard a time of great consequence for church-state relationships. In the most far-reaching decision since the *McCollum*[1] case, the United States Supreme Court held that Bible reading and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the public schools violated the First Amendment.

Another Supreme Court ruling was that a state may not deny unemployment benefits to those whose religious convictions keep them from accepting employment on Saturday. This seemed to open the way for a serious challenge of the court's 1961 Sunday-law decisions.

The controversy over tax aid to education was complicated by several developments. While Congress enacted a college-aid bill that provided loans and grants for church-related institutions, the first court action of its kind was instituted in Maryland to test the constitutionality of state aid to church-related colleges for the construction of academic and dormitory facilities. At the same time, Rhode Island enacted a law requiring that textbooks for such secular subjects as science, mathematics, and foreign languages be provided for children in parochial as well as public schools, thus extending

27 Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

28 Alabama, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah.

29 Delaware, Kansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia.

30 Alabama, Oklahoma, Tennessee.

* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 361.

1 *McCollum* v. *Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).

COMPLIANCE WITH TITLE II: A SUMMARY OF FIELD REPORTS FROM SOUTHERN STATES

The following report on reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is based largely on field reports received by the Southern Regional Council. The accounts, which are more detailed from some states than from others, include those from human relations council personnel, "Operation Opportunity" women's inter-group councils, and a few from allied agencies. This review is not meant to be complete, but only to summarize reports which have come to our attention to date.

The general picture is one of large-scale compliance, but with considerable defiance in Alabama and Mississippi, and pockets of defiance in Georgia, Florida, and other states.

Where there has been conscientious planning and effort to prepare for the transition, compliance has been good and trouble minimal. This is especially so where political and business leaders and the news media have urged compliance.

In many localities the business community has shown a willingness to obey the law without conspicuous leadership from public officials -- and even despite negative reaction from them.

In most localities where there has been trouble political leaders have, at least passively or by silence, encouraged defiance.

ALABAMA

In Huntsville, news media and business leaders are prepared to support compliance, most places of public accommodation are open, and no serious problems are expected. The same situation prevails in the Tri-cities, although leaders plan no public statements unless there is violence. There is no information on testing in the Tri-cities area.

Elsewhere in Alabama there is considerable defiance and some violence, as in Selma and Tuscaloosa. Some restaurants and hotels have been turned into "private clubs." The political leadership has encouraged defiance. But some business leaders have spoken for compliance, and a number of places have desegregated in such trouble-spots as Birmingham and Montgomery.

ARKANSAS

The news media in Arkansas are virtually unanimous in urging obedience to the law, although some smaller papers make it clear that they think the new bill unconstitutional in part.

The reaction of public officials and some prominent citizens is more adverse. Governor Faubus stated that he expects considerable agitation this summer, called the law "a violation of one of our most

precious precepts," and refused to meet Luther Hodges, LeRoy Collins, and Buford Ellington to discuss the act. Amis Guthridge, president of the Citizens Council, said he would advise all clients to ignore the law. Attorney General Bruce Bennett took the position that the law need not be obeyed until tested in the courts.

The Arkansas Bar Association and the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, however, swiftly rejected this notion and urged compliance. UPI polled Arkansas mayors and reported: "House passage of the civil rights bill Thursday found mayors of Arkansas cities generally ready to accept the will of Congress and expecting no trouble in their towns as a result."

Various groups were already working for desegregation when the bill passed. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has been concentrating on compliance for some time. And in Little Rock, for instance, five women's groups, responding to the Operation Opportunity program, with Mrs. Sara Murphy as local co-ordinator, worked through the existing structure of a community coordinating committee composed of 25 organizations.

Initial results in Little Rock and North Little Rock were encouraging. Several restaurants served Negro patrons for the first time. The "holdouts" were "cheap" cafes -- except for the cafeteria in the state capitol, which has been made a "private club."

In Pine Bluff, where considerable progress had already been made, four restaurants served Negroes for the first time. Two refused.

At Fort Smith a swimming pool and two additional cafes were desegregated without incident. One restaurant refused service.

Cinemas in Benton and Malvern admitted Negroes for the first time.

At Forrest City Negroes were admitted to the bowling alley, a restaurant, and a skating rink, but the swimming pool was closed when testers appeared.

At Helena testers were served at a formerly segregated restaurant and the public library, but were arrested when they went to the swimming pool.

Nat Griswold, executive director of ACHR, observes that swimming pools and small restaurants will probably be the most serious holdouts. He believes further testing will reveal wider compliance.

FLORIDA

The reaction in most major Florida cities was favorable. These include Miami, Pensacola, Ft. Lauderdale, Tampa, Daytona Beach,

Gainesville, Sarasota, and Clearwater. Several cities are listed as "trouble spots," however. These are Tallahassee, Lake Wales, Lake City, Pahokee, Plant City, Lakeland, and Mims. There seemed to be surprising readiness to comply in troubled St. Augustine at first, but subsequent reports show that some restaurants which opened re-segregated after one week. A court case is in progress in St. Augustine.

The press, radio, and TV stations have generally urged obedience to the law, but there are exceptions. The Miami Herald and News, the St. Petersburg Times, and station WFTV are among those urging compliance. The Tallahassee paper conspicuously lacked enthusiasm for the law.

Support from public officials is spotty. Governor Bryant stated that he had no intention of enforcing the law: a federal creation, it would have to be enforced by the federal government. Senator Spessard Holland urged obedience, but made it clear that he felt "the pendulum of our national philosophy has swung too far to the left." On the other hand, Congressman Claude Pepper said he was confident that the new law would be an instrument of peace and urged that it be accepted in good faith as the law of the land.

Edwyn E. Lewis of FCHR reports that city officials are unsympathetic in Jacksonville, Ft. Myers, and St. Augustine -- but favorable in Tampa. There is general compliance in Jacksonville, Tampa, Clearwater, and Daytona Beach. Compliance in St. Petersburg is good, despite "some rock throwing and fights, most of which were related to teenage hoodlums with little racial overtones." There is fair progress in Ft. Myers.

Reports from Tampa and Tallahassee indicate that the women's groups leaders who attended the June 24-25 Operation Opportunity meeting in Atlanta are organizing effectively in support of compliance. Mrs. Nathan Marcus of Tampa reports that a planning meeting was held there on July 6, with representatives of 22 interested civic and religious groups in attendance. She reports a very good reaction to the bill in Tampa, with news media "beautifully attuned to the them of 'Peaceful Compliance.'" Places of public accommodation which desegregated (as most did) were commended by the women's groups.

Miss Louise Blackwell, convener and co-chairman for the Women's Inter-grouop Committee in Tallahassee, reports a thorough organization of the women in that city, despite lack of cooperation from city hall. About 60 women attended the first meeting, and some 100 are presently writing letters, making phone calls, and interviewing managers and owners of public accommodation businesses.

GEORGIA

In Georgia reaction to the bill -- from the papers, from public officials, and from places of public accommodation -- was mixed. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of GCHR, reports:

"...it seems that compliance has been general in the larger cities" and towns where there have been interracial activities and work to encourage compliance. Elsewhere the old patterns remain. There are notably fewer discriminatory signs at service stations and roadside stands.

Mrs. Pauley makes this observation: "In several places the pattern is to allow the Negro to be admitted and then see that he has a beating afterward...We see again the great need for better qualified and trained police."

Excellent compliance is reported in Savannah, Brunswick, Macon, Columbus, Decatur, Dekalb County, Warner Robins, and Thomasville.

Compliance is generally good, but not complete, in Augusta, Rome, Cedartown, Milledgeville, Statesboro, and Griffin. In Atlanta, Pickrick Restaurant and Heart of Atlanta Motel have appealed a court order to desegregate. Difficulty is noted, especially at hospitals, in Augusta and Milledgeville. At Rome, Cedartown, and Griffin there is difficulty over swimming pools. Mrs. Pauley's report notes good police work at Rome and Cedartown.

There has been little or no testing in Cartersville, Rockmart, Greensboro, or Dublin.

There is no evidence of either testing or compliance at Sylvania and Waynesboro.

Some violence and/or mobs are reported at Waynesboro, Thomson, Gainesville, East Point, and Winder.

Defiance is general at Washington, Perry, Cochran, and Valdosta. The most violence has occurred at Americus.

Tacit encouragement of defiance or lack of protection from police and city officials is noted especially at Washington, Thomson, Winder, Perry, Barnesville, Albany, and Americus.

Mrs. Susan Waters reports on behalf of the women's groups in Savannah that they had found a group already working effectively toward compliance in that city.

Mrs. Margaret Belcher reports from Columbus that reaction there is very good. "The Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor, city and county commissioners have all cooperated one hundred percent."

The story in Atlanta is still one of steady progress. "Partners for Progress" is due a lot of credit, as is the city government under Mayor Ivan Allen. Mrs. Edward Vinson of PFP and Mayor Allen both made helpful presentations of desegregation efforts in Atlanta at SRC's Operation Opportunity meeting on June 24-25.

LOUISIANA

Information on Louisiana is sketchy. Clearly, there is some defiance. In Monroe and West Monroe, for example, Negroes were arrested for trying to use the public libraries. Plaquemines Parish seems to be requiring "written permission" to use public facilities, including the garbage dump. About 100 restaurants formed the "Northwest Louisiana Restaurant Club" and issued membership cards good in any affiliated establishment.

In New Orleans the mayor refused to speak out, but a group of about 200 business and professional men, including the management of the heretofore segregated Roosevelt Hotel, bought a newspaper ad calling for compliance and acceptance.

Mrs. George Dreyfus, Women's Inter-group Council representative, reports that the women have written personal letters and will seek interviews in support of compliance.

MISSISSIPPI

Reaction to the bill was generally negative. There was some compliance, however. Restaurants, lunch counters and hotels opened in Laurel, Jackson, Vicksburg, and Gulfport. The municipal golf course in Jackson was integrated.

Some leaders came out for compliance. Mayor Thompson and the Jackson Chamber of Commerce recommended that the law be obeyed, pending court tests. Howard E. Ross, Jr., a Jackson restaurateur and attorney challenged the Citizens' Council recommendation of a boycott of all integrating businesses by whites.

Governor Johnson recommended non-compliance, pending a court test, and said, "The legislature and I are determined to toe the line in opposing this vicious measure. They can pass all the laws they want, but they can't make us like it or take it. We must carry our case to the courts."

At least one hotel and many restaurants followed the "private club" gambit. The Robert E. Lee Hotel in Jackson first closed, then re-opened as a "club." In Clarksdale the Alcazat Hotel was closed. The president of the Mississippi Restaurant Association estimated that about ten percent of the approximately 1000 members had become "private clubs."

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina, which had made much progress prior to passage of the 1964 bill, continued its relatively smooth transition. There was some trouble in Henderson and the Hotel Park Central in

Raleigh was put up for sale, the owner declaring that he would rather sell out than integrate.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Integration proceeded without major trouble in Charleston, Columbia, Florence, and Greenville. Greenville leaders expect no trouble unless there is mass testing, in which case some businesses will be holdouts. City leaders there are determined to prevent violence.

Courtney Siceloff reports that "there has been considerable compliance throughout the state, with only a few reports of non-compliance...both theatres in Orangeburg refused Negro patronage and the NAACP is filing suit against them...one theatre in Cheraw also has refused Negroes and restaurants in Allendale with large tourist business from Route 301 have put up signs: 'private club.'"

The SCCHR continues to concentrate a large part of its efforts on compliance.

TENNESSEE

Women's groups are active in Memphis and Nashville. Thirty-three restaurants in Memphis desegregated immediately after passage of the Civil Rights Act. Theaters desegregated without incident. In Nashville both Morrison's Cafeterias and the Krystal chain desegregated peacefully. (The entire Morrison's chain, previously segregated throughout the South, has desegregated.)

The situation in Knoxville, where there has been strong community leadership, is good.

Kay Jones of the TCHR reports that there is general compliance with the provisions of Title II in East Tennessee, at least in the larger public accommodations establishments. Most public swimming pools are open.

TEXAS

Peaceful desegregation is reported in Dallas, Longview, Palestine, Austin, and Beaumont.

Violence erupted on the Texas side of Texarkana when Negroes attempted to use the facilities of Lake Texarkana.

Gustave Falk, of the AJC in Dallas, reports at least 90 percent compliance by eating establishments. There is fine cooperation from city officials and police. "In summary," he writes, "I believe I can report with confidence that forces have been put into motion in Dallas which will assure a peaceful acceptance though not an altogether smooth one, in implementing the Civil Rights Bill of 1964."

Mrs. S. Edward Sulkin, women's groups coordinator, confirms Falk's report. She convened representatives of six women's groups on July 2. They felt that compliance with Title II of the Civil Rights Bill would be little problem, therefore decided to concentrate on a speed-up in school desegregation.

VIRGINIA

Reports have been received from Heslip Lee, executive director of VCHR; Zula Pierce of the Richmond Y.W.C.A.; Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, president of United Church Women; Mrs. J. E. Stockman of the Roanoke Valley Y.W.C.A.; Miss Therese Molyneaux and Mrs. G. Hannon, both of the women's inter-group committee in Charlottesville; Miss Margaret Edmonds of Danville; and Mrs. Frank Fullman, for the Newport News and Hampton area. The word that recurs in these reports concerning Virginia reaction is "quiet." But "this does not mean that Negroes are being admitted to all public places."

The reaction of public officials and the press was somewhat disturbing. The papers continued to publish very little news about civil rights incidents and there were relatively few editorial appeals for compliance. The governor of Virginia, in a television interview, asserted that certain sections of the Bill are unconstitutional and should be tested in the courts. The editor of the Richmond News Leader, in an editorial printed several days after passage of the law, stated that Southerners would of course comply with the law, but called for court tests. Press is reported hostile in Newport News.

Most leading restaurants opened throughout the state. Even in Danville and Farmville, where there has been trouble in the past, there was a high percentage of compliance.

From Danville, Miss Margaret Edmunds, women's inter-group coordinator, reports the local press hostile and city officials silent. But acceptance of the public accommodations section of the Bill is surprisingly good. Every place tested has served. The formerly all-white hospital has integrated. The women's groups are writing to express approval of all compliance.

In Petersburg one restaurant refused to serve Negroes. In Hopewell two lunch counters closed for five days, but reopened on a desegregated basis. In Richmond one restaurant took the course of issuing "membership cards," but after four days of publicity and negotiation it was desegregated. In Charlottesville, where most places had desegregated voluntarily before the bill passed, one restaurant went out of business when the bill was signed.

Heslip Lee expressed the fear of many, that some owners would simply give poor service or be discourteous or charge high prices to Negroes. Published reports quote restaurateurs in Danville as saying they will do these things. Negroes were made unwelcome, although not

totally refused service in some South Hill establishments. "Private Clubs" were used in Norfolk and Roanoke.

CONCLUSION

These reports seem to show that the situation is malleable. General reaction to the Civil Rights Act is neither decidedly for compliance nor the reverse. Of particular significance are the indications that political opposition is, in many places, stronger than that of the business community or the general public. Every effort is needed to create a climate of opinion for genuine compliance, lest only the voices of opposition be heard and various evasions be employed to avoid obedience to the spirit -- if not the letter -- of the Civil Rights Law.

Note

Women's groups cooperating with the National Women's Committee on Civil Rights are the American Association of University Women, The National Council of Jewish Women, the National Council of Negro Women, United Church Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, and National Council of Catholic Women.

OPERATION COMPLIANCE

Community Assignments

HUNTSVILLE, ALA. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

TRI-CITIES, ALA. - " "
(Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia, Muscle Shoals)

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. - Nat Griswold, Ark. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

MIAMI, FLA. - Seymour Samet, AJC, Miami

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA. - Irwin Schulman, ADL, Miami

SARASOTA, FLA. - " "

TAMPA, FLA. - " "

PANAMA CITY, FLA. - Edwin Lewis, Fla. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

ATLANTA, GA. - Charles Wittenstein, AJC, Atlanta

COLUMBUS, GA. - Don McEvoy, NCCJ, Atlanta

SAVANNAH, GA. - Frances Pauley, Ga. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

BATON ROUGE, LA. - Wade Mackey, AFSC, Baton Rouge

NEW ORLEANS, LA. - Adolph Botnick, ADL, New Orleans

ASHEVILLE, N. C. - Richard Lobenthal, ADL, Richmond, Va.

CHARLOTTE, N. C. - " "

COLUMBIA, S. C. - Courtney Siceloff, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S. C.

S. C., other - Alice Spearman, South Carolina Council on Human Relations (SRC)

GREENVILLE, S. C. - Monroe Schlactus, ADL, Atlanta

KNOXVILLE, TENN. - " "

MEMPHIS, TENN. - Charles Wittenstein, AJC, Atlanta

NASHVILLE, TENN. - Will Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, Atlanta

TENN., other - Kay Jones, Tennessee Council on Human Relations (SRC)

DALLAS, TEXAS - Gus Falk, AJC, Dallas

HOUSTON, TEXAS - Ted Freedman, ADL, Houston

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA. - Neal Tarplee, Protestant Episcopal Church, Lynchburg

LYNCHBURG, VA. - " "

ROANOKE, VA. - " "

NEWPORT NEWS, VA. - Heslip Lee, Va. Council on Human Relations (SRC)

NORFOLK, VA. - " "

PORTSMOUTH, VA. - " "

RICHMOND, VA. - " "

OPERATION OPPORTUNITY

Southern Effort - Women Community Leaders

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA	Mrs. W. Raymond Berry 9614 Todd Mill Rd.
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS	Mrs. Patrick Murphy 423 Shamrock Drive
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA	Mrs. Bernard Jacobson 330 Mehlenbacher Rd.
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA	Miss Louise Blackwell Route 3, Box 218
TAMPA, FLORIDA	Mrs. Nathan L. Marcus 917 Gulf View Avenue
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA	Mrs. Julie Purnell 2772 - 79th Street
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA	Mrs. George Dreyfous 1223 Conery Street
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. William P. Mears 206 Tranquil Avenue
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Guy Alling 1622 Delaware Avenue
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Henry Isaacson 100 Batchelor Drive
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Louise Latham 521 George Street
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Kathaleen Carpenter 1201 Glade Street
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Charles Gartland P. O. Box 1253 - Myrtle Beach
FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Iola Jones 711 Oakland
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE	Mrs. Stanley Ish 1483 S. Parkway, East
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE	Mrs. Irving Hand 203 Ridgefield Court
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Gerard Hannon 108 N. W. Lane - Key West

DANVILLE, VIRGINIA	Miss Margaret Edmunds 133 West Moreland Court
NEWPORT NEWS, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Frank Fullman 316 Hurley Avenue
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	Miss Zula Pierce 6 North 5th Street
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman 7625 Sweet Briar Road
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA	Mrs. Carolyn Warrell
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA	Mrs. J. E. Stockman 605 First Street, S.W.
MACON, GEORGIA	Mrs. James Clegg 1491 Adams Street
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA	Mrs. Brad Ansley 1603 Elmwood Drive
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA	Mrs. Margaret Belcher 2861 Urban Avenue
AUGUSTA, GEORGIA	Mrs. Don Franks 1728 Davidson Drive
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA	Mrs. Susan Watters 6802 LaRocke Avenue
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA	Mrs. Mason Robertson 323 East - 49th Street
ALBANY, GEORGIA	Mrs. Aurelia Noble 522 Mercer Avenue

Chairman of the Board Continental Can Corporation

General Lucius D. Clay
Governor's Conference on Trade & Commerce
Atlanta, Georgia - May 22, 1961

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"It is good to be home again and particularly to return to participate in the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce. I have been assigned my subject; to reply to the question, "Does Georgia Have a Truly Favorable Industrial Climate"?

"In part answer to this question, I ask your indulgence to refer briefly to the industrial investment which my company, Continental Can, has in Georgia. In 1950, when I joined the company, we had only a sales office in Atlanta. Today, we have four manufacturing plants, two of which are large, modern paper making complexes, and more than 330,000 acres of land. We could not replace our plant and equipment for less than 100 million dollars. Moreover, we have designed and built our paper mills for further expansion. Our Georgian investment is larger than in any other state in the Union.

"Obviously, we would not be here if we did not believe the climate to be favorable to industrial development. However, climates are never static and we do see changes and trends which cause us concern and, therefore, are apt to disturb other companies contemplating the establishment of manufacturing facilities in Georgia.

"Before we examine these problems, it might not be amiss to tell you something of what our company brings to Georgia in purchasing expenditures and in payroll. I do this because these are important considerations

for Georgia to weigh in determining its real attitude to industrial growth and the extent to which it desires to encourage such growth. Certainly industrial growth beyond the average can come about only because of "better than average" climate, and this climate can be created only when the return from industry compensates for the advantages which it has received. A one-way street can only lead to a dead-end.

"This year, we expect to employ about 1400 people in our Georgia operations with a payroll of more than $9 million dollars. Further, we will purchase pulpwood from Georgia owners at a cost in excess of $9 million dollars, much of which is for labor. Our general operating expenses for our Georgia operations will exceed $11 million dollars. This represents a total expenditure of about $30 million dollars annually in Georgia, a figure much in excess of what we sell in Georgia. In addition, almost every year we spend substantial capital funds for expansion which provides additional employment. In 1960, these expenditures exceeded $20 million dollars. Our direct taxes are in the hundreds of thousands of dollars and the indirect taxes as a result of our activities are certain to be even more. This is why we believe Georgia wants us and industry in general to invest in Georgia and why we believe Georgia stands to benefit from a favorable climate.

"During the decade in which we have expanded so rapidly, there has been an encouraging expansion throughout the State. In this decade, manufacturing employment in Georgia increased at double the national rate, and per capita income increased at a rate 20% in excess of the national average.

Even with this latter increase, per capita income was still less than 3/4 of the average for the country as a whole. However, Georgia enjoyed a 67% increase in retail sales as compared with 54% for the United States; a better than average increase in capital expenditures, a growth in the number of manufacturing establishments which sums up impressively to prove that industry was attracted to Georgia in the 1950's. Although Georgia had long been regarded as primarily an agricultural state, it now has 8.2% of its population employed in manufacturing as compared to 8.9% for the nation.

"These are impressive figures and, indeed, Georgia has been on the march. However, the 1958 census indicated some slowing down in the rate of growth. Even in the 1950's as industry expanded, Georgia's population growth was only 2/3 that for the nation as a whole. In point of fact, since 1830, except for one census year, Georgia's population at each census has become a lesser percentage of the nation's population.

"These statistics are not alarming. In fact, the manufacturing statistics which show a decline in growth could have resulted from other causes, such as recession and automation. Still, they do suggest the advisability of a fresh look at the factors which create an industrial climate.

"There are many favorable factors. First, there is the real climate of the state. Georgia is one of the few states to offer the advantages of the changing seasons in transitions which are never harsh and which seldom

if ever, interfere with outdoor living. Nor do weather conditions offer a threat to the continuity of plant operations. Moreover, there is adequate water for industrial use and an adequate supply of energy at reasonable cost. Employees reluctant to move to Georgia in the first instance become even more difficult to transfer out of the state as they feel its charm. The soft beauty of the Georgia countryside, the gentle but continuing change in its topography as we move from sea to mountain, the unbelievable opportunities for outdoor activities quickly capture the newcomer. Spring in Georgia with the flowering shrubs on the hillside and in the stately forests with the scent of budding fruit trees in the air and Bob White calling everywhere; the play of color as the leaves turn in the fall, the long stretches of sandy beaches, the broad forests, the high mountains with their lakes and streams and waterfalls; all combine to make Georgia a lovely place in which to live and to work.

"Secondly and perhaps of equal importance, Georgia has an adequate supply of labor, independent in thought, eager for self-improvement, and basically conservative in attitude. I grew up with these people and I know they can be led but not driven, and that within their very intense but never expressed pride there is the desire to move upward and forward. Our company did not come to Georgia to get cheap labor. We are not looking for cheap labor; we are looking for productive labor. Most of our labor in Georgia is unionized and our wage rates are industry-wide rates; no less nor no more in Georgia than elsewhere. In paying these rates, we must

have full productivity to compete and this we get in Georgia. It is true that in the initial start-up of our plants, we have had to bring in specialists from other locations. However, we have found local labor intelligent and responsive to training and we shall soon be sending specialists trained here to start up other facilities. We would like to see more vocational training at the high school level and we have been impressed with the plan for a new Vocational High School in Augusta. We are very happy with the management-labor relations in our Georgia operations. Statistics show that time lost in work stoppages in Georgia is 1/4 the average rate and we have found this to be true. In general, the quality and quantity of this labor available in Georgia is a very favorable factor in its industrial climate with one exception which I shall discuss later.

In our particular industry of forestry, pulp, and paper, we find Georgia progressive. We work closely with the Forestry Commission which we believe to be efficient and effective. We are satisfied with the fire protection system in which private companies work hand in hand with state and local systems.

We believe existing taxes on forest products to be fair and equitable although we are often disturbed by annual local efforts to impose new burdens, such as the so-called severance tax. In point of fact, we do not feel that we have been or are being overtaxed anywhere in the State, but we are disturbed at some of the new forms of taxation being considered.

"If these favorable factors -- the physical climate, the character of the labor supply and the present tax structure -- exist, then why has industrial growth in Georgia not been even more rapid, why does its rate of growth appear to have declined? Are there other factors which perhaps in some degree offset these advantages? If so, what are they and what can be done about them?

"In speaking to you of these factors, I assure you I shall not try to tell the people of Georgia what to do about them. I recognize these factors to be solely their concern. But what they do about them is most certain to influence the industrial growth of the State.

"If I speak of controversial matters, I have no solution to offer. I was born and raised in Georgia in the then small town of Marietta and no one anywhere could have had a happier childhood. We had little industry and less concern for its problems. No one had money, at least in cash. Each spring, some friendly owner gave us his pasture in which to set stone bases for our baseball field; each spring we would rebuild the earthen dam on Glover's Creek or Brown's Creek for the summer swimming pool; always some neighbor would have a tennis court which was ours to use for the most part. Today, that kind of childhood is impossible. It was the friendly atmosphere which made Georgia a wonderful place to be born and raised.

"Today, there seems less assurance that the atmosphere is so friendly; there is apprehension that there is tension in Georgia which retards

its progress. Part of this comes from the general understanding that the county unit system assures control of the State by agricultural interests to the dissatisfaction of the city and industry. Of course, there are some who say that this system has given Georgia a more conservative government, more favorable to industry than would have resulted with urban control. Away from Georgia, the Atlanta banker and industrialists are well known and highly respected. Atlanta is regarded as a modern, progressive business center. Thus, outside industry can not understand why it has such a relatively weak voice in the political life of the State. Specifically, no one would give this as a reason not to locate in Georgia; rather, it creates a feeling of uncertainty as to the future political atmosphere in the State, and industry is always apprehensive of political uncertainties.

"Then too, for those of us who depend on pulpwood and who believe that this industry can still expand in Georgia, there are some fears as to the extent of local taxation in those counties which continue as political sub-divisions although losing much of their population to urban areas. Perhaps there is a real need to consolidate local sub-divisions of government. In any case, any increase in population in these areas is dependent upon attracting decentralized industrial operations to the smaller cities and towns and, here again, there is need for a sound and reasonable local tax structure.

"Another problem which can not be ignored is the desegregation issue. Employees being transferred to Georgia worry about the school

conditions for their children. Manufacturers worry about the conditions which could develop within their plants. Today, almost every major manufacturing company is engaged to some extent in contract operations for the government subject to the anti-discrimination laws. Most of us like to feel that we are a part of the community where we are located and that accordingly we must respect and accept local customs and traditions. None of us want to locate in areas where there is serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, and yet we must obey the law.

"One of the principal attractions to industry is the availability of labor, both skilled and unskilled. However, we have long learned that unskilled labor not capable of upgrading is not really good labor. Hence, our training programs are designed to upgrade our labor. These training programs and the resultant upgrading must not be discriminating in their selectivity.

"Moreover, the situation does not make economic sense to the national manufacturer who relies on national statistics to help form his judgments. I spoke earlier of Georgia's loss of relative position in population size. I am often told that this has resulted from the heavy migration of Negro workers to other areas as if this movement was of no economic significance. Likewise, I am told that the lower than average per capita income in Georgia results from the lesser earning power of the Negro worker.

Statistically, both statements may be correct but that does not prove the economic conclusions. While much of the Negro labor force may be relatively unproductive now, it represents a potential important to industry which can be made increasingly productive with in-plant training. Moreover, as this labor becomes more productive, its earning power increases as does the capacity of the State as a whole to absorb more products and to attract more industries to manufacture these products. So far, the desegregation issue has not affected our operations. We find much understanding of the problem in our plants and an enlightened approach to the problem from our own employees. Nevertheless, we cannot dismiss it as non-existent. Whatever and whenever the solution, until it is solved, it does create some disquiet, some apprehension in the minds of those who otherwise look favorably on Georgia for industrial expansion.

Finally, there are the problems which prevail in different forms and degrees everywhere, the problem of state and local taxes. In competing for new industries, localities frequently offer tax inducements which are attractive and effective. Often, when the new plant becomes operative, there develops resentment that it is not paying its fair share, and new taxes are designed to capture the so-called lost revenue as the plant expands. No business should accept the bait of immediate tax concession without examining both the existing tax structure and the tax custom of the locality over a period of years.

[Here follows in Gen. Clay's address nearly three pages discussing state & local taxes in Georgia.]

Georgia, with relatively stable and conservative state government, has provided a conservative atmosphere for business which is a major asset in the competitive search for new industry. Still within a few years, it has disallowed the deduction of federal income taxes in computing taxable income, enlarged the scope and definition of sales for tax allocation purposes, and added substantially to the list of taxable items subject to sales and use tax. It now proposes a major revision in the state income tax which is not an inducement to new industry. While the 5 1/2% income tax rate was reduced to 4%, the deduction of Federal taxes was disallowed, which had the effect before Federal taxes of increasing the true rate from 2.64% to 4%. Certainly the new rate is not unreasonable in relation to tax rates elsewhere. However, it is a change in method which leads industry to ask if there is any lasting value to be assigned to the state tax structure in determining the advantages of a Georgia location. Perhaps Georgia should continue to ask itself if it is wise to augment income by increasing the taxes on existing industry, or would it be better to continue a favorable tax structure inviting to new industry and gradually augmenting income by broadening the tax base?

For instance, we almost placed our Augusta mill elsewhere when we found that we would be confronted with a use tax in materials and equipment amounting to a million dollars. This was too much for us to stand for an economical operation. Fortunately, we were able to negotiate a

20-year payout. If this had not been possible, Georgia would have lost a plant which over the years will provide it with substantial direct tax revenue and, in addition, with substantial indirect revenue from the payroll and other expenditures resulting from the operation. It would seem to me that to apply a sales or use tax to capital equipment and materials for new plants or for plant expansion, is the surest way to discourage industrial growth. No industry can be expected to pay a penalty to locate and expand in a given area if it can locate elsewhere without penalty.

Also, for tax purposes, the sales allocated to the state is the sum of all sales made or allocated to a Georgia sales office wherever delivered, plus all deliveries made in Georgia whether or not sold through a Georgia sales office. While either of these is a sound method of allocation, it is obvious that to have both is to subject the manufacturer to double taxation which you may be sure we will use every effort to avoid. This forces him often to produce elsewhere with a consequent loss of production in his Georgia plants.

I would further suggest the local taxation of inventories not only results in systematic reduction of inventories at tax time, but also frequently results in plant shutdowns and unemployment which would not otherwise take place. Moreover, without such a tax, industry would be inclined to build inventories to increase distribution from its Georgia operations rather than shipping to distribution centers elsewhere to avoid the tax.

Please let me repeat, we do not feel overtaxed in Georgia as compared to other localities. We do believe that without loss of revenue, existing tax laws could be modified to encourage new industry. We can live with good tax laws; we can shift localities and emphasis to minimize the effect of bad tax laws. No corporation expects a free ride nor to be exempt from bearing its fair share of a state's tax burden. No corporation is happy when its tax burden is increased in areas where property taxes are levied on assessed valuations of from 10% to 15% of real values.

Above all, the manufacturer likes to place his plants where there is a consistency in the tax laws. He hesitates to locate in areas where there are frequent changes some of which could well offset the advantages which lead him to the location.

"Obviously, I have not covered my subject fully or in detail. To sum up, I would say that the physical factors, the character and quantity of the labor supply, and the general stability of state government do provide a favorable industrial climate in Georgia. To some degree, these advantages are offset by lack of knowledge of Georgia; fear that its basic interest is agriculture, not industry; uncertainty as to the desegregation problem; and changes in the tax structure which threatens its stability.

"I would like to add that our own company has made its decision. We are in Georgia in a big way and we came to stay and to grow. We know

that we can progress and grow only as Georgia progresses and grows. We have confidence that the good conscience and common sense of the majority of the people of Georgia will find solutions to the problems we see today which will assure continuing growth and progress. Of course there are problems but even with them, we like the industrial climate we find here.

# # #

General Lucius D. Clay
Governor's Conference on Trade & Commerce
Atlanta, Georgia - May 22, 1961

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is good to be home again and particularly to return to participate in the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce. I have been assigned my subject; to reply to the question, "Does Georgia Have a Truly Favorable Industrial Climate?"

In part answer to this question, I ask your indulgence to refer briefly to the industrial investment which my company, Continental Can, has in Georgia. In 1950, when I joined the company we had only a sales office in Atlanta. Today, we have four manufacturing plants, two of which are large, modern paper making complexes, and more than 330,000 acres of land. We could not replace our plant and equipment for less than 100 million dollars. Moreover, we have designed and built our paper mills for further expansion. Our Georgian investment is larger than in any other state in the Union.

Obviously, we would not be here if we did not believe the climate to be favorable to industrial development. However, climates are never static and we do see changes and trends which cause us concern and, therefore, are apt to disturb other companies contemplating the establishment of manufacturing facilities in Georgia.

Before we examine these problems, it might not be amiss to tell you something of what our company brings to Georgia in purchasing expenditures and in payroll. I do this because these are important considerations for Georgia to weigh in determining its real attitude to industrial growth and the extent to which it desires to encourage such growth. Certainly industrial growth beyond the average can come about only because of "better than average" climate, and this climate can be created only when the return from industry compensates for the advantages which it has received. A one-way street can only lead to a

dead-end.

This year, we expect to employ about 1400 people in our Georgia operations with a payroll of more than 9 million dollars. Further, we will purchase pulpwood from Georgia owners at a cost in excess of 9 million dollars, much of which is for labor. Our general operating expenses for our Georgia operations will exceed 11 million dollars. This represents a total expenditure of about 30 million dollars annually in Georgia, a figure much in excess of what we sell in Georgia. In addition, almost every yyear we spend substantial capital funds for expansion which provides additional employment. In 1960, these expenditures exceeded 20 million dollars. Our direct taxes are in the hundreds of thousands of dollars and the indirect taxes as a result of our activities are certain to be even more. This is why we believe Georgia wants us and industry in general to invest in Georgia and why we believe Georgia stands to benefit from a favorable climate.

During the decade in which we have expanded so rapidly, there has been an encouraging expansion throughout the State. In this decade, manufacturing employment in Georgia increased at double the national rate, and per capita income increased at a rate of 20% in excess of the national average. Even with this latter increase, per capita income was still less than 3/4 of the average for the country as a whole. However, Georgia enjoyed a 67% increase in retail sales as compared with 54% for the United States; a better than average increase in capital expenditures, a growth in the number of manufacturing establishments which sums up impressively to prove that industry was attracted to Georgia in the 1950's. Although Georgia had long been regarded as primarily an agricultural state, it now has 8.2% of its population employed in manufacturing as compared to 8.9% for the nation.

These are impressive figures and, indeed, Georgia has been on the march. However, the 1958 census indicated some slowing down in the rate of growth. Even in the 1950's as industry expanded, Georgia'a population growth was only 2/3 that for the nation as a whole. In point of fact, since 1830, except for

one census year, Georgia's population at each census has become a lesser percentage of the nation's population.

These statistics are not alarming. In fact, the manufacturing statistics which show a decline in growth could have resulted from other causes, such as recession and automation. Still, they do suggest the advisability of a fresh look at the factors which create an industrial climate.

There are many favorable factors. First, there is the real climate of the state. Georgia is one of the few states to offer the advantages of the changing seasons in transitions which are never harsh and which seldom, if ever, interfere with outdoor living. Nor do weather conditions offer a threat to the continuity of plant operations. Moreover, there is adequate water for industrial use and an adequate supply of energy at reasonable cost. Employees reluctant to move to Georgia in the first instance become even more difficult to transfer out of the state as they feel its charm. The soft beauty of the Georgia countryside, the gentle but continuing change in its topography as we move from sea to mountain, the unbelievable opportunities for outdoor activities quickly capture the newcomer. Spring in Georgia with the flowering shrubs on the hillside and in the stately fforests with the scent ob budding fruit trees in the air and bob white calling everywhere; the play of color as the leaves turn in the fall, the long stretches of sandy beaches, the broad forests, the high mountains with their lakes and streams and waterfalls; all combine to make Georgia a lovely place in which to live and to work.

Secondly, and perhaps of equal importance, Georgia has an adequate supply of labor, independent in thought, eagar for self-improvement, and basically conservative in attitude. I grew up with these people and I know they can be lad but not driven, and that within their very intense but never expressed pride there is the desire to move upward and forward. Our company did not come to Georgia to get cheap labor. We are not looking for cheap labor; we are looking for productive labor. Most of our labor in Georgia is unionized and our wage rates are

industry-wide rates; no less no more in Georgia than elsewhere. In paying these rates, we must have full productivity to compete and this we get in Georgia. It is true that in the initial start-up of our plants, we have had to bring in specialists from other locations. However, we have found local labor intelligent and responsive to training and we shall soon be sending specialists trained here to start up other facilities. We would like to see more vocational training at the high school level and we have been impressed with the plan for a new Vocational High School in Augusta. We are very happy with the management-labor relations in our Georgia operations. Statistics show that time lost in work stoppages in Georgia is ¼ the average rate and we have found this to be true. In general, the quality and quantity of this labor available in Georgia is a very favorable factor in its industrial climate with one exception which I shall discuss later.

In our particular industry of forestry, pulp, and paper, we find Georgia progressive. We work closely with the Forestry Commission which we believe to be efficient and effective. We are satisfied with the fire protection system in which private companies work hand in hand with state and local systems.

We believe existing taxes on forest products to be fair and equitable although we are often disturbed by annual local efforts to impose new burdens.....

If these favorable factors--the physical climate, the character of the labor supply and the present tax structure--exist, then why has the industrial growth in Georgia not been more rapid, why does its rate of growth appear to have declined? Are there other factors which perhaps in some degree offset these advantages? If so, what are they and what can be done about them?

In speaking to you of these factors, I assure you I shall not try to tell the people of Georgia what to do about them. I recognize these factors to be solely their concern. But what they do about them is most certain to influence the industrial growth of the State.

If I speak of controversial matters, I have no solution to offer. I was born

and raised in Georgia in the then small town of Marietta and no one anywhere could have had a happier childhood. We had little industry and less concern for its problems. No one had money, at least in cash. Each spring, some friendly owner gave us his pasture in which to set stone bases for our baseball field; each spring we would rebuild the earthen dam on Glover's Creek or Brown's Creek for the summer swimming pool; always some neighbor would have a tennis court which was ours to use for the most part. Today, that kind of childhood is impossible. It was the friendly atmosphere which made Georgia a wonderful place to be born and raised.

Today, there seems less assurance that the atmosphere is so friendly; there is apprehension that there is tension in Georgia which retards the progress. Part of this comes from the general understanding that the county unit system assures control of the State by agricultural interests to the dissatisfaction of the city and industry. Of course, there are some who say that this system has given Georgia a more conservative government, more favorable to industry than would have resulted with urban control. Away from Georgia, the Atlanta banker and industrialist are well known and highly respected. Atlanta is regarded as a modern, progressive business center. Thus, outside industry can not understand why it has such a relatively weak voice in the political life of the State. Specifically, no one would give this as a reason not to locate in Georgia; rather, it creates a feeling of uncertainty as to the future political atmosphere in the State, and industry is always apprehensive of political uncertainties.

Then too, for those of us who depend on pulpwood and who believe that this industry can still expand in Georgia, there are some fears as to the extent of local taxation in those counties which continue as political sub-divisions although losing much of their population to urban areas. Perhaps there is a real need to consolidate local sub-divisions of government. In any case, any increase in population in these areas is dependent upon attracting decentralized industrial operations to the smaller cities and towns and here again, there is need for a sound

and reasonable local tax structure.

Another problem which can not be ignored is the desegregation issue. Employees being transfered to Georgia worry about the school conditions for their children. Manufacturers worry about the conditions which could develop within their plants. Today, almost every major manufacturing company is engaged to some extent in contract operations for the government subject to the anti-discrimination laws. Most of us like to feel that we are part of the community where we are located and that accordingly we must respect and accept local customs and traditions. None of us want to locate in areas where there is serious risk of conflict between local custom and Federal law. We need the good will of the community, and yet we must obey the law.

One of the principal attractions to industry is the availability of labor, both skilled and unskilled. However, we have long learned that unskilled labor not capable of upgrading is not really good labor. Hence, our training programs are designed to upgrade our labor. These training programs and the resultant upgrading must not be discriminating in their selectivity.

Moreover, the situation does not make economic sense to the national manufacturer who relies on national statistics to help form his judgments. I spoke earlier of Georgia's loss of relative position in population size. I am often told that this has resulted from the heavy migration of Negro workers to other areas as if this movement was of no economic significance. Likewise, I am told that the lower than average per capita income in Georgia results from the lesser earning power of the Negro worker. Statistically, both statements may be correct but that does not prove the economic conclusions. While much of the Negro labor force may be relatively unproductive now, it represents a potential important to industry which can be made increasingly productive with in-plant training. Moreover, as this labor becomes more productive, its earning power increases as does the capacity of the State as a whole to absorb more products and to attract more industries to manufacture these products. So far, the desegregation issue has not

affected our operations. We find much understanding of the problem in our plants and an enlightened approach to the problem from our own employees. Nevertheless, we cannot dismiss it as non-existent. Whatever and whenever the solution, until it is solved, it does create some disquiet, some apprehension in the minds of those who otherwise look favorably on Georgia for industrial expansion.

Finally, there are the problems which prevail in different forms and degrees everywhere, the problem of state and local taxes....

(Here follows in Gen. Clay's address nearly three pages of discussion of state and local taxes in Georgia.)

Obviously, I have not covered my subject fully or in detail. To sum up, I would say that the physical factors, the character and quantity of the labor supply, and the general stability of state government do provide a favorable industrial climate in Georgia. To some degree, these advantages are offset by lack of knowledge of Georgia; fear that its basic interest is agriculture, not industry; uncertainty as to the desegregation problem; and changes in the tax structure which threatens its stability.

I would like to add that our own company has made its decision. We are in Georgia in a big way and we came to stay and grow. We know that we can progress and grow only as Georgia progresses and grows. We have confidence that the good conscience and common sense of the majority of the people of Georgia will find solutions to the problems we see today which will assure continuing growth and progress.

June 21, 1961

General Lucius D. Clay
Continental Can Company, Inc.
100 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear General Clay:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your Atlanta address to the Governor's Conference on Trade and Commerce. I have read it with great interest and have shared the admiration which I am sure all those who heard it had.

We have endeavored, from time to time, to circulate to Southern business and some political leaders statements such as yours which discuss the crucial social and political problems of the South. Enclosed with this letter are copies of a few such statements that we have, with the permission of the authors, reproduced and distributed.

We would like your consent to make this use of your speech. The form would be similar to that of the enclosed L-22.

Because discussion of tax laws is not really appropriate to either our organizational purpose or our tax-exemption certificate, we would delete those portions of your address which commented in specifics on the Georgia tax laws. I am enclosing a copy of your address which will show you exactly those portions that we would omit.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Enclosures:
marked speech
L-22, L-24, HH, LC

CONTINENTAL CAN COMPANY, INC.
100 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

May 25, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am happy to send you a copy of my talk as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Lucius D. Clay

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure

JM

CONTINENTAL CAN COMPANY, INC.
100 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OFFICE OF
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Thanks for a few copies L 26 in mailed to Clay. Matter of directed on market JM

July 19, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Since my speech was made to the Governor's Conference, except as it was reported, I do not believe the consent to its publication to be my privilege.

Sincerely yours,

Lucius D. Clay

Lucius D. Clay

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 3, 1961

General Lucius D. Clay
Chairman of the Board
Continental Can Company, Inc.
100 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear General Clay:

Because of the pertinence of your remarks to the concerns of the Southern Regional Council, your talk before the Governor's Conference has been reproduced by the Council for distribution ot its mailing list.

I am pleased to enclose three copies of that report, with the suggestion that should you desire more copies, we will be glad to forward them to you.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:a
Enclosure: 3 - L-26

September 27, 1965

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
S C L C
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Randolph:

When you are once again behind your desk, I have another favor to ask of you. Pat Watters would like for you, if possible, to get some information for the gentleman who wrote the enclosed note. It seems as though he has requested it directly from SCLC, but without success. Would you see to it that he gets what he wants? His full name is Professor James Y. Holloway.

And thank you for your note. The fact that you hurriedly scribbled it is a good sign I won't have to remind you over three times to get the piece for me.

I'll be talking with you soon.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

JCS

Enclosure - 1.

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

September 23, 1965

Dear Pat:

I've been trying to get from SCLC in Atlanta the texts of statements made by Dr. King relating the problems of civil rights and peace -- especially his closing statement to the convention in B'ham -- but so far I haven't even received a "we don't have any." Maybe they don't, but I wondered if you might have access to someone there who might have some of his statements on this matter, and could try to pry them loose. I hate to ask you to go to this trouble, but I would like a full text if possible, and the newspaper accounts to which I have access are only in excerpts.

I could also use anything SNCC says on the issue, if you know of anything there. (Obviously, this has nothing to do with the "public policy" project, on which I'm still working.)

Thanks for any help you can lend, and for letting me contact you. I hope all is going well. Thanks for the draft of the legislation.

Kindest,

Jim

October 18, 1965

Mr. Charles Humpstone
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Humpstone:

You may recall that during that lively and sometimes baleful conference you attended in Montgomery I mentioned a research project to lead a book, which I am now involved in. The book is to deal with Negro registration and political participation in the South, with the files of the three-year Voter Education Project as a base.

I was particularly interested in what you had to say about having already seen political change as a result of recent registration in certain counties. Can you give me the specifics of the change, the registration picture before and after the recent registration activities, and the connection which you draw? This is exactly the kind of information we need in attempting to assess the potential political impact of Negro registration.

You also mentioned the forthcoming commission report dealing with protection of civil rights workers and, I presume, others. I would like to receive that when it is ready.

If you have any other information which you think might be pertinent to my project, I would certainly appreciate it -- or any suggestions about matters I ought to look into.

Please give my regards to Bill Taylor.

Sincerely yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

October 18, 1965

Mr. Charles Williamson
Editor
The Darien News
Darien, Georgia

Dear Charley:

I see your paper fairly often but seldom see stories in it any more about the editor's finding bullet holes in his desk. Have you gone straight, or have they?

It has been a long time since I had the opportunityyto be arrested in McIntosh and thus the pleasure of meeting your sheriff. Some day I hope we can get together and I'll tell you more than I probably was able to tell you over the phone in those days about the payoffs to the law. I never could get my stories about it past the Journal's libel lawyer. I did get affidavits attesting to payoffs to Delmar Jones, who was fired as GBI director when Sanders took office, and payoffs to one of your deputies.

I am writing about another matter, however, so you may put these pleasant memories aside.

I am on leave from the Journal doing research for a book on Negro registration and voting in the South, and the political impact thereof. McIntosh County's experience has been very atypical of the South, of course, but a couple of aspects of it relate to my work. Do you think it can be cited as a county where Negroes have voted freely because their votes are in the pockets of a political boss? I believe it used to be that way, anyhow, and if you could provide me some particulars (not necessarily to be attributed to you) I would appreciate it.

I am especially interested in knowing whether it is true that Sheriff Poppell and a Negro ally (whose name I do not remember) controlled the votes on almost a ward-heeling basis. As I recall, Poppell used to appoint Negro special deputies who in effect had the

privilege of enforcing the law or not enforcing it in their areas (among Negroes), and frequently they used their positions just to permit chosen small rackets and illegal liquor spots to flourish. As I recall, also, Poppell was maintained in power against the reform forces by control of this vote.

How many Negroes (and what proportion of the total) are registered in McIntosh, and how long has it been that way? Is it a good example of a place where Negro voting has been a tool of corruption? Have Negroes at large really gotten any benefits from it -- except, of course, for those such as special deputies who have gotten special privileges from it? And how has Poppell controlled it? Can you provide any figures that would show how it has blocked on any crucial elections?

This is asking for a lot, I realize, but I thought this county might be a prime example of how we must not assume that free voting by Negroes in rural areas is necessarily, of itself, going to give them any genuine benefits or give the community at large any genuine benefits. Maybe in a lot of places, after sizable Negro registration is accomplished, the old methods of political bossism will still reign supreme because of corrupt or at least weak local Negro leadership.

Any enlightenment from you will be appreciated.

With best regards,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
5th Floor
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 18, 1965

Director
Chicago Commission on
Human Relations
211 West Wacker Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I am working on a book to be published under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council about Negro voter registration and political participation. In my research, I find a reference by Harold Gosnell to an elaborate report by your commission on the impact of Negro voting in Chicago. This may be an old study -- I do not know. In either case, is it possible for me to obtain a copy of the report?

Sincerely yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

October 18, 1965

Mrs. R. D. Randolph
3726 Meadowlake Drive
Houston 19, Texas

Dear Mrs. Randolph:

I am doing research for a book on Negro voter registration and political participation in the South, with the materials of the Voter Education Project as a base. In going through the VEP files, I have found mentinn of your name as one who has had experience linking poor whites and Negroes in political activity.

I apologize for not knowing more, but could you provide me with some information about this for possible use in the book? One of the subjects I am interested in is the question of how much newly franchised Negroes in the South are likely to be able to make common cause with poorer whites sharing their economic interests. I believe Texas may have had more experience with such coalitions than any other southern state, and would be very interested in knowing anything you can tell me along these lines, especially about specific instances of such cooperation, the purposes for which the harmony was attained, the difficulties and the results.

Can you help me with this?

Sincerely yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

FYI

Rec'd 10/4/65

1710 Rabb Rd.
Austin, Texas

Dear Mrs. Shortt

The address of Mrs. R. D. Randolph is

Mrs. R. D. Randolph
3726 Meadowlake Dr.
Houston, 19, Texas

I do not know of a Dr. Atkinson of Texas Southern University, but I would hazard that if you just addressed a letter to him at the University, the chances might be good that he would receive it.

Would you do me a favor and put my name of your mailing list of SRC publications, pamphlets, and newsletters. I would certainly appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Larry Goodwyn

Larry Goodwyn

September 23, 1965

Mr. Larry Goodwyn
1710 Rabb Road
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Goodwyn:

We are in the process of gathering all the data collected from the Voter Education Project in preparation for the book due to be published in the near future.

Mr. Reese Cleghorn, who is working on this particular project, has asked me to get a couple of addresses for him that are not in our files, and I was wondering if you would be kind enough to send them to us. One is for a Mrs. R. D Randolph of Houston, and we need the full name and address of a Dr. Atkinson of Texas Southern University.

We would appreciate your sending us this information at your earliest opportunity.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt

JCS

October 19, 1965

Dr. Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Matthews:

As you may know, via Les Dunbar or Paul Anthony, Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council and I are now at work on the book which was envisioned from the outset of the Voter Education Project about Negro registration and voting in the South. It will be a broad book for broad public consumption. We are capitalizing on having the files of the VEP at our disposal, but it may be that no more than a third of the book will be VEP related.

What we want is a book about registration, the VEP drive, the rights movement generally as it has dealt with voter registration, the political impact already apparent in particular localities and at state levels, the prospective political impact, and the prospective new requirements in Negro community leadership and structure.

Our book is to be published by Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., I believe before the studies which you and Dr. Prothro have done.

Naturally, we would like to make use of your findings, about which I have been hearing for a long time. I am altogether unfamiliar with their form and scope, and not very familiar with their content. Would you tell me whether and how we might avail ourselves of them? Would there be any limitations on using them if our book <u>is</u> appearing before yours? Can you cite for me the places in which parts of them have been published in article form?

As you can see from my summary of our book's contents, we obviously will not be concentrating on definitive, highly detailed, voluminous analysis in any part of our subject matter. We do, however, hope to make it a well documented book and one that deals in a substantial way with registration and voting.

We will certainly appreciate any help you can give us. I look forward to meeting you.

Very truly yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

October 26, 1965

Mr. Ray Jenkins
Managing Editor
The Alabama Journal
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Ray:

I am working on a book about Negro voters and their impact on southern politics. One chapter will focus on southern politics since the elections of 1960. I'm writing to a political editor-writer in each southern state for help on some specific aspects of this and in sizing things up generally.

I would certainly appreciate your aid, if you can muster time to do it on a free-lance basis.

Here is what I need to know:

Are politicians paying much more attention to the growing Negro vote now than they were in 1960? Some specific examples of changes in their overt and covert actions, if possible. Any move toward bi-racial state commissions or other such latter-day manifestations?

Will there be any more white supremacy campaigns there -- and when was the last one? (Was it "nigger-nigger," or more subtle?)

In 1960, were politicians making any pitch (secretly or openly) for Negro votes? Will they in 1965 and 1966, and how?

Can you cite any elections whose outcome was changed by Negro votes (with specifics of the vote totals and the number of Negro votes)? Any Negro office-holding?

If yours is a state that has moved from massive resistance to a more moderate stance in the past couple of years, what was mainly responsible in your judgment?

Economic considerations? Growth of white moderate vote? Negro votes now or anticipated?

Are the younger politicians looking more to Negro votes? Are Republicans as well as Democrats looking in that direction?

Did the 1964 election results change any leading politicians' directions -- i.e., were any moved to the right by the strength of the Goldwater showing? Or made more liberal by the strong showing of Negro votes?

Have illiterates voted there in the past and does state law (or practice) provide for helping them mark their ballots? Any idea how many have been registered in the past, especially white illiterates?

A brief note on any major election-law changes as they affect ease of registration and voting by illiterates would be helpful.

If yours has been a poll tax state, how does this work and what is expected to be the situation there now?

Are local voter registrars' offices open every day? Do registrars ever establish sub-stations in neighborhoods or just go out for a few days at a time to neighborhoods?

And a few words about the political climate there as it pertains to all this, and about your own evaluations of the impact of Negro voting past and future, what the politicians are thinking about and what, if anything, it is changing.

I hope I can enlist your aid. What I would like is a memo of 500 words or more. I will pay $30 for a good one with some examples and details that can be published. (For a short memo involving less time and work, I would pay less. Naturally, I'd prefer the former.)

I hope I can enlist your aid in particular.

With regards,

Reese Cleghorn
51 Peachtree Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RC:js

The attached letter also sent to the following individuals:

Mr. Tom Dearmore
Editor
The Baxter Bulletin
Mountain Home, Arkansas

Mrs. Margearet Dixon
Managing Editor
The Morning Advocate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mr. Robert McHugh
City Editor
The Record
Columbia, S. C.

Mr. Joe Hatcher
The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. W. F. Miner
The New Orleans Times-Picayune
State Capitol
Jackson, Miss.

Mr. Donald Miklejohn
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mr. Jay Jenkins
Raleigh Bureau
The Charlotte Observer
State Capitol
Raleigh, N. C.

October 27, 1965

The Hon. Leroy Johnson
960 Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

My dear Mr. Johnson:

On September 23, 1965, I wrote to you requesting a copy of your speech made in June, 1964, to the South Carolina Voter Education Project. To date, there has been no reply. I realize your office is swamped with requests, but I thought perhaps there was a chance the correspondence went astray at some point, and the request was never received.

Would you kindly look into the matter and send us the speech as soon as it is [redacted] for you to do so?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary

JCS

September 23, 1965

The Hon. Leroy Johnson
960 Hunter Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

My dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Reese Cleghorn, who is working on the preparation of the book on VEP, has asked me to obtain from you a copy of your speech made in June, 1964, to the South Carolina Voter Education Project about breakthroughs which Negroes have made politically.

Would you please send us a copy?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary

JCS

October 27, 1965

Dr. M. Jourdan Atkinson
Associate Professor
Department of History
and Geography
Texas Southern University
Box 33
Houston, Texas 77004

Dear Dr. Atkinson:

Thank you very much for taking time to answer my letter in such detail. Your information is very helpful, especially inasmuch as Texas politics is not well known to me. I appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

October 24, 1965 File

Dear Mr. Claghorn,

After some thinking, I concluded that my name got into the files you mention through the visit of Mr. Randolph Blackwell to Houston in January of last year. Or else it came through some contact at some conference or other in Mexico. I have met people from Atlanta in Mexico City.

The viewpoint of a cultural anthropologist is that of patterns. The pattern of Negro voting in Texas goes back to post-civil war days. My father and mother were both middle-aged when I was born, and were both born on plantations near Houston. Nevertheless my father's pattern, of French descent, was an anti-secessionist revolutionary.

I heard all sides of "the Negro question" discussed from the time that I can remember. My father said to me, just before he died, right after World War One, that "they are ready, now." He meant ready

for social integration.

Dallas and San Antonio have both been locally known as "down South towns" in private parlance. Not because any northern people lived in either place but because Negro voting rights were recognized in each. In fact, in Austin, it was publicly acknowledged that the Negro vote, combined with the Catholic vote, carried the city elections.

(All this has nothing to do with the "white primaries" for state offices)

Much later, the Negro vote was combined with the Protestant vote in San Antonio to upset certain offices.

Thus we have the pattern of combining minorities to carry elections.

What is much more interesting

is the socio-economic pattern of the Negro in Central Texas - (Austin and San Antonio are the major communities of Central Texas)

Dr. Grammer, the president of Sam Houston (spelling this is the correct spelling) College in Austin once said to me that Austin was the only place he had been where a white man could work for a Negro man without losing status - this was ~~about 19~~ before World War Two. Dr. Grammer was from Boston.

There are people today who will tell you "The Negros owned all the North end of Austin by the close of the Civil War." Not true as to deeds, but they bought it up later.

The head of the Chamber of Commerce once said to me: "Since they have got folks divided the way they here, and somebody has to be first, we count our old white families first, and our old Negro families second, and after that the rest of the folks that have come to Austin."

Thus, in Central Texas the study of early historical patterns of pioneer families counts heavily in problems of all kinds.

Since I have been at Texas Southern, I have succeeded in getting two Master's Theses

writers bearing on ~~this subject~~ this subject.
One is Walter Pinke's thesis on
the Laws of the Peres Republic
bearing on discrimination. Another
is Henry Williams's thesis on
Jared Grove. Either or
both might be of interest
to you if you care to go further
back in history than 1930
in the establishment of political
and social patterns.
And if you would like to send
someone over here to do research,
I have any number of other subject-titles
ready for exploration —

Yours sincerely,
M. Jordan Atkinson

M. Jourdan Atkinson, Ed. D.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY
TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

RES. RI 7-9762 JA 8-0611 — 275

October 18, 1965

Dr. Atkinson
Department of Anthropology
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Dr. Atkinson:

Please excuse my ignorance of your first name and, probably, correct position there.

I am writing a book on Negro voter registration and political participation in the South, with the files of the Voter Education Project as a base. In these files, I have encountered your name in a field report from Texas which noted that you have been interested in barriers to political activity, particularly since 1930, from the anthropological standpoint. I am not sure that I know what that means. Could you inform me about this?

In addition to dealing with the mechanics of registration drives, we are very much interested in overt and covert barriers to political activity -- all kinds -- as they pertain to Negro political participation in particular.

I would certainly appreciate your aid in this.

Sincerely yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

October 27, 1965

Mr. Charles C. Humpstone
Assistant General Counsel
United States Commission
on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Mr. Humpstone:

I certainly appreciate the detailed letter from you about Negro registration and political ramifications. I hope you will do me the favor of keeping our project in mind in case anything further turns up which is relevant to it. Any informal exchange we might have along these lines will be useful.

Sincerely yours,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

October 25, 1965

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Cleghorn:

In reviewing my letter to you of October 22, 1965, I find a misprint in the second paragraph of Page 2. The third line of the first sentence of that paragraph should read "white officials are now seeking Negro support."

I hope this will remove the ambiguity. Please let me know if I can provide you any further assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Humpstone
Assistant General Counsel

October 27, 1965

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
S C L C
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Randolph:

Thanks so much for sending me the copy of the booklet on SCLC's ninth annual convention. I enjoyed reading it.

I understand from Barbara that the copy of the piece I requested was mailed, but I never received it. I hope it wasn't the only copy, for we still would like to have it. Could you look into this again and see if another one could be put in the mail to us at your earliest convenience?

Also, did the request of Prof. James Y. Holloway that I bucked to your office get answered?

By the way -- you were to call me bakk, remember?

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt

JCS

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 23, 1965

Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
S C L C
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Randolph:

I tried to reach you by phone today, but to no avail. It would have been nice to be able to speak with you for a few minutes to say hello, but I really wanted to ask you about one of your published pieces.

Mr. Reese Cleghorn, who is working on the preparation of the book on VEP, has asked me to obtain from you a copy of your piece on Negro work songs, spirituals, etc. It seems to me I re-typed something along this line for you once. I believe it was for a speech. I would appreciate your sending it to me as soon as it is convenient for you.

And could you call sometime just to say hello yourself?

Very truly yours,

Janet

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortle

JCS

I will have to find this piece. I will be back in the office after Oct 4th

R T Blackwell

November 1, 1965

Mr. Ben Canaday
Social Research
Commission on Human Relations
211 West Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Dear Mr. Canaday:

Thank you very much for the search on my behalf. Under the circumstances, I will not pursue that report, which I think probably was only of peripheral interest in my project.

My subject is Negro voting and registration in the South, and its political impact past and prospective. Of course, that should involve a look or two at recent political trends in Chicago and other cities where Negroes have voted in large numbers for a long time, but I will not be able to make any exhaustive study in that direction. I am especially interested at the moment in whether Negro voting does make a big difference in conditions for Negroes and just what the limits of its impact may be. If you have had anything in printed form along those lines of more recent vintage than the report I requested, I'd like very much to have it.

As an example of some of the things I am looking for in the political aspect of my research, I'll enclose an information sheet which I am using in Southern states.

Sincerely,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

Enclosure - 1.

CITY OF CHICAGO — COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 WEST WACKER DRIVE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, 60606 PHONE 744-4111

RICHARD J. DALEY
MAYOR

ELY M. AARON
CHAIRMAN
RALPH D. ROBINSON
SECRETARY
MORRIS BIALIS
AUGUSTINE J. BOWE
DR. PRESTON BRADLEY
WILLIAM G. CAPLES
JEROME J. FRIEDMAN
MRS. WENDELL E. GREEN
DAGGETT HARVEY
JOHN H. JOHNSON
WILLIAM R. MING
HALE NELSON
PETER R. SCALISE
DR. MARSHAL L. SCOTT

EDWARD MARCINIAK
DIRECTOR OF HUMAN RELATIONS

October 27, 1965

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Cleghorn:

Please forgive the long delay in answering your letter request. Unfortunately, we don't have a report that I could track down, in any case -- fitting your description.

Our Commission in 1947 was set up by ordinance, growing out of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations founded in 1944. The files of the original committee, I'm sorry to say, just aren't available to us, if they still exist at all. From publication lists of this committee, I failed to see anything that would help you.

There is a possibility that the cited report refers to Illinois Governor Lowden's study group, the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, founded in 1920. The final report of this Commission is The Negro in Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1922. Perhaps the report you want is within this overall study of ~~candidates~~ circumstances surrounding the race riots of 1919.

Is the information referred to included as original source material by Harold Gosnell? Or was his reference to a secondary source, published or unpublished, with credit for the original source report given to the Commission? If the former, perhaps a contextual quote from Gosnell would be of help. If the latter, a contextual quote from the secondary source along with the title of the document, might give me enough to continue the search from this end.

One dissertation of possible help is H. W. Morris' "The Chicago Negro and the Major Political Parties 1940-1948," unpublished dissertation, Department of History, University of Chicago, March, 1950.

Hopefully, I can be of more help when you write again.

Sincerely,

Ben Canaday

Ben Canaday
Social Research

BC/cg

Indemnity Bond
PAB CONTENT

November 8, 1965

Mr. Charles Humpstone
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Humpstone:

In the book on Negro voting which I have previously mentioned to you, we are of course devoting a considerable amount of space to voter registration efforts in the Mississippi Delta.

I find on page 31 of the 1961 Voting Report of the Civil Rights Commission a statement that the commission, in a general look at factors in the Black Belt, made an intensive study of a number of Delta counties and documented voter discrimination there; but that it found no evidence of voter discrimination in Quitman County, Mississippi, a Delta county in the midst of such notorious offenders as Leflore and Sunflower counties. From my own very meager knowledge of that county, also, it seems that this is true.

Can you or some part of the staff there provide me with some further elaboration on Quitman County and what the commission learned in studying it? Why this unusual departure from "normal" Negro voter suppression in the Delta?

I realize this is probably beyond your field of responsibility there, but I thought that in addition to the commission's findings in that study, you might have had some personal experience with Quitman County (county seat: Marks).

Sincerely,

Reese Cleghorn

RC:js

Ed Stanfield
For your info-
Walt

Staff
MJ

IN THIS NEW DAWN

Wednesday, Feb. 23, 1966 The Atlanta Journal

The South Is Now Harnessing the Atom

By REESE CLEGHORN

IN THE FIRST soft light of a new break of dawn, following a very dark night, the South is beginning to find itself a national leader in ways little known as yet to its own people.

Consider three pioneering approaches which the South has undertaken as a region:

Educators around the country lately have been moving to copy a unique Southern creation: the Southern Regional Education Board, a compact organization of Southern and border states working for better higher education throughout the region.

We have had envious looks from elsewhere, too, toward the Southern Regional Council, a privately-supported, rapidly-expanding organization working from many directions toward better racial relations, better government and a better economy in the South.

And within the past few days other regions have moved to create their own versions of the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board.

The Midwest has just established a nuclear board, using ours as a model with $100,000 to get it under way.

The executive director of the Southern board, Robert H. Gifford, has been asked to go to New England in April to help it plan such a board.

And Gifford, an intensely busy South Carolinian of 40, will address the Western Governors Conference the same month, since the West is looking our way, too.

MANY USES

A look behind the doors of the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board is a look into an industrial future built around peaceful uses of the atom.

From its offices in the 800 Peachtree Building, the board has been overseeing work in which nuclear energy is used to kill pests that threaten crops, to pasteurize farm products, to make for better highway construction, and to provide new markets for forestry.

All of this is directed toward economic advancement of the South.

The nuclear board was established at the suggestion of LeRoy Collins, then governor of Florida, and it came to life when Bob Gifford was lured from Kentucky to Atlanta in 1960.

Gifford had been atomic energy coordinator for the State of Kentucky, holding the first position of its kind in the country. He had given Kentucky a head start in creating a capacity for doing things with nuclear energy.

In Atlanta he found no office and very little money. But the states that had formed the nuclear board (now numbering 16) committed themselves to a regional approach. They wanted to find how to take advantage of our new ways with the atom.

The board will receive $85,000 from state governments this year, and it will manage $200,000 more in other funds—federal and private. Georgia will give it $5,000, hardly a handsome sum.

As middleman constantly running between the states, such federal agencies as the AEC and NASA, campus experts and private industry, the board's small staff is generating an enormous amount of activity for the good of the region.

AND ELECTRICITY

One small research project has virtually eliminated screw worm flies as a threat to crops, saving growers an estimated $20 million a year. Radiation sterilized the files.

In another project, a radiation process changes the structure of wood, creating a harder, tougher substance that may be extremely valuable for furniture, recreation goods, underwater pilings and many other uses.

The Lockheed-Georgia Co. is now the leading national supplier of this irradiated wood.

Because of the board's work, the South has more ports than any other part of the country which can handle radioactive materials. Savannah already is handling such shipments.

Power-company executives have met under the board's auspices to discuss uses of nuclear-powered facilities to produce electricity. In Miami, the first commercial reactor facility for the production of electricity with nuclear sources will, in the not distant future, feed the grid systems of customers of the Florida Power and Light Co. The nuclear board's staff will help as other power companies move in this direction.

Through all of this, the South is gaining a capacity to do things with nuclear energy.

Perhaps this is even more important: The South is developing more capacity, through regional approaches in this and other fields, to look at its own special problems and opportunities and do something about them.

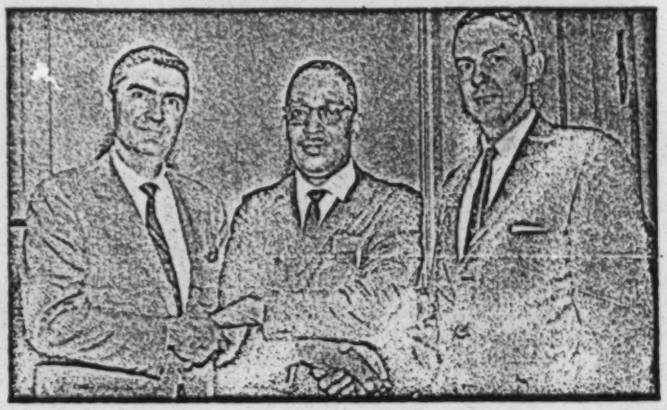
File: Cleghorn, Reese

JOURNALISM

Cite EBONY With Award For Educational Coverage

Of the myriad of newspapers, magazines, radio-TV networks and other communications media in America, EBONY was one of the select few saluted by the National Education Assn. and five allied organizations for "distinguished coverage of education." Cited for the publication of seven major "constructive and stimulating" articles, that dealt with education, between April 1965 and March, 1966, EBONY was among the 12 national magazines, one newspaper and three television networks awarded the 1966 National School Bell Award—a bronze medallion depicting an old-fashioned school bell. Other award-winning magazine publications include Look, Fortune, Harper's, Red Book and Reader's Digest.

New Member: Managing editor George Coleman of the Atlanta Daily World is congratulated by John Pennington (l), vice president of Atlanta chapter, Sigma Delta Chi Journalistic Society, and its president, Reese Cleghorn, after Coleman was first Negro inducted into the chapter.



Jet
June 9, 1966

P. S. Ditto.

js

April 11, 1968

Dear Reese:

Your column Wednesday on the funeral march was to my mind the best thing you've ever done.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
c/o The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

~~BH~~
~~CB~~
File

May 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is Reese Cleghorn's manuscript on, "The South and White-Collar Radicalism of the Right", which has been prepared for our joint publication.

I have read it and think it is good. My National staff will probably not get to it until after our Annual Meeting which is now in progress and the staff meeting which follows it. I think you probably will hear from us further during the first half of June.

Cordially,

Charles

CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
Southeast Area Director

CFW:ru
Encl.
cc: Pat Watters

File

December 17, 1965

Rec'd 12/22/65

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have read over your letter of December 8 a couple of times. I have not yet gone through all of your marginal notes. The letter is, however, great and the marginal notes I have got to so far are going to be very helpful. Some time after Christmas I shall get back to this thing and try to put it in decent shape for publication. There is an awful lot of bad writing in it and more loose ends in the content than I would like these to be. You are quite right about the need for more transitions. My only excuse is that these things were written to be spoken and that has not quite the same kinds of demands as reading material. Now I have to make it all readable.

I was interested in your comment about the second lecture as being the weakest in writing. I think I agree with you, except for the fifth, but it was the second lecture that got the best reception.

I wrote to Michigan for permission for New South to use one or part of one. Still no reply. I cannot see how they can possibly object, however. So why don't you go ahead. But I do not want New South to use number five. It was written hastily (entirely while I was at Ann Arbor), I do not like it, it needs less to be refined than to be rewritten, and I am not about to have something in New South which I think so poorly of.

Other than that, make any choice you want. As they stand now the first and the third are probably the most finished. If you use the first I would prefer that you not use the first four prefatory pages, but instead start with the "new genus" business.

In fact, anything you use you should feel free to edit and cut.

Mr. Pat Watters December 17, 1965

How does the book go? Is Reese still on the job? I remain hopeful that you will call on me if I can be of any use in reading the manuscript.

I had a letter from Paul not long ago saying that Reese wanted to know what he could say about the Field Foundation. Unlike some others, we publish an annual report, and copies of them should be in the Southern Regional Council files. If any he would want are missing let me know. I shouldlthink that the annual reports would give him all the information he needs about this Foundation. The 1965 report is at the printer.

Tell Paul, also, if you will, that I finally read over your proposal to Rockefeller and it is darn good. One small point: the name of the thing is the "Southern Teaching Program", and it is not sponsored by Yale University.

We had a Christmas card from you and Cele. Many thanks. I do not know whether the Dunbars will get out Christmas cards this year; maybe in time for Valentine's Day.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

December 31, 1965

Dear Les:

Here are the first and second chapters and something of an outline. As you can see, most of it is Reese's work. I have made some inserts in the first chapter. These are there more for the purpose of suggesting the tone of what I am sure will be different wording later. I am going to hole up for an indefinite time starting next week and try to come to grips with this thing.

We got permission to use your lecture in the New South. I think it will be the last one despite the misgivings your own misgivings give me.

Best wishes for a good new year.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW:jb

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

March 1, 1966

Dear Les:

Have you received the three long inserts on chapter 1; the re-write of chapter 4; and chapter 5 which was mailed yesterday?

Please let me know.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters

js

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

April 1, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This is the revised chapter 4 I told you about. I intend, before we get together, to rework 7 and 8, but not this extensively.

Also enclosed is this copyright thing. As best I could understand it, your publisher will need this.

I am looking forward to our session in May and feel increasingly that we did the right thing in postponing. When you do know when we will be getting together, I would appreciate your setting a date. I want to try to set up some other appointments while I am in that terrible city.

I did get the revised manuscript from Ray Wheeler and we will keep it here among valuable papers.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 2.

May 6, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Reese says he is afraid it is going to be after the last weekend of this month before he can get his chapter on the justice department to you. He will try to do it sooner but doesn't have much hope. Hopefully, I will have the chapter of narrative reports up to you by the end of next week.

I hope this doesn't delay things further. If you decide to wait until Reese's chapter gets there before tackling the thing, please let me know. I need to plan some trips and need some idea of when to leave things clear for the revision process.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 9, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Although I may begin reading at it before then, I do not feel secure in putting any marks on the manuscript until I have the whole thing. In other words, I would prefer to wait for Reese's chapter before doing any serious work on the book.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

May 24, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Despite the despairing feeling sometimes that it is never going to get done, I think Reese and I both will have our missing chapters in by the end of the month. I would feel better if we had some kind of notion from Goodman of a new deadline. Anyhow, what with such things as the Talmadge fiasco, I don't think our material is going to get stale any time soon.

I read your letter regarding Opie Shelton's martydom. A great letter.

If you are going to be at the White House conference, I hope we will get a chance to chat.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Rec'd 7/5/66

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 1, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Because I have an appointment in the city at 5:30 Thursday I can't be sure of meeting you at LaGuardia, and Peggy will not drive over there. Don't, however, fear. If I am not there we will have a cab waiting for you. (You can't get one of the usual cabs to take you to Westchester County.) The process is simple. If I am not there simply go out to the taxi stand of your particular terminal and there will be a cab from Pelham: it will probably be a Pelican cab but possibly may be a "Pelham" cab. He will take you to our house: $5.50 if Pelican, $6.50 if Pelham. I will certainly be home by that time and so, of course, will Peggy.

Looking forward to it very much.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

In other words, we'll ~~be~~ order a cab & have it there for you.

June 29, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

We've got reservations to arrive at LaGuardia at 9:17 p. m. (New York time), Thursday, July 7. If the time is bad, or meeting us is too inconvenient anyhow, don't hesitate to just give us directions on how to get there. The invitation to stay with you is good logically as well as socially. We accept with appreciation.

Your ideas on Goodman make eminent sense, also.

I spent two days in Mississippi last week for the sake of the book -- feeling obsolete in the intellectual atmosphere and antiquated in the physical requirements for walking all day long.

We are both looking forward to getting down to work again on the book.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 6/28/66

Pat:

Les called while you were out; he wants to know when you are coming to New York (time of expected arrival, etc.)
Through Mildred, I informed him that you had just gotten back to the office this morning, had been tied up, and hadn't had a chance to really look at your mail for answering, and that his letter was on your desk. I promised that you would let him know pronto of your plans.

Mr & Mrs. J
c/o Fox Guardian

Reese's - 2 & 10

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 24, 1966

Rec'd 6/27/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have marked July 8 to 10 on my calendar. Does this mean you will be coming up on the night of the 8th, or what? I would suggest we work out at the house, and so herewith you and Reese are invited to put up there. Tell Paul to authorize you to take Peggy out to dinner in lieu of a hotel, if you want to do this. It would be easy for us to meet you or have you met if you come in on a dinner flight at either Kennedy or LaGuardia; Newark, you are on your own.

See the attached note which I have sent off to Bill Goodman.

I would like to get out from in between you and Goodman. Inasmuch as you and he can both handle the language, I can see at this point no good at all that comes from my being a link between you so I would rather you spoke directly to Goodman about when he wants to see the manuscript.

Having said this, I would add that I don't think anybody can have more than one editor at a time. I would think, therefore, that it might work out best if you and Reese first made some decisions about what I will have to suggest and then dealt with Goodman.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 24, 1966

Mr. William Goodman
Harcourt Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bill:

Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorne and I will get together here over the weekend of July 9. I now have the full manuscript and before they get here will have prepared for them all the suggestions that I can make. I would assume that after this session they will be able fairly quickly, perhaps within a month, to get a finished manuscript in your hands. As I understand it, and as they understand it, there would be opportunity up to some date this Fall to incorporate late developments.

If you (and your wife) can, why don't you come over to Pelham during the weekend to meet Pat and Reese.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

/ LD:la
bcc: Pat Watters

Copy: Reese Cleghorn

June 22, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Not that we are overeager, but both of us jumped at the July 8, 9, and 10 possibility. This is particularly good for my schedule, and we are anxious to get done.

What role will Goodman play? The reason I asked is that we never have sent him copies of the chapters. Would it be a good idea to do this? Even if he doesn't sit in on our sessions, it struck Reese and me both that we need to get some line on his thinking. What I am trying to say is we hope we can do most of the revisions in one session rather than through a process of getting your ideas, and then his.

Let us know.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

file copy

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

July 13, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Dunbar
56 Benedict
Pelham, New York

Dear Les and Peggy:

Thanks again for putting us up and for putting up with us. We got back last night. I stood out in front of the airport with all the bags and Reese went to get his car. I stood there a good twenty minutes sweating and beginning to wonder if this was going to happen to me every time I got off an airplane. It finally turned out his battery was dead, and I left him in the clutches of a filling station hoping to get it fixed soon.

Les, I had a very good talk with Dr. Shapiro. He gave me the straight of the thing, skipping no discouraging aspects, but also including some encouragement. He is a gentleman. I will let you know what I do as a follow-up.

I also talked with the editor at Pantheon Books and as best I could get the drift of what he has in mind, it is something of a Mind of the New South. I reminded him of what happened to Cash in such an attempt and also that I am no Cash, but promised to work up an outline. Could I impose on you once more to look at the outline when I get it done?

I have not broken the news yet to Janet about the plans regarding the manuscript, but since she is now taking dictation, I fear I will have to. We will start sending you carbons as soon as she gets them done.

/My seemingly quiet boss has the touch of a sledge hammer. js/ I think both of us had our morale lifted and interest renewed by the trip, and as always, your editing was invaluable.

And again, thanks to both of you. It was good being there.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

October 3, 1966

Mr. Wiley A. Branton
825 Sixth Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Wiley:

Reese and I are very grateful for your comments and corrections. They have saved us considerable embarrassment. I notice you didn't comment on the flat statement in Chapter Seven that no prosecutions have been made under criminal provisions of the civil rights statute. I still plan to check that with Jack Rosenthal.

You should have Chapter Eight by now, and the last two chapters will be on this week, hopefully.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

September 29, 1966

Rec'd 9/30/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I am sending you my comments on chapters IV--VII of "THE BOOK" as follows:

CHAPTER IV

Page 2, last line. The correct name of the organization is the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting.

Page 18. You state the 1952 Memphis Negro registration was 7,000. While I do not have any figures available in my office, I am inclined to think that this is grossly in error and much too low.

Page 32. You state that 83,000 people were affected by the stopping of the Surplus Food Program in Leflore County, Mississippi. This seems much too high, if it is to be confined strictly to Leflore County. Please check Leflore County population statistics.

FOOTNOTE

CHAPTER IV

Footnote 6, page 3. Dr. Reginald Hawkins was charged with a criminal violation for the activities described in this footnote, and the case went to higher courts on some technical question and is likely to be coming up for trial on the merits very soon. I, therefore, feel that it would be improper for us to use the material contained in this footnote, when it might prejudice his defense.

I also feel very strongly that we should say nothing at this time which would support the views of people like Leon Hay, who don't want volunteer deputy registrars under any circumstances and who charge gross irregularities on their part.

CHAPTER V

Since these appear to be excerpts from actual field reports, I have no comments.

CHAPTER VI

Page 34, third line from bottom. The word should be indicted not indicated.

CHAPTER VII

Page 4. I am certain that you meant to say that the federal examiners "were still 'NOT' in Georgia, North Carolina, or Virginia counties."

Page 29. Your Leflore County registration figures are too low. My July 1966 figures show 5,960 Negroes registered by federal examiners, 15 by local officials and 1,582 race unknown. Under the circumstances, this may change the import of the paragraph.

Page 35, last paragraph. Noxubee County is in the eastern part of the state rather than the western part. While it was considered a tough county and Aaron Henry felt that even federal examiners would not do much good, the Attorney General designated Noxubee County for federal examiners on April 12, 1966, and nearly 1,800 Negroes had been listed by the federal examiners in the first six weeks.

Page 52. You quote a Catholic Priest as saying "I remember the little 16-year-old girl that I picked up in my arms..." Are you sure this was a 16-year-old girl?

Check Yes

Send me more.

Sincerely,

Wiley

WILEY A. BRANTON
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

September 28, 1966

Rec'd 9/30/66

Mr. Pat~~ton~~ Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat~~ton~~:

I have just read the first three chapters of "THE BOOK" and thought I would share my preliminary comments and possible corrections as follows:

CHAPTER I

Page 3 - "Charles Sherrod ... went to ... Georgia's Black Belt to combat white supremacy ..." I suppose that anyone who undertakes voter registration of Negroes is entering into combat with white supremacy, but there is something about the statement that makes it seem as though voter registration was only incidental to the broader purpose of Sherrod's efforts.

Page 8 - "The Negroes" rights, for which a savage war had been fought ..." I am one of those who feels that the Civil War was not fought to give Negroes any freedom or protect their rights, but was really a war to protect the 'rights' of the white man in the South and the freeing of the slaves was a necessary war measure to protect the position of the North.

Page 25 should be "1960's" rather than 1920's.

CHAPTER II

Page 12 - You imply that Barbour County, Alabama, in 1966 has more registered Negroes than whites. Both the white voting-age population and the white registration are larger than the Negro population or registration.

CHAPTER III

Page 15 - You state that there were 109 VEP-financed voter registration campaigns in all. I have no way of knowing the exact number without checking the files, but remind you that many times a single grant to an organization was for work in several different counties or communities and that each county should be considered a separate project. If you have counted the projects in this manner, then the figure should reflect the approximate total number of projects.

Page 30 - "... often when a community reached the critical stage on direct action, voter workers would have VEP funds suspended for the duration ..." I am certain that we never suspended VEP funds solely because of heavy involvement in direct action as long as there was continued substantial involvement in voter registration. If there was a suspension of VEP funds, then it was because of an almost complete shutdown of voter registration activities. I would remind you also (and perhaps this is important enough to include some comment on) that in July of 1963, all of the civil rights organizations participating in VEP, joined with a couple of others to form two separate

organizations, (1) The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, Inc., and (2) The Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense, Inc. Primarily because of the fact that I was already dealing with all of the civil rights groups, they asked me to serve as Executive Director of both corporations while at the same time directing VEP, and I continued in both jobs until I joined the government. Through these separate corporations, I made grants to all of the civil rights groups and there were no restrictions as to the use of these funds which included a substantial contribution for support of the mock elections in Mississippi.

FOOTNOTES

~~In rechecking, I see there are no footnotes behind each chapter (chapters I and II), only~~ Chapter III.

Footnote 3, page 2 - You state that CORE was organized in 1962, and this is in error. I do not have the date at my fingertips, but it was back about 1942. CORE did not come on the national scene until the early 1960's.

Mr. Patton's correct initials are W. C. rather than W. A. (bottom of page).

Footnote 8, page 9 - Montgomery bus boycott was ~~not~~ 1965. Was about 1955. You should check the exact year.

Sincerely,

WILEY A. BRANTON
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

Norman Greenberg
USIA

P.S.: I am about to change my mind on my first comment (Chapter I, page 3), as I am beginning to feel that Sherrod really did go to combat white supremacy.

September 26, 1966

Mr. William Goodman
Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

Here is seven. You should have five and six by now. I hope to mail eight tomorrow, and nine and ten should be to you soon thereafter.

We were heartened by your letter, and agreed it is worth the effort to try for the May publication date.

I am through with my chapters and ready to begin the revisions on three and four as soon as I hear from you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl. - 1.

Chapter 7 also mailed to WAB and LWD same date.
Chapter 8 mailed to all 3 9/29/66.

825 6th St., SW, Washington, D. C.

Same ltr also sent to: Wiley Branton/ Bill Goddman,
Harcourt-Brace and World, Inc.

September 12, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Enclosed are chapters I and II; chapters III, IV, and V will follow the last of this week, and no later than the first of next week. They have been typed, and Reese and I are in the process of checking them.

Bewt wishes.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encls. - 2.

Chapters III + IV mailed 9/14/66
" V + VI " 9/23/66
~~Chapter III mailed to Brandon by PW 9/14/66~~

Chpters 9 + 10 -

9 mailed 10/5/66
air mail special

10 mailed 10/6/66
air mail special
early a.m.

October 10, 1966

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue,
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

Again, forgive me for forgetting about the table contents:

I: New Life for Old Truths

II: The Death of Black-Belt Power

III: The Movement and the Vote

IV: The Struggle (Possibly to be split into two shorter chapters)

V: Field Reports

VI: The Justice Department and a Crisis in the Courts

VII: Victory?

VIII: The Movement and Politics

IX: Southern Politics of the Future

X: Urban Politics and the Negro Community

XI or Epilogue: Conclusions

Appendices: State-by-state table of registration figures for 1962, 1964, 1966; legal materials pertinent to voting; list of murder victims in voter-connected cases; transcript of remarks of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Miss Annelle Ponder immediately after Winona jail beatings; growth of Negro population in non-southern cities.

I mailed Friday the revised Chapter III we discussed. I am sending separately today my revisions of IV. I've

broken it into two chapters, cut and reorganized, getting I think all of the good material that was in footnotes up into the text. I'll be anxious for your reactions.

Both the above chapters have now incorporated in them suggestions Les made. But I am without yet Les's suggestions for VII and VIII. I've made the changes you recommended in them, and will hold them for a day or so to get Les's. If you want them sooner, however, let me know.

Reese has returned I and II incorporating your and Les's changes. He also sent VI on without Les's changes, assuming he can make necessary corrections, as we discussed, by mail.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Revised Chpt 5
and revised Chpt 6 follow
mailed air
mail 10-10-65

October 10, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Since I sent you III revisited, I decided what the hell, IV, too. As you can.

On what is now page eight of the new chapter, you suggested putting in Louisiana reversal of intimidation suit. If this is the one brought under the voting rights act, I've got it in chapter seven in discussion of failures of enforcement. If not, let me know.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encls.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

October 12, 1966

Rec'd 10/14/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I have just read chapters VIII and IX of THE VEP BOOK, and I noticed a number of typographical and spelling errors in Chapter IX which lead me to believe that Janet must not have typed this chapter. This seems like a good point for me to make clear that I have not been checking for anything other than errors of fact or to give objective consideration to sensitive points. I note considerable repetition of points or facts and you might want to consider the deletion of some of them. I particularly recall frequent references going into the same detail regarding such points as the Fanny Louhamer Story, the Tuskegee political situation, and the decision to cutoff VEP funds in Mississippi. My comments on the two additional chapters are as follows:

CHAPTER VIII

Page 2. I suggest that you recheck the quotation from DuBois, as it seems like the word "not" needs to appear before the phrase "marked for white people only."

Page 5, top of page. Since SNCC members are involved in pending criminal prosecutions, I think it much better to say that the riots were "allegedly" encouraged by SNCC.

Page 16. In response to your three ??? regarding the rumor of pressure on Hubert Humphrey, I do not feel that you should make this statement.

page 27. The number of possible black takeover counties in 1960 was not as high as the 284 you list, was it? This sounds more like the figure for 1900.

Page 35, top of page. Since Arkansas SNCC is operating pretty much as a separate entity, I think you ought to point this out.

Page 40, top of page. While we know who Leslie Dunbar is, I suggest you identify him at this point.

Footnote 16. I don't feel that you should comment on Mr. Bond's decision to change lawyers, as this is strictly a lawyer-client relationship no matter how we might feel about it.

CHAPTER IX

Page 3. "as when they broke the black of Mississippi." Did you mean "back"? Blacks have been broken so much in Mississippi that I am confused.

Page 21. Are you positive that a Negro was still serving in the Georgia Legislature as late as 1917?

Page 33. Since you mentioned that virtually all Negroes had been put outside the City of Tuskegee, I think that you should also state that they were later put back as a result of a Supreme Court decision.

Page 34. You imply that West Feliciana Parish never had a federal examiner when in fact federal examiners were sent to both West and East Feliciana.
East Feliciana Parish does not have as many registered Negroes as whites although you claimed a Negro majority.

Page 55. A lot of people, including this writer, would disagree with your statement of a strong white backlash or the reasons for it. You can avoid controversy by referring to it as a "so-called" white backlash and by stating the "reasons" attributed by various people. This would be much more preferable than the way it now appears.

Page 59, bottom of page. Seems to me that the cement industries' concern would definitely be over whether a road is made of concrete or asphalt.

Page 68, bottom of page. Perhaps you ought to say first elected Negro ... "since Reconstruction." I remind you that Louisiana had a Negro Lieutenant Governor during Reconstruction.

Sincerely,

Wiley

WILEY A. BRANTON
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 14, 1966

Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Reese and Pat:

I am returning herewith Chapter IX, marked up, I am afraid, pretty heavily. This marking is of two kinds, principally. I am suggesting cuts which I estimate total from 14 to 15 pages of text out of your 80. Secondly, I have indicated quite a few substantive comments. Nevertheless, I am not sending copies of the latter to Bill Goodman because he is prompter than I and has already got his Chapter IX back to you.

As usual, the heavy markings indicate only that I think the quality of this book is so good that it deserves to be very carefully, very seriously paid attention to by everyone - including me - who has anything to do with it. I believe very much in this book.

I have not said that only to build up to something, because it is a true statement about how I think. But, in fact, there is something else; that is I doubt that this manuscript is ready for publication. I still have to read Chapter X, but I don't see how that will change my views.

So I address this letter to both of you instead of just to Reese, whose good copy I am returning bleeding from my inked ice pick. This is too good a book to be forced onto a schedule that doesn't permit its full achievement. The material you are using is too precious not to have the absolutely best treatment you can give it. I think what we now have is, at last, a manuscript that you and Goodman can work on. The manuscript we went over last July was a draft and had to be rewritten. What we are involved with now is something that doesn't demand rewriting; it does require fixing. Goodman has a great interest in this book; he should have time to do his job. You both need some more time to do without pressure or rush the best perfecting you can give to this book.

Reese Cleghorn
Pat Watters

October 14, 1966

So I think everybody concerned should forget about October and November deadlines and if that means, as I assume it does, forgetting about Spring publication, so be it. I think you have a chance here to publish a distinguished book, and we ought not to throw that chance away for six months earlier publication.

I would suggest, therefore, that you both sit back and take a breath, but while you are breathing reread the whole manuscript each one of you beginning at Chapter I and never, never allowing yourselves to skip ahead; each of you read the whole thing through, and see it, and endeavor to see it as a unified book.

Shoot me, if you will, for this minority report, but I still predict you have got here one of the good ones.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

CC: Bill Goodman
Paul Anthony

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

October 14, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I have now read Chapter X and the transcript of the interview with Miss Ponder and Mrs. Hamer, and my comments are as follows:

CHAPTER X

Page 18, bottom of page. "the figures for some Atlanta Negro precincts have indicated turnouts of more than 90%, even though large numbers of their registrants have moved away." My personal observations in Atlanta were that Negroes frequently failed to notify the registration office of their change of address and gave the matter no thought until election day, and simply go back to their old precinct to vote. I asked some persons about this and they told me that they knew where the voting place was in their old precinct, and they were familiar with parking problems and the clerks and judges and just did not want to have to go through the experience of voting in a new location.

Page 36, top of page. "The more cohesive, recognized leadership in the South has been the creature of white supremacist rule ..." I am confused as to the meaning of this

statement, and I don't know whether you are talking about white leadership or Negro leadership. I suggest that you phone me regarding this point.

Top of page 38. "no Southerner, ..., can easily see all of a single biracial southern community." I suggest that you change the word "no" to "few." I challenge both of you to the statement that I can see the white southern community as well as either of you and can "weigh the nuances when the spokesmen are white" (page 39). Indeed, I attribute a lot of my success in the practice of law, before white judges and juries, to my ability to "communicate" with white southerners. Despite your statement on page 38 that "None can because none is both white and Negro." I would also remind you that I have been both whenever and wherever I have wanted to, but I sure in hell would not want such a statement coming from me in the book. I mentioned this only to challenge the accuracy of your statement.

Page 51. Since you make mention of the work of Negro lawyers in the South, I see no need for me to be modest in my comments to you about the extent of my involvement in civil rights litigation. To mention a few, I served as a Special Prosecuting Attorney in a case in Arkansas in 1953 where a white man was convicted and sent to the penitentiary for the sexual abuse of a 7-year-old Negro child; won the acquittal of a Negro defendant charged with the murder of a white woman in Arkansas as recently as 1964; handled numerous school desegregation and public facilities and teachers' salaries suits; won a landmark decision in the Arkansas Supreme Court which served to break up a usurious loan system in

farming operations; went to Mississippi to represent the first freedom riders at the request of Thurgood Marshall because few lawyers in Mississippi had much experience at that time; represented SNCC and CORE workers in criminal anarchy cases and demonstration cases in Louisiana; and, represented voter registration workers on various charges in several southern states. I don't expect you to mention all of these things, but so much of it was related to my VEP work and came at a time prior to the various committees which furnished legal aid in the South, that I think some mention ought to be made.

Page 52. "4 of the 5 Negro lawyers" in Mississippi. There were 5 Negro lawyers in Mississippi at that time, only 4 of whom were in active practice, but only 3 would handle civil rights cases. Jack Young, Carsie Hall, and R. Jess Brown. I don't know of a fourth lawyer who would handle cases, for Sidney Tharpe would not and Mr. Burnes at Meridian was not in the active practice.

INTERVIEW WITH PONDER AND HAMER

Page 6. "we thought that Wiley would have been there." There are 2 or 3 such statements and I feel that an explanatory note is in order for the benefit of your readers. A reader can assume that Miss Ponder had reference to Wiley Branton and might wonder why I was not there. This again brings out my legal involvement as mentioned above. For a while there were such few people who could be called on for help when a lawyer was needed and because it required quick travel and action, I frequently went to the

rescue because I knew about the incidents first and there was no one else to call on. Since people who were active in voter registration knew me personally, they came to feel that if they could just get word to me that I would get some help for them, and frequently I did. Obviously, as Director of VEP, I had no responsibility to go to Winona, Mississippi, to check on the arrest of people who were traveling as interstate passengers from South Carolina to Greenwood, Mississippi, even though they had been attending a citizenship training school near Charleston. Of course, the interview brings out the fact that I was working in their behalf; but it also brings out the feeling of most of the voter registration workers during that time that if they were in trouble all they had to do was "get word to Wiley." I think we recorded an explanatory note as a preface to the taped interview.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley

WILEY A. BRANTON
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

Goodman to RC, permission

October 24, 1966

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

I cannot say I was surprised to get your news this morning. The main problem I have with it is that voiced week before last on the phone. The summer is when things happen in the movement; it is the least preferable time of the year for the unprotected lag between writing and publishing. Of course the book must be durable enough to survive news developments, but I would sure as heck hate to be appearing now with such a book with no treatment in it of something as fundamental as black power. There is, I think, this danger that we will be in more than a superficial sense dated before the book ever appears. Maybe we won't; but it is a gamble, and I think we should all acknowledge it, and keep it in mind in working on the text.

Otherwise, o.k. I have no doubt the writing can be improved in many ways. But for my own part, it will have to be at less expense to my regular working routine than have the previous efforts -- which through nobody's fault amounted to night and day and weekend work for weeks away from the office. I will need to have as much of the new allotment of <u>three months</u> of time as possible to do my end of the revisions. (And I think we should write off a half month -- the Christmas and New Year period.) I haven't talked with Reese, but would guess his situation is even more severe than mine.

I am kind of surprised to get no reaction at all to the revisions of Chapter Three and Four -- which

you had said were among the chief stumbling blocks previously. I talked with Les this morning out at the airport here; he seemed to think the revisions were good and solved the problems with those particular two chapters. What I am trying to say is that if you don't think so, that if the decision to postpone hinged in some part on the need for further reworking of this material, I need to know as soon as possible.

A similar problem exists with Chapter Eight. I sent it in without making any of the changes suggested by Les. I don't agree with all of these suggestions -- particularly as regards SNCC being upstage, and would expect to thrash that out with him before attempting to rewrite. But my point is -- do you want this revision done? If so, I need to get to it.

This has been an unusual arrangement all around with difficulties for all concerned; trying, I am sure, for you and Les. I am confident that we will be proud of the result when it is done. My most fervent wish is to get done; be assured of all my cooperation toward this end.

Copies of the map are enclosed. For our purposes, it would be good if your artists could knock out Kentucky. We haven't dealt with it, confining ourselves, as did the VEP, to the old Confederacy. Do you still want to see some of the photographs?

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encls.

cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 TELEPHONE: 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

Rec'd 11/15/66

November 11, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Mr. Reese Cleghorn
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat and Reese:

I have not deserted you nor ignored the implications of Pat's letter of October 24, but have been swamped by things I simply could not ignore. I will be turning to Chapters III, IV and VIII to respond to your question in fairly short order.

I have the statistical material from Pat. I find it extremely handy, though I cannot be sure at this point that it will work for us. The maps Pat sent are first class. I shall have them analyzed to see whether they can be reduced to book size without loss. Perhaps a double spread will solve our problem. You ask if I want to see photographs. I do indeed. Send as many as you think I should see.

I followed with melancholy the election returns from Georgia Tuesday night. I had been prepared for them in good part by Reese's article on the man in the recent Sunday Times.

Best.

Faithfully,

Bill

William B. Goodman

WBG:ac

Rec'd 11/15/66

November 14, 1966

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace & World
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

I haven't put eyes to The Book since the postponement, a layoff which seems something of a luxury. I think the decision was the right one.

I hope we can get down to specifics about what to do next as soon as possible. My own situation is that I now am back into the swing of regular magazine commitments (I have one monthly obligation in particular which I had gotten leave from during the heavy book-writing months), and I have one other major writing commitment to be finished by February. In order not to run into trouble on the book deadline, I need a pretty good idea about what you think must yet be done so that I may begin. I do still have a couple of chapters in which to incorporate Les' suggestions and some of yours. But if more extensive revision is indicated, I should begin on it as soon as possible.

I am wondering also whether the commentary on 1966 elections still should be put into the final chapter. We had planned to do it that way in order to have the additional time which the final chapter afforded us. Now, it seems to me, some of this material might better go into one of the earlier chapters, with the final chapter a brief summary chapter.

The 1966 results do not, I think, substantially alter anything. In fact, they further reinforce some points we had made. Negro votes made the difference in some important races, in spite of the backlash.

Best regards,

Reese Cleghorn

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

Rec'd 11/30/66

November 29, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I have scheduled the next two days for work at home on the manuscript and hope to have a report for you and Reese by the end of the week.

Best.

Faithfully,

Bill

William B. Goodman

WBG:ac

November 30, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Because everything seemed so fluid in the MFDP situation, and because there really wasn't time to deal intelligently with Frank Smith's point of view, I decided just to hold everything out of this issue of NEW SOUTH -- your piece and the earlier report of the probing committee we had. My hope now is to get for the next issue an in-depth (that's a new word I learned) wrap-up on the whole thing, including probably publication of your piece or substantial parts of it, and Frank's point of view. Andy Jaffe of NEWSWEEK says he wants to try his hand at reporting the while thing, and maybe we'll have that, too. I hope we still have permission to use yours. I really think it is definitive.

Got a note today from William Goodman saying he was going to spend two days this week on the book manuscript and give us a full report by the end of the week. That is a relief.

We, the staff, are all going down tomorrow to Hekyll Island to do God knows what besides freeze.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 TELEPHONE: 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

December 5, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Mr. Reese Cleghorn
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat and Reese:

Herewith Chapter VIII with a few comments, and the Appendix. VIII is in very good shape. I've asked for a few things here and there, but nothing surprising. The Appendix is an extraordinary document and we must use it. I wonder if it might not make sense to include a short glossary at the end of the Appendix identifying the various characters mentioned. It would, I think, make the impact of the Appendix more solid. I would think, too, that you should consider whether or not to identify the men who beat Miss Ponder and Mrs. Hamer. Is this inadvisable? Such infamy, one feels, should be tagged.

I'm not sure what to do about this stray thought, but I put it to you nonetheless: I cannot recall from the manuscript now, but do you anywhere discuss the problem of out-migration of Negroes in the South as a factor in the new voting patterns? Apparently this phenomenon continues at a significant rate, and I should think that some consideration would have to be given to it in terms of voting patterns in the future. Or do you think that increased Negro political participation will reduce the out-migration? It could, I suppose, if votes made jobs.

Please keep our January 15 deadline in mind. I must turn the complete manuscript over to the copy editors on February 1.

Best.

Faithfully,

Bill

William B. Goodman

WBG:ac
Enc.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

File
Velpeck

December 14, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

By all means, get it in Harper's if you can. If that doesn't work out, though -- we still would like to use it. Our next deadline is January 1 to January 15 or thereabouts. Just let me know around then what to do.

Finally heard last week from Bill Goodman. I've got all my chapters back, with minor revisions to be made. The only real job for me left is to struggle with your suggestions on chapter eight. There was some kind of mix-up, and as best I can tell, Goodman never has yet even seen Reese's last two chapters. He (Reese) is fixing them as per your suggestions and hopefully will get them to Goodman before January 1. I guess somehow it will all work itself out. I am grateful that you are doing the introduction -- as well, as I hope I've made clear, for all the editing, the burden of the timing, etc.

Finally heard, too, from the guy at Pantheon Books on the book about the South in general, the outline of which you saw. They like it. As best I can tell, all I've got to do now is say how many pages a chapter and when it will be done, and they will send a contract. The prospect is exciting. I hope to get down to work soon after the first of the year.

What I meant by the "MFDP situation" was the CDGM situation. I've been living in the past, or something, I guess.

Hope you can get down for Vernon's meeting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

jcs

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REESE CLEGHORN AND PAT WATTERS

Climbing Jacob's Ladder

File

The Negro's Arrival in Southern Politics

With a Preface by Leslie W. Dunbar

A history of the Southern Negro's struggle to gain self respect and the ballot in the 1960s, Climbing Jacob's Ladder draws on the Southern Regional Council's field report files from two famous Voter Education Projects to bring new intimacy and detail to its subject. Quoted at length, these raw and vivid reports from Civil Rights field workers in the Black Belt show what it is like to be up against sheriffs, Klansmen, and artfully dodging public officials in hundreds of Southern towns; how idealistic students responded to the unlettered people of the cotton-field shanties; and how Negro communities throughout the region, many of them passive and apathetic before, organized for voter registration and political action.

Stories of Greenwood, Mississippi; southwest Georgia; Selma, Alabama, and other localities make clear why recent Federal voting rights legislation was needed, and describe its mixed success, frustration, and failure after passage into law. Attention is also given to the political implications of the new Negro vote, to the strong religious cast of much of the movement, to the role of the Southern courts, to the "substitute middle class" among Negroes, to the continuing power of the White Supremacists, to the work of the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC and CORE and their differing senses of what must be done, to the emergence of "Black Power" and the problems it poses for the traditional alliance between white liberals and Negro activists. The scope of Climbing Jacob's Ladder is wide. Its implications are not just for the South, or for Watts, or southside Chicago and Harlem, but for all America.

Reese Cleghorn, Associate Editor of the Atlanta Journal, has had articles in The New Republic, Reporter, Atlantic Monthly and the New York Times Magazine. Pat Watters, Director of Information for the Southern Regional Council, has written for the Saturday Evening Post, The New Republic, Esquire, Reporter, and the New York Times Magazine.

Probable date:

Probable price:

WBS

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

May 1, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I want to congratulate you on the outline of the proposed statement on school closings. I think it is first-rate.

I am undoubtedly obtuse on this whole subject, but after scanning the outline I am still pretty un-clear as to how we can help with data. Most of it strikes me as the sort of thing that just has to be said. On the whole it was an appeal to common sense and the well-understood experience of public education. Please do, however, let us know if there are specific facts, figures or statements that you would like us to dig up.

You may want to consider whether the economic question and the international relations issue lie outside the range of competence of your experts who will be the signators. Personally, I am glad to see that these issues will play as little part as they do in your outline; I question whether they should play any.

In regard to Chapter 3 in the outline, you will of course need facts and figures. I am sure you know about the NEA report just recently released, and I would suppose that this would be the most authoritative source. We do not yet have a copy.

This is just a fly-speck comment, but a cursory examination of divorce rates would seem to make difficult any association between education and low divorce rates. Similarly, I doubt that you can show by statistics any relationship between mental illness and education.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Arthur Levin

April 27, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

I am sending along a few notes which may help someone in getting started on your pamphlet. I think it would be better for me to wait on your outline before digging for anything more specific or more pointed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: notes
Wanted: An Educated South
Problems of Desegregation, pp 107-22

MEMO: To Oscar Cohen
From Leslie Dunbar

1. See Statistical Abstract of the U. S. 1958

Page 104 - Current expenditure per pupil by states, 1954

Page 112 - Years of school completed by states, 1950

Page 115 - substandard teaching credentials and excessive pupils by states, 1957

Page 119 - salaries by states, 1940-54

Page 120 - expenditures by states, 1954

Page 121 - enrollment and A.D.A., white and Negro, southern states, 1950, 1952, 1954

2. See E. W. Swanson and J. A. Griffin, Public Education in the South:

Page 35 - School attendance by race 1900-50

Page 38 - School attendance by race and state, 1939-40, 1951-52

Page 41 - A.D.A. by race and state, 1939-40, 1951-52

Page 51 - Training of teachers, 1939-40, 1949-50, 1951-52

Page 53 - Length of school term

Page 59 - Salaries

Page 61 - Expenditures, 1951-52

Page 63 - Expenditures per pupil, 1931-52

Page 65 - Expenditures by race, 1939-40, 1951-52

Page 67 - Expenditures

Page 71 - Instruction as % expenditure (N.B. very important datum when considering private school question)

Page 75 - Capital expenditure per pupil

Page 77 - Expenditures

Page 81 - 1960 school age population estimates

Page 91 - Equalization costs

3. You will want to use the tables in Part II of the Ashmore study, The Negro and the Schools. I don't believe Maclachlan and Floyd, This Changing South, has any data of particular interest for you.

4. Southern population tends to be younger than national: thus, heavier school burden. This can be documented in many ways, from many sources; e. g. median age in U. S. 1950 Census was 30.2; southern states (exclusive of Florida) ranged from a high of 27.9 (Texas) to a low of 23.6 (South Carolina); even Florida was only 30.9. Furthermore, Negro population of South is younger than white; see 1950 census. I have calculated some ratios for Georgia, based on estimates of Georgia Department of Health which show that the concentration of Negroes in Georgia is much higher in the school age group:

Age	Ratio of White-Negro Population, 1957
All	2.41 - 1
- 1 yr.	2.00 - 1
1 - 4	1.94 - 1
5 - 9	2.07 - 1
15 - 24	2.04 - 1

If you would wish to use such comparisons, I would want to do them for 1958.

I am enclosing a copy of J. M. Maclachlan, "Population Factors Affecting Education in the South", Journal of Public Law, Spring 1954; the strongest arguments I know of against a slow down of educational effort are implied by the estimates and analyses of this article and I urge that it be studied thoroughly.

5. 13.08 % school children (grades 1 thru 12) of U. S. enrolled in non-public schools 1953-54. Southern %s were generally much lower. Indicates: (1) a greater than average task of educating if public schools closed; (2) a factor which has to be weighted in comparing southern support of education with that of other states. In southern states, the % of students enrolled in non-public schools were:

Alabama -	2.96	North Carolina -	1.22
Arkansas -	2.02	Oklahoma -	2.90
Florida -	4.91	South Carolina -	1.36
Georgia -	1.69	Tennessee -	2.90
Kentucky -	9.22	Texas -	5.87
Louisiana -	16.34	Virginia -	4.61
Mississippi -	2.99		

Source: U. S. D. H. E. W., The State and Non-Public Schools, 1958, p. 3.

6. I am sending an old, 1947, SRC pamphlet, Wanted: An Educated South. Might provide an interesting springboard or two for writing about the present.

May 29, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

We seem to be more than usually jammed this week and have not been able to get to your statement on closed schools as quickly as we should have and it deserves. Here are some notes which Harold has not yet had time to supplement but which I am getting in the mail to you to avoid any more negligence on our part. Harold may wish to write to you later.

As I told you in New York, my general opinion of the statement is that it is good. We all hope you are successful in working out an effective arrangement with the Florida group for its release.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: notes

MEMO * From Leslie Dunbar

To Oscar Cohen

Page 1 - does the rest of the statement justify the claim that you deal with the problem "quite apart" from issue of segregation?

Page 2 - question suitability of Luther as spokesman for universal education

- "elementary education was the right of all children" Negro?

- were organized workers a principal factor in progress by mid-19th century?

Page 3 - what was this federal aid to education in 19th century?

(would this historical section be strengthened by some data on education levels, expenditures and requirements in the South at selected periods?)

Page 6 - as a matter of tactics should "Harm to other parts of the nation" be brought in at a later spot?

- a better word than "institutionalization"?

Page 7 - 2nd sentence, last paragraph - belongs in first paragraph?

Page 8 - 1st paragraph; "inevitably" is a strong wrong

- 2nd paragraph; "appoint" instead of "hire"? (the plea of an ex-pedagogue)

- don't the figures need some comment, or interpretation? what point are they intended to make?

Page 9 - ditto; or rather, more interpretation would be effective. (personal", not "personel"

Page 10- 4th paragraph; "were attending school"

Page 11- I should think the "able young people" were "potential leaders," not "leaders." Moreover, the situation described in the "potential leaders" section does not relate to closed schools, but to a long existent southern failure; this should be made explicit.

Page 12- last paragraph; the use of "will" in the last two sentences - too predictive and final

Page 13- 1st paragraph; "60 odd miles" - probably not a permanent condition; at any rate, not sufficient illustration to characterize the private schools

(I like most of this long survey of "damage"; I do have the feeling, however, that there is some repetition and that the classifications could be tighter.)

Notes for Oscar Cohen
Page 2.

Page 14 - "Damage to Tax-Payers" - good

Page 15 - "Loss of cultural etc." - ditto

Page 17 - 1st paragraph; there is no pending legislation in Georgia; what about Virginia? moreover, much as we would like to believe it, are these statements the "voices of the (majority) of the people"?

(Frankly, I doubt that this section, pp. 17-21, adds much to the statement, which ought and can stand on its own merits and the stature of its signers.)

Page 21 - 3rd paragraph; "stifled"

Page 22 - 3rd paragraph; "may be ruined"; "may well be short"

- 4th paragraph; undesireble split infinitive

- 5th paragraph; not true - you can say that U. S. was a pioneer

- 6th paragraph; the billions are "told"; "talents of some of its best minds"

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E
ATLANTA 3, GA.

Oscar Cohen

Arthur J. Levin

September 28, 1960

This is to confirm an appointment for you with Les Dunbar and Harold Fleming for Tuesday, November 22nd. I will also be available at that time and will be a most happy fella to join you all.

If, sometime soon, you can let us all know approximately at what time during the day you expect to be available, we will coordinate our watches accordingly.

Happy Thanksgiving, if it is not rushing the season too much.

Regards.

ajl/bw

CC: Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Harold Fleming

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ARNOLD FORSTER *General Counsel*

December 1, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I promised to send you some copies of your paper "Reflections on the Latest Reform of the South." I find now that the stencil has been destroyed and I can only send you the enclosed copy, our last.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

December 2, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

We did locate some additional copies of your paper "Reflections on the Latest Reform of the South" and are sending you 12 under separate cover.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

March 21, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the submission by Professor Zimmerman. I like the research project, but there is no possibility of our financing it this year. However, I am referring the matter to our Los Angeles office to see if there is something they might work out on the Coast.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

BY

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

*THIS REPORT IS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE
AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION
AT ITS
ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 6, 1963

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

Confronting certain children in the South today are the tasks of getting an education under unusual conditions of social stress. These children, their families and teachers, have happened upon a moment in historical change, and their behavior in such circumstances deserves our attention. For nearly ten years now the deep South has faced increasing national pressure upon its avowedly segregated system of public education, and slowly, with stated reluctance, it has been forced to begin to permit the entry of a few Negroes into its colleges first, its high and elementary schools later.

We need not doubt the highly charged and symbolic meaning of desegregation for many people in the cities of the South. The mere approach of one six-year old colored child toward a white school could arouse so old and sophisticated a city as New Orleans for weeks, bringing in its

---

*This study has been sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, a group of prominent Southerners, white and Negro, whose purpose is "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South." I am deeply grateful to them.

wake unease all over the city, with mobs, vandalism, and international notice as expressions and consequences. Atlanta spared herself what other cities had experienced in this regard only through the most careful and determined planning of an alerted police force thoroughly supported by the local political leadership and the newspapers.

What has happened again and again is the explosion of words of hate and deeds of violence by certain white people, these in turn prompted by fears and anxieties. Public disorder, organized scorn, or, under conditions of order, carefully patrolled calm, such are the external conditions somhow faced and managed by those scatterings of Negro children who continue to press their admission and attendance upon formerly all white schools; and these dark children are received by their waiting white classmates in various ways. As psychiatrists, we must look further, trying to find out how these several groups of people think and feel, looking at their responses under tension, evaluating their survival and manner of accommodation with new realities daily urged upon them. In any crisis of society are the individuals who enact it, seeking it, caught in it, attempting to flee it. This particular struggle has many roots in our history and culture, many implications in our current political and

economic life, all of them beyond the present concerns of this paper, which must be with the individual child and his psychological development and adjustment. We may only emphasize that such distinctions are arbitary if necessary. No child can be separated from the history of his people, from their lot and their condition. This is not the place to chronicle the fate of the Negro in America, nor to trace the development of the white man's attitudes in the South, or North likewise, toward him. Such has been done by historians, (1-4), sociologists (5), psychologists (6-8), and psychiatrists (9-14), and, as we take up our work here we are forced merely to mention these facts of "culture" or "environment", or "socio-economic context." It must be obvious, however, that at every moment in the life of these children, such facts are firm realities for them.

Nature of This Study

Our Negro children have been selected by others, by themselves and their parents by virtue of application, by federal judges by virtue of decision, by school boards by virtue of compliance and permission. Our white children have been those who attended class with these Negroes, in the beginning simply living their normal lives of growing and being schooled; suddenly finding themselves with new questions of attitude and behavior. Finally, the parents of all these children, white and colored, and their teachers,

all of them white, have been a part of our study, supplying valuable observations about their children and students, talking a good deal about their own problems in what is for many of them, of both races, a critical adjustment in habit and thought.

We have tried for lengthy acquaintance with children of several ages. They have been as young as five and as old as eighteen. In New Orleans they were the little ones, entering first grade, attending second and third grades. They included the four Negro girls, who at age six, first entered two white schools in 1961, and four of their classmates; the six additional Negro children who entered the same and other schools the next year, and seven of their white classmates. In Atlanta they were the ten Negro children who were selected for that city's first year of desegregation, five to enter the twelfth grade and five the eleventh of four high schools, and ten of their white classmates.

All of these children have been followed for two full school years. We have seen the children in Atlanta at least once a week, often twice weekly, depending upon the child and the circumstances at work in his personal and school life. We have visited the children in New Orleans every month, seeing them two or three times in a period of a week's stay. With the teen-agers and their parents we have come to their homes and talked with them; with younger children we

have come supplied with toys, crayons, and paints. Though regular home visitors, we have also been to their schools, talked with their teachers separately and in groups. We have known many of them months before schools opened, watched them enter on their first day, and graduate or be promoted on their last. Among white children we have aimed at diverse opinions on segregation. In both cities we have children from families actively in favor of desegregation and very earnestly opposed. In Atlanta one family is connected with the Klan, two others militantly segregationist; in New Orleans four families of like mind.

In brisker fashion we have journeyed to other cities, other Southern regions where desegregation has begun, hoping in a few interviews with children, parents, teachers for comparative information on adjustment and progress. Little Rock in Arkansas, Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee, Burnsville, Asheville, and Charlotte in North Carolina, have offered rural and urban contrasts, and information from a more northerly South than Georgia and Louisiana.

Observations and Discussion

Our chief concerns have been what color means to a child, how these children, Negro and white, see themselves and respond to one another, how they handle the strains of desegregation, the shock of one another's presence, the anxiety and anger on the streets or the fear inside their

homes; finally, how their attitudes and feelings change or persist over the months of these eventful and unusual school years. It would be fatuous indeed to ignore the separate nature of existence for the black and white child in the South. We must therefore, tell their fate and our findings separately, starting, in each case, with the young and moving on to the older child.

Negro Children

We may note, initially, that there are no obvious social or economic ways to distinguish these families whose children participated in the first years of desegregation. These children have come from all classes, the very poor to the comfortable, the educated to the barely literate, long time city dwellers and recent arrivals from fast disappearing farms, and a wide variety of motives have pressed upon them or their parents, most especially the desire for better education, and the advancement of their people's struggle for equality. In no case were they cajoled, rewarded, or even asked to apply.[1] In both Atlanta and New Orleans many

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[1]One of the most common beliefs I have met in the South, held not only by segregationsits, but by many people very sympathetic to desegregation, often by many kind teachers, is that the NAACP in some way recruits these children, then rewards them, pays them, bribes them, the verb depending on the attitudes of the particular person. I have yet to see evidence of this with any of our children.

were eager, but only very few chosen. Selection was based in both cities upon the declared regard of school officials for seeking children able and capable of surviving an obviously special and possibly traumatic experience. In both cities and in others over the South, psychological tests were given, personal interviews held. Four in New Orleans, ten in Atlanta, survived these for first year desegregation. These children represent, therefore, a residue deemed by educators fit and superior to other aspirants.

We have seen, and we must emphasize, heavy and hard, that each of these Negro children must learn and has learned how to manage in the white world of the South. From their first years they must be taught, and, slowly begin to realize fully for themselves, what they may do, where they may go, how they must behave. These dusky children of six, their yet smaller brothers and sisters of three or four, are fast learning such facts of social life, and their older kind in Atlanta have already mastered these childhood lessons quite well.

Drawings of these young children reveal their emerging sense of shame and worthlessness, their feelings of weakness before white skin and their envy of it. While all children have their troubles with many of these emotions, early sorrows, frights, rivalries and angers, for the Negro child, in contrast with the white child's experience, they

have a real basis in the world outside the home, regardless of the pleasure and happiness within.

For instance, a six year old boy, several months at a heavily boycotted but desegregated New Orleans school, draws his view of himself and one of his few white classmates, and, in another picture, sketches his idea of his place in school. Another child, a girl of seven, having faced daily mobs, draws her school and herself. The boy leaves some white on his right arm and leg, draws himself smaller, more bound and animal-like than his blond classmate, who, in reality, is smaller and much less active and darting. He puts himself in one part of his school, his white schoolmates in another, although, he assures me, in actual fact they are together in classes. ("They say we're not supposed to, but we are.") The girl pictures herself a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school, hesitant, fragile before white mankind as birds generally are before people, a host of her black kin segregated in distant knots of black upon a blue sky. Another of the four girls, one who saw a whole school empty in the face of her admission, draws her school with bright flowers on one of its sides, a stealthy brown squirrel on another. Again, she draws a white girl friend as large, smiling and blooming with cheer, while a colored child ("it's not me," she hastens to tell me with no prodding) appears in a corner

of the paper, dour and droopy, lips puckered, legs looking lamed.

In these homes I have seen white dolls kept separated from colored ones, called, in two instances, King and Queen. On the other hand I have seen our same children eventually feel free enough to hit, crush, or shatter these small white worlds of dolls and toys, looking at first fearfully or guiltily at me, later able to talk rather clearly about their deep feelings of resentment and hurt. ("If the white hits the colored, the colored has to hit him back." Or, "The white people call us bad, but they are the real bad and we never get bad enough to be bad like them, so I'm just fooling." He had just been rather merciless with a white boy in a coloring book, crossing him out with giant strokes of his black crayon.)

In her very overworked and overstated affection for whites in paper and in play a five year old girl shows other, contrary attitudes at work. She never quite felt free enough to express them directly, but their symbolic presence could not be concealed. She had always given white people features, had drawn carefully and precisely their blue eyes, had marked their fine noses by thin pink lines, had outlined their slim, curved lips, jarred only rarely by all too excessive teeth which loomed larger than the mouth which presumably contained them, and almost threatened the entire face. Negroes never

had eyes, noses, mouths, only large ears. They were anonymous, and would thus not reveal their true feelings, though they were listening all the time. One day she looked furtively at me as she started drawing eyes and a nose for a colored mother and her daughter, then quickly left her crayons for the escape of skipping and dancing. We both knew why. She had always been able to talk about how white children played and felt, telling me stories to go with her drawings, telling me thereby about many of her own normal problems of growing and getting along with her mother, her father, her sister and brothers. What she feared talking about was one problem, how she felt about being a Negro, how she felt about the restrictions and prohibitions which even then she was learning, which even then were being reinforced in their power over her spontaneous urges, in busses, in stores, in movie houses, in lunch counters. At school she could play with white children and study with them, but she knew this condition was special, and precarious at that. She found attendance at a desegregated school much easier, however, than revealing her private, her family's private fears and hates, of those white children, of their parents, of their entire world. Several months later she again drew a Negro woman, again gave her eyes and a nose and lips which were surely, widely Negro. She was able to finish her work, filling in details of sky and ground, and, in reply to my

hesitant question, "What does the woman see?" I heard "The dark, 'cause the sun isn't out." She laughed and pushed her paper with its nicely done picture aside; then volunteered "one more." It was an obvious witch, broom and all, under a black sky, over two buildings of red and orange brick, similar to ones she had done before of her house and her school. Halloween had passed by three months. I noted that to her. She replied, "Some witches are always alive, and this one just stayed around." This particular sorceress was brown-skinned. At this point I felt I could mention that to her, and did. She replied, "Oh, yes." I pressed with "Why?", and she eventually explained that some people, she knew it, didn't like Negroes. Here she was showing what others thought, but also what she thought, with ugliness and isolated eccentricity the image held of them by whites, but also by themselves, by herself, too; and with shrill vengeance the Negro's secret fantasy.

Positive feelings toward this white doctor, occur. Apart from an occasional doorstep visit from an insurance salesman or such, these children and their parents have never before acted as friendly host to a white guest in their home. Real trust must, therefore, be distinguished from early, anxious, fearful ingratiation, just as these must be differentiated in older children and adults, race apart, too. In three children, particularly expressive with crayons and

paints, lessened distrust and fright seemed to appear with pictures of me, to which they would hastily add brown skin or coloring. First my tan or dappled complexion would be erased with a new picture started, or an apologetic remark indicating an error voiced. After a while I could be left colored, and they learned that it caused me no pain. Two asked me if I minded. No, I didn't, they found out, then tested my words and tried their freedom to make us seem more alike by embarking upon a spate of such drawings for a few months. Eventually they abandoned this game. One of them was able to tell me once that she was soiling me, for which she was very sorry. I remarked to her that she had painted a large shining sun, and that, perhaps I was being sun-tanned. Yes, she murmurred, that, too. Those children who found desegregation a happier experience than expected drew schools progressively less forbidding and impersonal, played games less hectic or guarded. Those whose school experiences had been frought with much tension expressed much of this in our games, trying, oftentimes, to make sense out of the experience by re-enacting it. One girl would imitate the crowds, the unfriendly crowds, then turn on them, disperse them in a model of police efficiency painfully in contrast with what had actually happened on the streets. "I'm better than the police," she told me once.

These angry crowds took on highly individual implications

and meanings for each child. Mob reproaches are fitted into the normal problems of growing. A child who feels guilty about her wishes to hurt or eliminate her brothers and sisters can wonder whether the epithets of street walkers are not really designed to punish her for her secret, and sometimes not so hidden, fantasies. At five, six, or seven, they are very much involved in the rights and wrongs of the world, how to tell them apart, how to mediate between their evolving conscience and quick-rising wishes. One six year old boy, whose mother was pregnant, drew his large bellied mother standing near his desegregated school, a fire hose nearby, a few whites standing afar. Asked for his rationale, he explained the story he was drawing, "They're mad (whites) because we are going to their school, and they want the fire hose back, but it's ours, too." Oedipal strivings and the realities of dealing with mob dispersal are fixed neatly together here.

What the parents intuitively knew was that they must acknowledge their children's perceptions of a sullen or hostile world, all the while assuring them that there were other worlds of affection, and, even among whites, support. One mother put it this way, "I tells her that she's right and those folks don't like her nor me either just 'cause we're colored. But I say that me and her daddy went against worse in the older days, and we is going to go right through this, and, we got a lot of the whites who are helping us all the way." For many

parents this was a forthright chance to talk openly with their children about their problems as Negroes. By no means is it easy for Negro families to talk with one another about such matters. Shame, self-hatred which can express itself in contempt for one another, these make such open talk hard. A father illustrates this: "Before I tried to fool them maybe a little, because I figured there'd be plenty of time for them to find out what the world is like, and, besides, I figured we'd take each situation as it comes up. Sometimes they'd try to get me to take them into a restaurant or a movie, and I'd invent all kinds of stories and try to take their attention away, divert them you might say; but I kind of knew they were too smart underneath. First they'd keep on asking, or ask questions like 'why not?' and then sometimes I'd lose my temper and tell them to shut up. Then they'd give you that look that makes you feel stupid, or maybe like crying, and I'd hear them later on, telling one another the truth .... 'because we're black' they'd say. They say you can't fool children, and I guess they is right, but can you blame a parent for trying?... Now we can relax, and it's all in the open, and it's easier with the other kids just as with her" (the girl in the de-segregated school.)

Balancing outside threats and anxiety were the inside supports of the school as well as the home. While these

children were applauded by their own communities, and many people all over the world, they also received help from their teachers and white classmates, few to many in number, depending upon the year and the school involved. Three of them, learning their letters in an abandoned school, had no white classmates the first year and about fifteen the second. One of them studied largely alone at first, though she always had about five, then about ten white students with her at the beginning, and later, in the second year, over one-hundred returned to school with her. Perhaps if we hear two recorded comments, from a Negro and a white mother, we will understand what happened inside these battered schools. A Negro mother told us "Ruby came home the other day and told me that a new white girl came and she came right up to Ruby and told her in the middle of the recess that she wasn't going to play with her, 'cause her mother done told her to stay clear of niggers, but Ruby said they played together right afterwards." A white mother, who kept her children in school under constant threat and intimidation commanted: "Once they were in school, it was fine. Why, they practically worshipped that little girl (Negro) After all they'd never had it so good ... so few of them to a teacher, and all that excitement. They loved it. I got scared, all the calls and their faces ... but the kids kept me calmer than I kept them. They weren't afraid...they had a real school spirit... they

sang songs like "Frantz School Will Survive"...they became real close together... Yes, it was like a family, and I guess the police were like their fathers, and they even joined in with the singing. I think the teachers became more determined than ever to stick it out and protect the children after they saw what those people were like. I've never heard such foul language..."

We saw evidence of anxiety, nervous loss of appetite, fretful disposition, unusually scrappy behavior with brothers and sisters, rare tearfulness before going to school, and one temporary episode of bed-wetting, but never were these crippling in length or severity, similar to the kinds of complaints which bring children to child guidance clinics. Parental anxiety could trigger a child's, but none of these parents ever seemed near collapse in their ability to cope with daily living. Subjected to curses, warnings of attack and death, job loss, these people drew close together, inside their own families, and within the shared assurance of a group. Very important, often overlooked, is the fact that theirs has been a life time of adaptation to what they know and feel to be unfair treatment. A father put it this way: "It's not new, and it won't be the last time, but now my child is closer to me than ever before, and we both are going to get through this, because at last we've got a reason for our hardship, and, Lord, that makes it easier

than ever before." We heard similar sentiments over and over again, in every city visited, from our teen-aged children in Atlanta particularly, able as they were to talk for themselves.

If the young child can draw and play his sense of himself and the white world outside, draw and play his fears and tensions under desegregation, and how they fit into his problems of growing up, the older child will have a style of living, a manner of thinking and feeling and acting which do likewise. In our adolescent children we have heard over the months conscious and unconscious expressions of lessons learned earlier, now organized into patterns of behavior: meekness masking rage, anger expressing shame or anxiety, fearful guilt following expression of frustration or humiliation, and, in general, a thicket of rationalizations, apprehensive controls, and bland denials, covering sadness, bitterness, and, always with "the Man"[2] around, uncertainty and fear.

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[2]Negroes often refer to the white world as "the Man" or "The Bossman." A fine coat might be called a "Boss Coat." When I went on vacation I was told several times to have a "Boss Time." Words used by whites and Negroes in the South to describe Negroes are associated with all kinds of social and cultural variables, often hard neatly to categorize. I have heard Negroes and whites use different terms to describe Negroes depending upon where they are and with whom, as well as their feelings behind the words. Poor white people generally use the word "nigger," and I have heard many Negroes do likewise, in serious and humorous self-description or derogation. Many middle-class southerners use the term "nigra," and it often emerges in quiet, honeyed fashion, with no mean intent, but simply a natural derivitive of the southern accent. Many southerners, much conscious of race relations or interested and responsive to northern custom use the word "Negro," sometimes, I feel, a little awkwardly and unnaturally, because it is not a word until recently used by most southerners to describe the Negro. I feel that the word "colored" is more often used by gentle white northerners, but I have heard it used by many Negroes in the South, and more rarely by white southerners. Of course, the "black man" the "dark people" and the "Africans" also have usages which are perhaps too specialized to discuss here.

We must emphasize, again and again, that for many of these conscious feelings of rage or intimidation to be revealed, for many dreams and fantasies to be spoken, much time and development of trust was needed. The parallel with any psychotherapy is obvious, but the contrast between these "healthy" Negroes, these "normal," even "superior" teen-agers and their white classmates in ease and freedom of social expression is startling. White children, can, and often do, say what they feel about Negroes to themselves and, often, to Negroes, say friendly things, say hurtful things. Negroes not only have no such relatively ready confidence or articulation with a white person, a fact which is obvious to many people but still denied by many more, but Negroes often are unable to talk with one another about their lot and problems as Negroes. Self hate, learned from a culture which has bound, ostracised, and proscribed them, becomes a hate for one another. The dreams, associations, comments and written remarks, drawings and paintings, and letters of these children richly illustrate such developments.

Of course, all adolescents have their problems, of quick growth and heightened awareness, of torn feelings, of doubts and dreams charged with new hormonal strength; but, again, the Negro adolescent has a special problem with the all too real social and cultural truth of his past exploitation and still curbed apartness. The whole play of the mind will be

seen in these youths, their projections and introjections, their distortions and excuses, a host of justifications and remedial responses to the lessons of inferiority, well learned by them, gathered by them from the white ocean of habits, customs, its culture which surrounds them and controls them from their first years to their last moments. From tapes we can hear their words: "I'm glad I'm not white, all that worrying about losing Atlanta's reputation if a riot comes when we desegregate," or "I don't think there's any real difference between white and colored, except that we're lazier most of the time." Or, "We deserve what we get, and until we work harder, we'll just have to take it." Again, after a year and a half, "I never told you the truth, because I never trusted a white man before... Why should we?... Sometimes we hate all of them, it doesn't make any difference who they are, it's the whole race... You know, sometimes I could just kill every white man in sight, whether I knew them or not, but that's more like what you call a daydream. I'd never really do it, it's just when you get so frustrated and they treat you like an animal, that's when it comes out..." A boy who had been at a white high school for months, and seen a Negro wield a knife in the downtown section of his city remarked to us: "Negroes are uncivilized more than whites... Sometimes they behave like animals... I feel ashamed of them... Yes, I guess it makes

me feel ashamed of myself, too." Finally, "The whites are scared of us. They've always been. That's why they have to try so hard to keep us down... Yes, I guess I think their fears are justified, because I think most of us do, way down, hate them... Well, it's like the cart and the horse, I mean whether they're scared of us because of the way we feel toward them, or if we were made to feel that way and then they get scared because of what they did to us." Little psychiatric interpretation is necessary here.

At fifteen, old ideas, old experiences, racially tinged admonitions from parents, racially connected epithets from the outside world, bulk larger and stronger. Negro adolescents in Atlanta met no mobs, but their age and its own burdens, as with the younger children in New Orleans, merged with the stresses of desegregation. Months before nine of them entered four high schools their names and pictures were in the local papers. While police can deter public throngs; threatening, highly abusive phone calls, similar messages by mail, pressures on employers, pressures by employers, these are less easily contained. Night after night calls came, menacing, foreboding ill, and, in the morning, special deliveries of the same kind appeared. Atlanta was determined to have law and order, but during that anxious summer before initial desegregation was under way, no one could really know what bomb and dynamite threats, what murderous innuendo,

might materialize even with the most elaborate precautions. Nor was the heritage of these families, several poor and recently from farms, conducive to reassurance and thoughtful serenity.

Among the children and their parents, too, anticipatory anxiety and defenses against it were quite prominent. Especially common were the use of denial and rationalizations, such as "I'm not worried about anything," or, "What's there to worry about?" or, "They'll bother the boys" from a girl and "at least we can protect ourselves" from a boy. Frequent projective maneuvers were seen, like "I'll bet they're plenty scared (the whites) of what'll happen," and, "It's nothing for us to worry about; it's their problem, not ours." Loss of appetite, migraine headaches, insomnia were seen. One boy read a law book, versing himself on "assault and battery" sections particularly, but he "just happened to be" doing this, then. Another boned up on kerate, keeping his once slack muscles newly poised. Many, wishing for a foreseeable end to increasing tension, trapped themselves into forecasts of early ease once the first few days of school were over.

Such, sadly, was not to be the case. Long moments of history may disappear, bur not necessarily at the speed hoped by an anxious child. During the school year the trials of hard work, frequent loneliness and isolation, and occasional insult had to be met, and each child had his

or her own way of dealing with these pressures. One of the original ten selected, a very bright girl of seventeen, dropped out just before school opened, she and her family unable and unwilling to bear the daily, rising tension ("We're too far out from the police, and it's too exposed here. They could shoot to kill or dynamite us, and I'm not going to take the chance," the girl admitted, guilty about her decision, but more afraid of what would happen were it not made.) Another slightly younger girl, also quite intelligent, asked to return to her old Negro high school a short while after her first report card showed two A's and three B's, the highest grades of all the Negro students, obtained in a tough academic program. A well spoken, attractive girl, from a middle-class family, of the three Negroes, probably the favorite of teachers and students alike, her withdrawal for what she called "an emotional upset" confused her city a great deal. Front page publicity, local and national, with editorials and heavy television coverage, remarks of concern by the Governor of Georgia, conflicting explanations of the cause, such attention gives some hint of the interest, hopes, the fears, and guilts attached by so many to desegregation in the South.

Having known her for six months, I had seen her respond to apprehension with heavy reliance upon detailed, increasingly burdensome rituals. She was getting little

sleep, eating sporadically and excessively of sweets, and not simply studying but exhausting herself in tangled, midnight minutiae, in unrealistic and obviously hurtful anticipation of all of the next day's possible recitals. While these classrooms were, in fact, for these children, an awkward, silent, closely watched and often fearful stage, this girl could not handle her role as easily as the eight others who stayed and survived. The reasons seemed more connected with her fragile personal and familial history, frought with divorce and parental strife, than desegregation alone. A crisis had sharpened old angers and sorrows, had upset a precariously balanced relationship with her father and sister, and had found her abilities, even assisted by a relatively friendly school body, newly weakened by rigid and frail defenses.

Depressions, headaches, stomach aches, all these were seen with some frequency. Three of the five girls developed definite increase in premenstrual pain, and, thereby temporary absence from school. All three boys seemed prone to headaches and dreams of thinly disguised rage: "I dreamt I was in Little Rock,[3] and they (whites) were coming after

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[3]Events like Little Rock stick fast to these children. They were eleven or twelve at the time, awakening to themselves and their world. All refer to memories of Little Rock on television and identification with the Negro students there. No less than four have used that even in their dreams, to symbolize such feelings as isolation, determined resistance, anger, etc.

me... I started to run, then I found I had a gun, and I turned and it turned out to be a machine gun, so I fired away; I opened up right at them, and I think they stopped... I had another dream later that night. I dreamed I got arrested for driving too fast, and my father said I'd better go to jail because he didn't have the money to pay the fine, and then I woke up ... what a night, it was as bad as school!" This dream-pair of anger, of crime and punishment, was followed weeks later, in the same boy, with "I was running real fast, but then I looked around and no one seemed to be chasing me, so I relaxed. Then I saw a girl walking down the street. She was a white girl, so I looked the other way. You know. Then, a funny thing happened. She told me it was O. K. to look, 'cause I was white, too, and she smiled at me. I think we talked for a while or something, but suddenly she turned Negro and ran from me, and I felt bad, like I'd done something wrong. Then I woke up. I couldn't get the dream out of my mind, it was one of those that stick with you real clear all day... Mostly the feeling of doing something wrong ... I think I woke up before I could get caught or something, maybe the police were around the corner." Sexual identity, racial identity, fears, hopes, guilts, all raw and sharply summoned.

Though harassed, these children were also honored, and, just as the New Orleans parents averred, so did they, that

here was a chance for purposeful stress in contrast to the arbitrary stresses of the daily rejections and exclusions encountered by the Negro in his living and working. Indeed, eight out of ten selected in Atlanta successfully finished these last one or two years of their high school education, though not without signs of tiring and of strain. As wearying as their psychological problems were their academic ones. They come from overcrowded, poorly equipped schools, from years of education in a separate school system which reflects inevitably the position of the Negro, the restricted hopes, the frequent poverty and the precarious affluence, (16) the continual fears, the lessened pace, the boredom, apathy, and that, too, the reactive rage and its impulsive, expressive violence. One says what many have said, "More kids dropped out because they had to go to work, and they didn't think they'd do much better even if they stayed and graduated. Even if they graduated from college, they might end up not any better than if they left in the 9th grade... Man, it's a white man's world all the way. You sure can see it when you get to an integrated school. These white kids have hope, I don't know how I know it, but they do, you can just feel it... I almost feel as if I've been let out of jail and let into America, like walking into one of those TV programs, you know, where people seem free and kind of happy...it's like feeling you're participating, not just always watching and peeking around."

They studied hard, curtailed social activities, graduated. Those who followed them the next year, over forty in number, less carefully picked, struggled even harder with some of these problems of academic adjustment required at so late a time as the last years of high school.

One of the most common difficulties encountered by these colored students was their own ambivalence, their pride of person and new self-respect as Negroes, their identification with changes in Africa, in Asia, in their own country; but also, along side such feelings, the results of their ancient exile from American culture, a sense of their own lowly, tainted nature, an aloof, hesitant, distrust of whites, a self-hatred appearing as suspicion of them even when they are kindly and affectionate: "I don't know what to do when they get nice. It's easier when they ignore you, at least then you're used to it, and we know what to do...when they get friendly, I feel as if they've got some angle to it, or trying to pull something... I guess I don't really believe we've got some equality now...I finally got up enough courage, and walked over and sat with them... Oh, I knew they were friendly, and they wanted me to come over...but you know how it is... But it all went good. I think they were as nervous as I was, but now when I sit with them, no one thinks anything of it." A less successful outcome, in a school less hospitable to its two Negro children, shows one way of dealing with daily rebuke and insult: "I don't care what they say, or what they think of me,..

I'm going to graduate from that school if it's the last thing I do. They can all leave if they want... Man, that's my school as much as theirs, and they don't scare me, and if I scare them, they can go... go and give me the whole school to myself.."

White Children

Since the white children mostly do not leave these schools, or, when they do, usually return after the crisis of violence or mob action subsides, they, too, have reactions to desegregation, a new and often surprising reality to them.

Born and reared in a region which has, however recently, (2) as successors to slavery, developed an elaborate array of social customs, strongly bulwarked by law, which regulate from birth to death doings, if not feelings, between the races, these children are now asked to participate in the beginning of the end of these ways. For the young white child, this ordinarily requires little effort. His age and its momentum appear to overcome even parental injunctions. I have watched them play, children from segregationist homes, urged by their mothers to keep good distance from the one or two colored children among them, yet forgetful of these ideas and pleas in the abandon of play. Teachers say as this one did: "They forget what they're told at home when they start playing. You can't expect children of this age to worry about skin color when they want to play a game or jump rope... I

suppose if their parents scare them to death about it (skin color) they'll remember, but it'll take work to prevent children from being friendly one minute and nasty the next regardless of what color they are."

Two such children and their parents showed us how dark skin can, in fact, become an object of anxious avoidance, a focus for emotions communicated from parents to child by daily example, by daily intimacy of phrase and example. Their parents were not simply voting segregationists, but preoccupied segregationists, fervently involved believers in distance between the races, in Negro inferiority and harmfulness. Their mothers' associations, culled from many interviews, indicate that for them, the Negro is dirty, diseased, promiscuous, a source of contamination, and that all these thoughts, held by many others in a casual or quiet fashion, are of strong, constant concern to them. Joining together the words of one mother from several tapes, we must emphasize the urgency and passion of her delivery: "They're dragging us down, and you know why? Because they're made lower and they're born with less intelligence than we have. Just look at them...[4] they're more animal than spiritual, and the Bible tells us not to mix the two if we can help it...They have their place, and

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[4]There is no absence of curiosity in people like her, albeit from a distance.

it's not anywhere near us...they're dirty, they're drunks, and they slash one another with razor blades and flood Chairty Hospital with their V. D. and illegitimate children... I don't think they know what family life is, and now they want us to catch it from them, get all our children sick, and start them off with little nigger kids in school. I sent him back there (Frantz School) because I figure there's only one or two, and we can get by if he stays away from them, but what about our grandchildren, when they flood us in twenty years?...I get sick near them, because they smell and I almost want to vomit..."

She had felt sick in the past, with nausea, cold sweats, loss of appetite, in a northern restaurant, seeing them nearby. She and her husband and two children had hastily left. She avoided them, particularly any chance of touching them or being touched, and she had taught this to her young girl and boy. In turn, her son, aged six, could draw a desegregated school under dark clouds, brown colored with black smoke emerging from its chimney. In one of its corners, encircled by a black line, the thinnest skeletal outlines of a Negro child could be seen. He drew another picture of his school, the same school, but of orange brick under a blue sky and full sun, scarcely any brown there but the land (dirt) under the flowers and grass. The two separate drawings had come about through the following conversation: (Dr.) "Would you want to

draw a picture of your school now?" Nodding, "Should I draw the whole school?" Hesitating a moment, (Dr.) "As much as you want to." He sketched one, then another picture, telling me it was a big school, "except it still isn't filled up again." (The boycott by whites had collapsed, and he, like other white children, had not been allowed to attend.) He was a sturdy and tidy boy, well mannered, rather close to his mother, bright and a good talker, a good artist, too. He wanted to be a doctor, had so for about a year. Doctors, he told me once, had to be clean, and had to scrub their hands very hard before they cut into people. We had embarked on that line of thought after a small discussion of the little Negro girl in his school. "I don't go near her, because I don't like her looks and she's a bad girl... My best friend is Jimmie and he said he wouldn't play with her either because she'd ruin the game, but I don't like her around anyways." He did indeed stay away from her, and sought friends who did likewise, or simply were doing likewise not in any exclusiveness, but in the natural order of play. His mother, affectionate toward him and truly confident of his loyalty, felt that his assurances to her that he remained clear from the Negro child were unnecessary. "Sometimes he tells me he hasn't gone near her when he comes home, but I know he hasn't regardless." He hasn't, but he is not without a silent interest, a certain preoccupation. He will draw the

colored child, then cross her out, he will wipe her out in play and shoot her, but not fail to mention her, bring her into his assertive, frolicsome games.

Other children seem less anxious to draw the Negro into our talk and play. Their parents may have welcomed desegregation, and there is no issue for them, though several of them are very much aware at five or six what it means in our country to be a Negro. One girl at school and in class with a little Negro girl informed me that "most white people don't like them, but I don't mind them." Their parents may not have welcomed desegregation at all, but may place little emotional store in its slow onset. A mother told me she did not want her children at desegregated schools, but she wanted them attending school, and there seemed little alternative but certain private schools, which, she felt, were not the best choice, educationally, for her children. "If I had a lot of money, I'd send them to real good private schools; this way, I figure it's best to keep them in school even with the two nigras... I tell them (her two children involved) to keep away from them and never to play with the,...Well, maybe they do, in the yard sometime, but I don't think that'll cause any trouble. I'm not against young children playing, I mean nigras and whites. I'm against giving them equality in schools and restaurants and things like that, because I don't think they're equal, to be truthful. I just don't believe any fair minded

person can look at them and the way they live and believe they are. I just don't." Attitudes like this, long held and deeply, honestly believed, are less likely to kindle a young child's resolute fear and horror. This woman states her opposition, but her capacity to weigh other values and concerns in determining her position. Unlike several of our parents, she will not march out on any street in agitated demonstration. Her children, therefore, duly understand her views, and adopt them as their own, but her daughter occasionally will acknowledge a rope game with the little Negro girl in her class, and one day, settled the entire problem for herself by telling me she'd let one Negro girl into her doll house, but no others. "I mean all the others will have to be maids, but she (the one) can have a cup of tea with us." (She loved serving tea in her doll house, and was a most gracious hostess.)

With adolescence, old ideas, stored but forgotten in games, emerge newly influential. In Atlanta, the problem of white boys and girls, now fast growing, struggling with problems of identify, of belief and career, were aptly summarized for me by a high school senior who found a Negro in several of his classes, and felt torn by old traditions and perceptions and new realities: "It's a shock to us, I'll have to say that. I mean, I'm not against Lawrence. I've grown to respect him; but it's like this...they were slaves here and we had them in bondage. We fought a war over the

thing and got beat, but even so, we've all grown up with them living one way, and us another...they've worked in our kitchens and taken care of us, and suddenly you wake up and find them in your schools sitting across from you... It's not the way we've ever lived with them before, and you can't expect us not to find it hard for a while."

Attitudes varied from immediate sympathy through indifference to marked hostility. One form of hostility was the direction of overworked attention and conversation to the Negroes with a paternal attitude which they could scarcely not notice and frequently describe: "I'd rather have them swear at us than all that fake sympathy she gives out. She thinks she's big-time roylaty, doing us a favor with her friendship. She tells us how much she likes us, but how does she know if she does, when she doesn't know us at all?" Others, less impelled by unconsciously wrought reaction-formations, developed slow sympathy with these children, often identifying with them in their loneliness or suffering. One adolescent boy of fifteen, in so many ways reminiscent of Anna Freud's (15) description of the teen-aged youth in all his ambivalent turmoil, remarked feelingly, "I know what it is to be alone... they must be boiling underneath, but I guess they know how to keep up a good front. I think I was against desegregation, and I still am in a way, but I really feel for those two kids, and I've got to admit I like both of them in spite of what I

thought I'd feel...you know, you've got to hand it to them... sometimes I see them just sitting at the table, and I say to myself, we're rotten animals, us human beings are just mean all over. Then I want to go up and sit and talk with them, but I don't dare...you know why, I'll have to be honest, it would just make it too hard for me. I'd have to take more than they do, I think."

Slowly, as the months go along, many of these white students, less and less afraid of social ostracism, have made overtures to their Negro schoolmates, words, a smile, a question, a nod. Desegregation has then moved from its legal and physical reality to its emotional onset.

Others feel and continue to feel differently: "They're no damn good, and never will be...just look at Africa...All they do is sit and drink...They live like animals and they sure look like them, too. Have you ever smelled them, real close? They make me sick just to go near them!" Strong are the words and feelings these young men and women have and much the notice they are willing to give the Negro: "Most kids ignore us, and a few are really nice, but there are three or four who won't leave us alone. They just stare all day long... I think they've got a kind of 'thing' about us, and it won't let them alone, so how can they let us alone?"

Three of these young people, two boys and a girl, have never felt unwilling or unable to describe their anger and

scorn for the two Negroes at school with them. Listening to their words, and feelings underneath those words, one finds, however, sensitivity and guilt as well as rage, revealing them, unconsciously, troubled and conscience stricken by the very harm they would so freely cause. One would describe with apparent pleasure the isolation and fear experienced by a Negro girl in his class, then wish, always after telling of her painful moments, that she go to Africa, surely an escape as well as an exile. Another talked quietly about his segregationist views, becoming loudly, angrily, critical when he described a bullying word or deed toward a Negro in which he shared. He always had to fend off his own sense of right and wrong in these specific situations by such excesses of rationalized pique. One rather bright and athletic boy, with no significant medical or psychiatric history, revealed the clashes and contradictions of sympathy, fear, and hate within himself: "I don't hate Martha. Fact is, I feel sorry for her, and for the other one, too. She's pathetic, the way she just sits there all alone, smiling at you if you look at her, and working away all the time, trying to prove something, I guess. It's the NAACP and the professional nigger lovers I'm against, because they're taking advantage of Martha just like the rest of us to cause trouble between the races... We've had a lot more use for the nigger here than up North... I've gone up there and I know how they live there... Here,

we've got respect for one another, and most niggers will tell you they don't want to be with us any more than we want to be with them...This is an insult to them as much as to us, and I think Martha is a dupe, and even if I feel sorry for her, I can't forgive her for letting herself be used."

Our Negro and white children, regardless of their differing views and hopes, all agreed on the interesting point that most white children, despite their declared opinions, in practice were indifferent to the Negroes who entered their schools. Over and over from the Negroes we heard, "They couldn't care less." Time and again we heard from white children, "I've got more on my mind than a couple of niggers... my work and basketball are what I think of all day...who cares? I mean, they're here, and we didn't want it, but what difference does it make, now? I don't think <u>any</u> in your everyday life."

Changes in feelings are reported and observable, too. Several of our high school juniors and seniors have noted changes in sentiments from mild antipathy or disinterest to respect or even affection, often to their own surprise. The unpredictable nature of human behavior, the accumulative effects of conscious and unconscious guilt and atonement, of changed perceptions and newly developing social customs, are all perhaps summarized in the experience of a Negro girl who went through a year of silence and sometimes much worse, only

to be herself surprised in her last day of school at the requests of eighteen white classmates to autograph her yearbook. Their messages, from "best wishes" to "I am sorry for my silence, but you will understand why," from "I know you have had an unpleasant time, but we have all had a difficult year, and we have come through it successfully" to "you have proven yourself a fine person, and I have been sorry we could not know you better," speak for themselves, self-evident examples of changing emotions, slowly incubating amid the complicated silence of an unusual school year.

Parents and Teachers

We may only briefly here refer to the parents and teachers of these children. It is a commonplace that these children are much affected by the attitudes of both. We have been particularly interested to note, in city after city of the South, that teachers may have felt tension between their roles as teachers and their private feelings. In the two battered schools of New Orleans, in Central High School in Little Rock, in the unharassed but tensely protected (some police scruntiny all year long) high schools of Atlanta, we have heard teachers reflect what their society obviously faces, the anxieties and mixed feelings of social and cultural change. One teacher put it very well, speaking to me in a group of several teachers meeting to discuss their observations of how desegregation was

proceeding: "We felt betwixt and between our traditions as southerners and the Law. I wouldn't disobey my school board, because I know I have responsibilities as a teacher, but I had my private opinions about this, of course. You know, we were as nervous as the students were... you could hear a pin drop... I think I've learned as much this year as my students, and maybe a little more... You can't change a whole way of living without a little trouble here and there, but I'm right proud of our children here in Atlanta."

Parents, of course, will vary, and teach their young children what they themselves feel, from kindness to fear. Many children in Atlanta obviously reflect their parents' views. Many don't, however. A white boy, son of a militant segregationist father, found friendliness toward Negroes, spoken and acted, a means of teen-aged rebellion. Several young students differentiated most precisely their views from those of their parents. "We're from another generation," a refrain as old as man himself, was not absent among these youths. Nor do Negro students heed their parents so resolutely. Often their parents, all too aware of past hurts, all to fearful and suspicious, had opposed letting their children transfer to white schools. Family splits, mother approving, father dissenting, or vice-versa, were not rare, with younger and older children alike. Once under the crisis of actual participation, however, these splits seemed to be welded together in

the common familial need for mutual support against an outside world potentially harmful.

The Psychiatrist's Roles and Reactions

We can only mention in passing at this time some of the problems encountered by a psychiatrist working in the midst of active social and political crisis, though this subject deserves to be pursued further. For a white psychiatrist to go to Negro homes in the deep South, regularly and over a two-year period of time, was, in itself, as unusual as desegregation. We met apprehension and fright; their expression in suspicion, in ingratiation or withdrawal, in awe or in ire, and slowly, in testing and teasing. We found that the more freely these people felt they could talk with us, the more honestly they could express their feelings, their fears, angers, sorrows, and the more frankly they could acknowledge their initial, conscious deceptions. In several instances, as in individual psychotherapy, long standing grievances were slowly mentioned, and attitudes of docility, followed by those of resentment and deeply felt hostility appeared and yielded slowly to a sustained relationship coupled with discussion of these very feelings, for these Negroes the first time they had such an opportunity with a white person. Well over a year after we had started our visits, we began to hear in many homes remarks like "now we're telling youwhat we really think," or "we just didn't know at

first what to say, and to be honest, we just don't trust any white people to be really truthful to them..." Increasing involvement between these children and their parents and me allowed them to forego many of their stylized maneuvers of dealing with what they most often feel to be the alien white lord. They felt free to share their phrases, their humor, their bitterness and sadness at their fate, and they felt able to talk about how they mask these feelings, summoning constant energy in conscious guile, bluff, and falsehood: "Tell them what they want to hear," or "Smile and hope they die on the spot." Such searing wrath demands constant vivilance lest it escape in open violence, sometimes against whites, though this is made hard by the very nature of the society which legally, socially, politically, enconomically subordinates them, more often against themselves, in quick fury, in long self-hatred and despair.

As with any group of people, different types of relationships developed, depending upon the child and his or her family, and the investigator. This was a study to determine attitudes, reactions, adjustment in a crisis for presumably "normal" people, but the therapeutic quality in the work soon appeared. For Negroes under stress to talk with a white psychiatrist about their feelings, their trials and hopes and tensions, over a long enough period of time for a firm relationship to develop is obviously of some value

for them as well as for the psychiatrist. Briefer contacts in several southern cities helped us obtain information and make observations less intimately related to the child's life history, but more pertinent to his every day experiences and adaptations. An effort was made to achieve both, general information about daily psychological phenomena, and the deeper, longer investigation of the individual personality and life history.

With white families, particularly segregationists, we had a different order of problems, not racial, but idiosyncratic, our initial reception varying from the friendly to the suspicious and guarded. We had expected difficulty talking with segregationist, but soon learned that those strongly moved and agitated by this issue wanted very much to talk about it, indeed, need to do just that. Changes among white children both did and did not occur, and do and do not occur in those children untouched by studies like this. Several of our children attribute new feelings to talks with us: "I think just thinking about all these things when you come makes you see more of what's going on... I've wondered how I'd feel about them if I hadn't talked to you this year." We have met children in small rural towns, in larger cities, who have come to new ideas and responses to the Negro children beside them by themselves, through their own experiences and thinking, through discussions with friends and relatives, out

of their own life history with its development of conscience, awareness, available intelligence, vitality and quiet of mind.

The psychiatrist, as always, must learn from his own anxieties, his own affection, angers, and depressions, as they arise in his work with other people. In a study such as this, these feelings are sure to be met, telling us, all along, about the range and intensity of the emotional forces hugging racial attitudes hard; showing us, surely, how such forces derive much of their powerful and persuasive momentum from sources deep within the individual's emotional life.

Conclusions

From our work, we would venture the following impressions:

1. Negro children, young and old, in most cases, endure the stresses of initial desegregation in Southern cities without evidence of significant psychiatric illness. In order to understand why this occurs, the general problems of adjustment required of the Negro in his daily life, from birth to death, must be considered. Many of the strains met by these children and their families are similar to those often encountered elsewhere. In order to cope with such conditions, these children must learn, must be also taught, a variety of psychological maneuvers, and these will serve in desegregated schools as well as on busses, outside theatres, and restaurants. These

defenses described in this paper agains anxiety, fear, retaliatory anger, shame, and guilt, develop slowly, require constant emotional energy, the continual vigilance of a precarious position in our society. For these children, therefore, desegregation is an opportunity, a kind of trouble which, in contrast, to other experiences, makes sense and offers hope of a better life with less hurt in the future. So long as their home life is reasonably satisfactory, so long as they do not have serious personality disorders stemming from their personal psychological development, they seem able to withstand mobs, and the variety of pressures arising from their entry into white schools. We have tried to document some of these pressures and responses to these pressures, and we have seen that the trials of desegregation fit into the other problems of the growing child, reflecting them, increasing them, or serving their expression.

2. For the white child, desegregation will have a variety of meanings, depending on his family, his age, and his own nature, needs, and wishes. Compassion, lack of interest, annoyance, strong aversion, all these reactions have been seen, and their roots traced in individual children and their parents. We can clinically distinguish between those families where segregation is a consumming, highly charged interest, a passionate expression

of other problems, and those where it is less integrated in earlier, more basic emotional troubles; thus more changeable as a social habit or custom, strongly and long held, but slowly dispensable when opposed by other wishes or customs. Even among the poorest and most insecure, of our families, socially and economically, these differences obtain.

3. Some of the meanings of color, of black and white, to children have been explored. Deeply present in our culture, they indicate the developing sources of later attitudes and behavior in both whites and Negroes. We have attempted to convey the feelings of these children toward one another, helped by their actual words, their dreams and drawings, their play. We have also tried to indicate some of the ways their parents and teachers choose to behave, how they, too, get along in these tense situations. Finally, we have indicated some of the hurdles along the path of such study of active social and political crises by a psychiatrist.

4. We have seen changes in these southern children, in Negroes toward less doubt and more trust, in whites toward less hostility and more freedom to see another person as a person, regardless of skin color. We have also seen hardening of suspicion, congealing of hatreds. Since we are dealing with a problem in human development,

in stress and response to stress, in early anxieties, rivalries and strains within the family becoming reflected and expressed in later social and economic realities, there is every reason for both hope and despair. Genes do not present an ineradicable barrier, grounded in biochemistry, against easing conflicts or or harsh legal and social inequalities among individuals and groups; but the fatal and reciprocally stimulating engagement of private disorders, personal anxieties, fears, and frustrated hopes, with publicly sanctioned expressions for them, solidified in history, allowed by law, encouraged by communities for their various reasons, is not easily broken. These children have shown us both possibilities, of growth and of continuing affliction.

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January 4, 1965

Dr. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

Dear Bob:

Is there any possibility that you may be in Atlanta or reasonably nearby places during January? I am trying to develop some fairly comprehensive information about the Mississippi Freedom School and COFO in general and would like to get the benefit of your wisdom and insight.

I read after you with much admiration. My regards to Jane.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/p

File

January 8, 1965

Dear Pat,

Thank you for your Christmas card and for your letter.

I had hoped to be in Florida for a meeting in January, but I've just found out that the meeting is in early February and I can't go there then. All of which means that I will probably not be South until the Spring, when I'm to meet with some child psychiatrists in North Carolina.

I'm not sure that I have much "wisdom and insight" on COFO or the Freedom Schools. I've just finished a rough draft of a psychiatric report I'm giving on the Mississippi Project this spring. I'll send it to you in early February, when it should be done. I was with the Project in Ohio, and then in Mississippi. I came all too close to injury and worse in McComb in the early summer and by the time the end of the summer came I considered migrant farmers in New York and New England rather lucky people indeed.

Anything, I have to say on COFO I would probably qualify and worry about once said. I guess it is futile trying to write a letter about a subject like COFO.

I'm sending a couple of things you might be interested in seeing. The piece on the sit-in students was written <u>before</u> last summer. I'm not sure there isn't a bit of relevance to it now. Frustrated, overworked, sad and tired people often become very difficult and even bitter. I can't claim any special virtue for <u>that</u> radically new kind of discovery.

Happy New Year to you and Cecile.

Best wishes,
Bob

March 31, 1968

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your note on the Selma story. It's always surprising how articulate people can be.

Have just read your paper on the migrant workers. I am excited that we will be doing something with it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

Dr. Robert Coles
Harvard University Health
Services
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

File

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

March 23, 1965

Dear Pat,

Just a note to tell you that I found your piece in the Times on the Negro children of Selma excellent. You gave them a voice, caught their heart and spirit, and did it very sensitively.

Jane and I were quite moved.

Best regards,

Bob

H-54

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Rec'd 7/29/65

July 27, 1965

Sent to Press 8-25-65

Dear Leslie,

Thanks for your letter, and the really fine job you did of editing and putting together those two pieces on the migrants.

I have done as you suggested, polishing up here and there and adding statistics, a section on the so-called "bracero" problem (at least what I can honestly say about the migrant worker's attitudes toward "stoop labor") and then writing a conclusion. From what I've gathered I think this pamphlet will be of some help to a number of people in and out of government, as well as educational and health quarters.

returned to Research

I'm sending back the statistical sheets sent me, along with the copy of the migrant paper you requested for your files (I have no more copies of the NACFL report). Also I include the Mass. Review piece and another reprint of another article. I'm not sure I ever say anything new or revealing, but when I read those who claim to, I wonder how they manage to believe it.

Congratulations on your new job! I hadn't heard about it but was especially interested because the Field Foundation just gave a grant that will enable me to study Negro children in Boston being bused to a white school, and the reception they get—essentially work similar to what I did in the South, dealing with the "de facto" problem.

Finally, I wrote to Pat about his "Encounter" pamphlet. I hope he showed the letter to you. Frankly, I think it's the finest thing I've seen on the subject anywhere. That would include all the press stories, the articles in the magazines, and those books that flood us.

Well, my best regards to you. I expect it will be hard for you leaving the Council and Atlanta, but I think you are going to a real challenge and opportunity.

Sincerely,

Bob

September 27, 1965

Dear Bob:

Reese Cleghorn and I are developing material for a book on the Voter Education Project. This is a SRC project; the Council has a contract with Simon Schuster.

A major part of what is eventually written will be about the way the Negro community organizes itself, the ways of its leaders and followers. Do you have any ideas on the psychology of this organization, what is behind such characteristics as its spontaneity, its emotionalism and interest in ritual, the solidarity (as in willingness to help strangers without asking questions) on the one hand, the bickering and rivalry of leaders and organizations on the other, and of course the will to action and bravery against all the odds and despite all the disorganization (colored people's time, etc.).

And would you share your ideas with us -- either for attribution or as background, whichever is preferable to you? Your list, of course, of the characteristics above might be entirely different; we'd be interested in that, too.

Reese adds the following questions for whatever help you might give us:

1. Is there a kind of "minority syndrome" which attaches not only to Negroes in their attitude toward their own local leadership but also to other minority groups in their attitudes toward their local leadership? e.g., has the mere fact of inequality produced a feeling that local Negro leadershp is unsuccessful and thus in itself deprived that leadership of prestige in the community? Has the underdog state of the Negro community in itself contributed to greater petty

jealousy among local Negro leaders? (Success breeds success, etc. Maybe unsuccess breeds qualities that make for more unsuccess.)

2. How great a factor is fear of failure in preventing large numbers of Negroes from trying enterprises that actually might be successful, or even from going to fill out registration forms that are not familiar to them?

3. The Klan element has succeeded, somebody says in the VEP files, because its harassment and terrorizing not only serves the purpose immediately at hand -- such as keeping Negroes away from the registrar's office -- but also produces fear and intimidation sufficient to divide the Negro community, make members of it more distrustful of each other as well as outsiders, and make some of its members informers and turncoats, thus generally lowering morale. In other words, beyond what we usually think of as the effect of Klan-type harassment, is there a residual destructiveness of people themselves that will remain for many years -- a kind of sapping of them, on into the next generation, etc., long after the terrorizing has gone?

Thanks if you can help us with this, but don't (as I'm sure you won't) hesitate to say if this is imposing on you. It's just that we value your opinion so much, etc., etc.

The migrant workers piece is due from the printers this week, I think. We may hold off on releasing it until the New York Times gets to publishing again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Dr. M. Robert Coles
University Health Services
Harvard University
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

File

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES

75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

October 1, 1965

Dear Pat,

Thanks for your letter. I'm writing to say that what I'll do is try to dictate into a machine a few thoughts in reply to your letter and send them off next week or so. You can do what you want with them. Sometimes I feel I don't know anything, and at other times I figure I've had my little glance into one or another bits of "truth"— so who knows what to think.

Well, I'll sound off for a few minutes into one of those recording gadgets and have it "transcribed" and send it to you.

Senators Holland and Murphy are out to get the migrants, and I fear will do so. I suspect they'll get Wirtz out of the way, and squash any minimum wage coverage for them. I hope they both sleep well, and I hope somehow they both get the justice they deserve.

Best regards to you.

Sincerely,

Bob

October 5, 1965

Dear Bob:

Thanks. We'll be looking forward to the transcription -- or that is -- to your thoughts.

I'm enclosing a draft of a press release on the migrant study. If the pulling up of the angle involving importation of foreign labor bothers you, let me know. It kind of bothers me, but I have tried to do it without losing the main point of the study.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - 1.

Dr. M. Robert Coles
University Health Services
Harvard University
75 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

File with Coles mss

INTRODUCTION

Robert Coles

Before a child is born he has already lived a life; and when he is born he comes into more than the immediate world of his mother's arms. Not all pregnant women can take food and vitamins for granted, or a gynecologist to tell them they are indeed pregnant or an obstetrician to watch them and care for them and eventually deliver them a healthy son or daughter. For that matter, not all pregnant women can take for granted clean running water, or a home that is warm in winter and reasonably free of germ-bearing flies and mosquitoes in summer. Nor can some pregnant women or mothers forget about rats and cockroaches, or garbage that is ignored by local "authorities," or sewerage that is not adequately drained away. I am speaking now of American women, American mothers, and American children.

These pictures are American pictures -- just as I assume the sense of shame and sadness and compassion and honest indignation they will no doubt set in motion are also American emotions, naturally present in a nation founded in response to injustice and persecution. They happen to be pictures taken in rural Mississippi, and they

happen to be largely pictures that document the particularly awful fate of poor Negro families. From my work in other sections of this country I can unfortunately vouch for the more general significance of this stark, forceful and unsparing collection of photographs.

I believe that it would be hard for the most partisan defender of the "old order" to overlook the very specific nutritional and medical problems that afflict the South's rural families. With five other doctors I visited some of those families, and saw once again what I have observed and studied for many years, two of them spent in Mississippi. ¶ It seemed important to all of us that our medical eyes not be the only ones to witness the sights we encountered. It is one thing to listen to complaints, and record evidence of this or that; and it is one thing to write a report that summarizes medical observations. It is quite another thing to capture appearances, views, scenes -- the expressions on faces that reveal the worries and hurts of people trying to make do as best they can, under mean and harsh circumstances. Those writers -- like James Agee and George Orwell -- who have felt closest to the poor and tried hardest to describe what hunger and all sorts of other hardships "feel" like, have often given up in despair. They have not despaired out of inadequacy; they were good writers

and knew how to put "situations" into words. They despaired because they were honest enough to know their own limitations, as observers and as writers. So, it is no accident that Agee's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Orwell's The Road to Wigan Pier both contain photographs. The lives of our Southern tenant farmers or of British mine workers deserve honest, full comprehension; that is, any effort to convey what Agee calls human "actuality" will have to be done by brothers working together -- doctors and lawyers, writers and photographers, and in our time television producers, with their wide-ranging capacity to capture sight, sound and movement.

A published photograph, in contrast to a documentary -- written or done with a camera -- makes a condition available for permanent inspection. A doctor's report, no matter how well written and clinically rich, can only ask the effort of imagination. It is as if there are those sick, hungry, tired, ailing people "down there" in the Delta (or someplace else) and the doctors are saying: "We saw them, and they have this or that wrong with them, and we were horrified, and we want you to know what we saw, what horrified us." Likewise, a film is also a form of narrative. It is as if the sensitive television producer says: "Here is what is going on down there, and look at it, you viewers, in all its terrible

continuity." On the other hand a picture, and particularly a series of them, is something else -- perhaps a visual statement. One is asked to stop, and take particular thought. Agee and Orwell knew that in the midst of their flowing description of awful circumstances the reader had to have the "reality," the life-like coherence that photographs offer. Writers can convey the "inner-world," and articulate the sympathies of their readers; and doctors can indicate just how damaging the world can be to some of us. Yet, it is perhaps the photographer who best confronts us -- with what others look like, and where they live, and how they present themselves to the world, nearby and (through the camera) far away.

If any people deserve attention -- medical, photographic, nutritional, economic and political -- it is the people one sees in these pictures. All physicians (whether sent from the outside by a foundation, or long-standing residents of the area, or supporters of its "traditional" customs and beliefs) would have to agree, and in fact have agreed, that these people need help, need better food than they are getting, and better medical care, and better housing and more money, and more of -- well, just about everything that most of us can assume to be present and thus "forget" about. In these pictures one can see

the life-span of the poor, in all its frustrating, risky, unattractive and assaultive concreteness. In sum, it is a story of need and the absence of help. I suppose the one question those of us who read and look at this publication ought to ask is: how long must American citizens continue to endure such circumstances? Put a bit differently: is the kind of life shown here a suitable birth-right for any American child?

Finally, there is the matter of titles and arrangements. It seemed sensible and edifying to arrange these pictures with human growth in mind, and to suggest in a word or two the representative issues each picture or group of pictures suggests. Hunger, pain -- indeed, any medical complaint or symptom -- cannot be neatly and conveniently separated from the world, in this case a world of dismal shacks, absent or flawed plumbing, and persisting garbage. Children not only grow phyiscally and incur one or another disease; they also learn to live with what is around them. When we went to visit some of the people who appear in these photographs we tried to let our eyes wander from the sores or scars, the lumps or swellings we saw. We view the doctor's job as a broad one, as much concerned with the hazards of debris, contaminated water, or poorly heated, over-crowded houses as with specific illnesses

or signs of illness. We also view life as something that is by no means fixed. Without intending to do so, the photographer who took these pictures has shown us infants, children, youths, parents and grandparents. Yes, many of them are "sick," and need medicines, surgery, whatever. All of them, however, are still alive, still capable of responding to anything better that just might come along. In that sense, these pictures offer both hope and extreme despair. They are people who are there and waiting, but whether in vain or not is the haunting question.

CAPTIONS

When a doctor sees a child who is sick he may well be seeing the last stage in a process. That is, a disease may be the final confrontation between a littered, chaotic, deteriorated, contaminated, unsanitary and in fact poisonous "outside" world and the child's body, his "inner" world of growing but needy and vulnerable blood vessels, muscles, bones, vital organs and skin.

(Photographs 1-4)
The trash and waste around a child's home are not inert; They harbor germs, flies and rats.

(5-6)
Stagnant water also encourages germ-bearing flies and mosquitoes.

(7-11)
The child is lucky if his home has electricity (7), and available water (8-11). But electricity can only go so far in easing a burden in a rural shack, and water can be "available" and "running" but not safe or in any way convenient.

(12-13)

The child is lucky if he can take a bathroom for granted -- its water, its year-round protection.

(14-21)

Yet, a child has to take what he gets -- and as a result live or die. He learns about God (14), and he learns about Man (15), and what Man has come to call the "environment" (16). He slowly (17) begins (18), to learn which home is <u>his</u> (19).... and which homes belong to others (20-21).

(22-23)

And he learns about food -- whether it comes from a supermarket, or a nearby pig (22) or in the form of commodities, emergency supplies from the government (23).

(24-26)

At birth the child is already a "medical statistic," among other things. He is delivered in a hospital by a doctor and pronounced healthy, or he is delivered at home (24) and afflicted with defects -- an umbilical hernia (25), or a persistant, gastro-intestinal complaint (26).

(27-30)

As he grows, the child becomes alert and responsive, or he learns to be fearful and suspicious, to sleep a lot, even when picked up and held (27), and when awake to be fretful and unsmiling.

He or she may have a scalp infection (28) or a skin disease (29) or a hair-lip (30) that seems one of many "out-of-order" things around.

(31-36)

Children, of course, cling to their parents. A mother and father <u>are</u> the child's world. The child may be hungry (31), or in pain. (32); with her mother (33-34), or his grandmother (35) or his father (36), he has at least all the protection he has come to find possible.

(37-39)

Parents feed children, sometimes regularly and well, sometimes unpredictably, with a piece of bread and a frankfort (37, 38), or better, an apple (39).

(40-50)

Parents can't always feed their children well, though; and the children's appearance and "health" testifies to that fact. It does not take a doctor to see a child who needs medical and surgical help. (40-50)
The doctor can direct his attention to the child's skin, his belly, his scarred or twisted limbs, his dazed or confused look. The "ordinary" observer can see the same, grim truth for himself -- and does not require medical terminology for "confirmation."

(51-64)

No matter how poor and hungry, children cling tenaciously to whatever life, whatever "community" they have found as a birthright. They huddle together.(51-57), or they go off by themselves -- figuratively, with a look (58, 59), or literally (60-64).

(65-75)

Eventually, they grow up -- and whatever they have suffered and lacked and missed becomes all too relentlessly obvious. One can see their skin (65, 66). One can see swollen glands or nodules (67), or a goiter (68). One can see retardation that has never been challenged or given its own dignity.(69). One can see the feet (70-73), or one can see the teeth (74-76).

(77, 78)

And in those who do survive, who live out a reasonably long if hard and uncertain life, once can see those final moments--of stoic endurance, such as William Faulkner described (77), and tried to comprehend (78).

(79, 80)

It is also possible to find old men who are puzzled, but stubbornly determined to keep trying (79), and old women who do their best each day, with meal after meal (80).

(81-86)

There are sick and tired ones, also (81-83). It is, perhaps, better not to get too close to them. Their faces, their eyes, tell a thousand dreary, awful, "everyday" stories.(84-86).

(87-95)

Finally, it must be said that poverty, hunger and disease cross the color line with ease. In Mississippi (and elsewhere) white families as well as Negro ones know what it is to live in flimsy shacks and have little to call their own.(87-89). They also deserve our closest scrutiny (90,91). The closer we look, the more devastated we find them, and their Negro brothers.(92-95).

PHOTO KEY

1. A-68
2. A-20
3. A-38
4. A-33
5. A-81

6. A-74
7. A-66
8. A-24
9. A-52
10. A-83

11. A-60
12. A-59
13. A-86
14. A-11
15. A-65

16. A-58
17. A-39
18. A-53
19. A-49
20. A-17

21. A-50
22. A-57
23. A-87
24. A-14
25. A-16

26. A-69
27. A-21
28. A-31
29. A-84
30. A-85

31. A-54
32. A-8
33. A-72
34. A-77
35. A-28

36. A-63
37. A-41
38. A-48
39. A-56
40. A-79

41. A-4
42. A-30
43. A-27
44. A-18
45. A-51

46. A-73
47. A-80
48. A-75
49. A-44
50. A-5

51. A-36
52. A-34
53. A-35
54. A-55
55. A-94

56. A-32
57. A-43
58. A-47
59. A-26
60. A-64

61. A-20
62. A-70
63. A-12
64. A-46
65. A-6

66. A-10
67. A-91
68. A-45
69. A-13
70. A-82

71. A-67
72. A-1
73. A-78
74. A-42
75. A-71

76. A-76
77. A-62
78. A-29
79. A-9
80. A-7

81. A-22
82. A-88
83. A-92
84. A-23
85. A-89

86. A-19
87. A-95
88. A-40
89. A-37
90. A-15

91. A-25
92. A-61
93. A-93
94. A-2
95. A-3

STILL HUNGRY IN AMERICA

Robert Coles

Before a child is born he has already lived a life; and when he is born he comes into more than the immediate world of his mother's arms. Not all pregnant women can take food and vitamins for granted, or a gynecologist to tell them they are indeed pregnant or an obstetrician to watch them and care for them and eventually deliver them a healthy son or daughter. For that matter, not all pregnant women can take for granted clean running water, or a home that is warm in winter and reasonably free of germ-bearing flies and mosquitoes in summer. Nor can some pregnant women forget about rats and cockroaches, or garbage that is ignored by local "authorities," or sewerage that is not adequately drained away. I am speaking now of American women, American mothers, American children.

These pictures are American pictures -- just as I assume the sense of shame and sadness and compassion and honest indignation the pictures may set in motion are American emotions, naturally present in a nation founded in response to injustice and persecution. They happen to be pictures taken in rural Mississippi, in Appalachia, and in a great urban center, too --

Atlanta, Georgia; and they happen to document the particularly awful fate of poor Southern and poor Appalachian families. From my work in other sections of this country I can unfortunately vouch for the more general significance of this stark, forceful and unsparing collection of photographs.

I believe that it would be hard for the most partisan defender of the "old order" to overlook the very specific nutritional and medical problems that afflict hundreds of thousands of American families -- in 1968, when our Gross National Product edges toward something almost incomprehensible (and extraordinary and vastly influential) called a trillion dollars. It is important to all of us that not only medical eyes (though they, too, wherever they are) witness the sights Mr. Clayton has recorded for this book. It is one thing for a doctor to listen to complaints, to record evidence of this or that; and it is one thing for him to write a report that summarizes his medical observations. It is quite another thing to capture appearances, views, scenes -- the expressions on faces that reveal the worries and hurts of people trying to make do as best they can, under mean and harsh circumstances. Those writers -- like James Agee and George Orwell -- who have felt closest to the poor and tried hardest to describe what hunger and all sorts of other hardships

"feel" like, have often given up in despair. They have not despaired out of a particular professional inadequacy; they were good writers and knew how to put "situations" into words. They despaired because they were honest enough to know their own limitations as observers. So it is no accident that Agee's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Orwell's The Road to Wigan Pier both contain photographs. The lives of our Southern tenant farmers or of British mine workers deserve honest, full comprehension; that is, any effort to convey what Agee calls human "actuality" will have to be done by brothers working together -- doctors and lawyers, writers and photographers, and in our time television producers, with their wide-ranging capacity to capture sight, sound and movement.

A published photograph, in contrast to a documentary -- written or done with a camera -- makes a condition available for permanent inspection. A doctor's report, no matter how well written and clinically rich, can only ask the effort of imagination. It is as if there are those sick, hungry, tired, ailing people "down there" in the Delta and "up there" in the Appalachian mountains (or someplace else) and the doctor is saying: "I saw them, and they have this or that wrong with them, and I was horrified, and I want you to know what I saw,

what horrified me." Likewise, a film is a form of narrative. It is as if the sensitive television producer says: "Here is what is going on down there, and look at it, you viewers, in all its terrible continuity." On the other hand a picture, and particularly a series of them, is something else -- perhaps a visual statement. One is asked to stop, and take particular thought. Agee and Orwell knew that in the midst of their flowing descriptions of awful circumstances the reader had to have the static "reality," the life-like coherence that photographs offer. Writers can convey the "inner-world," and articulate the sympathies of their readers; and doctors can indicate just how damaging the world can be to some of us. Yet it is the photographer who really confronts us -- confronts us mercilessly with what others look like, and where they live, and how they present themselves to the world, nearby and (through the camera) far away.

If any people deserve attention -- medical, photographic, nutritional, economic and political -- it is the people one sees in these pictures. All physicians (whether come from the outside to do research, or longstanding residents of the several areas in which Mr. Clayton has worked) would have to agree, and in fact have agreed, that these Americans need help, need better

food than they are getting, and better medical care, and better housing and more money, and more of -- well, just about everything that most of us can assume to be present and thus "forget" about. In a sense, these pictures reveal how need can become a permanent condition, a frustrating, dangerous, unattractive and assaultive condition.

These pictures also reveal what happens to the life-span of the poor, to the birth-right of American children, to the growth -- physical, psychological, spiritual -- that might have occurred in millions of our fellow citizens. Hunger, pain -- indeed, any medical complaint or symptom -- cannot be neatly and conveniently separated from the world, in this case a world of dismal shacks, absent or flawed plumbing, and persisting garbage. Children not only grow physically and incur one or another disease; they also learn to live with what is around them. In my work with people very much like the people who appear in these photographs, I have to remember to let my eyes wander from the sores or scars, the lumps or swelling I see every day. Mountains of debris, contaminated water, faulty diets, poorly heated, over-crowded houses -- all of that and more sets the stage for what in bacteriology I learned to call the "invasions" of bacteria, viruses and parasites. Still,

they live: the infants, children, youths, parents, grandparents and even great-grandparents who appear in this book. They live in spite of "invasions," in spite of hunger, in spite of illness, in spite of weariness, in spite of everything these pictures show -- and more, too. Alive, these people might, could, would respond to anything better that may (but very well may not) come along. These pictures, then, offer us a mixed kind of spectacle, a terribly shameful, unsettling and edifying view of the extreme distress and the redemptive possibilities that continue to exist, side-by-side, in the very same people, our people.

How, in fact, ought one look at the lives of the people Mr. Clayton has photographed? He has taken pictures, and now we "get the picture," awful and disheartening as it is. What is there to <u>say</u>? I sometimes wonder what indeed there is to say about the tenant farmers I know, or the children of the ghetto I am now getting to know. Sometimes, when I sit down to write up the life -- the life-history and often enough the case-history -- of one or another man or woman I've been talking with, the task seems hopeless. There is so much to write down, and several of the snap-shots my wife and I have taken seem to more than do it: everything, just about everything I would

want to say seems <u>there</u>, in those "Kodachromes," waiting for those "least-bit" sympathetic eyes. And from a sharecropper's wife in Alabama I once heard my doubts more than confirmed:

> People don't know what they don't see, I guess. There's no other way of explaining it, not that I can see. Out of sight, out of mind. You can't go <u>telling</u> them anything. No sir, I don't believe you can. They're used to shutting their eyes on you, but if you get them to stop and take a look around, then if they're the least-bit partial to begin with, well they'll possibly come over to your side.

Actually what life was left in her had somehow sought out her eyes. They were like the eyes that stare out of the pages of this book. They were, that is, full of urgency, of demands. They appealed to one, but not because they were pretty or fetching -- that kind of "appealing." Rather, they begged, and conveyed open alarm. They were, after all, eyes that belonged to a woman who could also say this:

> From day to day I think to myself that God will stop it. I think He'll come down here and say something that will make it different hereabouts. He'll tell the people that they should stop doing like they do to one another, and they should hear His Word, and go do likewise. But until He comes, I'm afraid we're going to die all the time, way before it's time. I've lost three before they were

> even born. I've lost two before they were a year. I've lost two old enough -- I thought -- to live, to be full grown, the same as me and their father did. Yes, I've got me the six here who are still living, but let me tell you, I can never wake up in the morning without wondering whether we'll make it, one of us or all of us, until sundown. And that's the truth.

So, in one breath she can hope for the outsider's compassionate vision, and in the next she can pray for His Word, and go on to speak her own, to tell and tell and tell. And I think there are things to be told; I suppose they are things that bring a series of pictures like these all that closer to her "truth." The viewer wonders, for instance, what it means for people to live as that woman does, as this book's "subjects" do. (See how ordinary words fail, invoke unintended ironies, and indicate in their own occasional way the distance between "us" -- willing photographic "subjects" -- and "them.") The viewer wonders how "those people" manage, what they feel, how they put together the separate scenes a photographer captures into the continuity of weeks, months, years. The viewer even wonders about speech, about how desperation finds its way into words, phrases, statements, unheard or unrecorded outcries. Again from our sharecropper's wife: "They have deaf ears over in the county seat; but if only they would come near, I would

see that they wouldn't turn their eyes away." So she spoke -- and when I look at her photograph I can hear her words.

As a matter of fact, when I listen to her on one of my tapes I find myself in disagreement with her. Those men in the county seat, those "big men," know somewhere "inside" or "deep down" that her "ordinary," untutored, illerate voice is much more than they could bear to hear. Yes, the sight of her cabin might make them blink and gawk, but they would quickly move out and on. They have. If only somehow they would stay and listen -- she hopes for that day, perhaps more vainly than she can bear to realize. By offering one picture after another, Mr. Clayton is suggesting we do more than glance, we look as she would like our eyes to look; and by describing what I have seen and heard in my work I am trying to do the same thing, to fasten down our attention -- before we once again take flight, take refuge in our own important lives. To quote once again and for the last time that wife of that particular sharecropper:

> Do you do anything with those records you get out of that machine? I don't mean to be disrespectful, no sir. I just mean, well my son James, he was asking if you went home and played us, like we was on the radio, you know. The same with the pictures. He said what do they do with them? Do a lot of other people see them, or do they keep hold of them to themselves? I said they goes to

> a college, maybe, and shows them around,
> and maybe they'll do something as a result,
> though to be honest I'm not sure what. I
> mean, people like you -- I told my son
> that -- they're not the ones who makes it
> bad for us anyway. So probably there isn't
> anything you can do to make it better. But
> James, well, he watches the cowboys and Indians,
> and he said no, that it wasn't so bad we
> couldn't win somehow -- because a lot of times
> if the good people really stick to their guns,
> they win, but if they don't, then they lose,
> because they weren't paying attention, or
> they just lost their nerves or something.
> And the boss man, his nerves are always good,
> yes sir. He just watches and he never shakes
> or loses his voice, no sir -- not like us.

To move from our "nerves," as sympathizers or well-wishers or bosses, to the nerves and muscles and bones of the people whom this book makes visible, we had best look at the first pictures, the ones <u>without</u> people, and consider in an unpleasantly detailed way what such an "environment" (as it is <u>not</u> called by anyone who appears on these pages) does to anyone, and particularly to children. Perhaps for a moment these pictures will persuade us to imagine what it means for a child to discover a rural shack or ghetto tenement and then assume the discovered to be the fated or even ordained. Nor am I speaking only of the so-called "environment," the "outside" world. In the womb a child either gets the vitamins and

proteins he needs or he doesn't. In the womb he either prospers and grows by incredible leaps or he responds to his mother's troubles, to the sickness she has and continues to have, to the hunger she feels and continues to feel, to the exhaustion that never leaves her. Picture not only what is shown here, but the days that follow one another for a pregnant woman. She sees the land being stripped and plundered for coal, but fortunately the child inside her is spared that. She sees a dreary shack and its littered, unsanitary "outsides," but again no "fetus," no new-born child has to know about all that. There comes a time, though when each of us wants to eat, when we have to eat or die; and an infant without "knowing" it, needs certain kinds of food even more desperately than the rest of us, and so does an infant's mother. It is in the kitchen that an abstraction called the "environment" becomes <u>everything</u> for a child -- whether unborn or born. Any doctor knows that -- but many people don't see any doctor. For the most part these people surely don't. If one of them is a mother and wonders whether she is pregnant she does not get her answer by taking a test. No one weighs her. No one asks whether there is any history of diabetes or hypertension or kidney disease in her family. No one takes pains to find out

how her other children have managed if any were born -- whether one or another congenital or hereditary disease has appeared in them. No one prescribes vitamin pills (with fluorides added) and no one recommends a particular diet, high in protein, low in fats and carbohydrates. And no one sits down with her and tells her that he, the doctor, will be there -- to see her from month to month, then from week to week, and finally to wrest from her -- amid pain and blood and always, danger -- a living breathing child, a new beginning who, as I've heard obstetricians say again and again, "may be President of the United States." Even the most tired and essentially fatuous clichés can indicate the presence of hope, of some chance that some set of possibilities will become -- later on -- a life's very real and substantial achievement.

At least the womb protects not only the child -- almost exploding with growth -- but the mother, who does not have to see and hear what her own hunger or sadness or rage do to the infant for whom she is the "environment." We physicians now know -- because we finally have taken the trouble to watch and watch -- how quickly a new-born child accommodates himself to his mother, picks up her moods, responds to the quality and quantity of her care. We know that right off, in the first

days of life, an infant senses and reacts as if things are going well, or picks up how badly it all goes -- and yes, acts accordingly. All babies cry, but some scream endlessly and piercingly out of aching hunger and because they are left to themselves -- by mothers who cannot bear even to look at them or hold them for very long. An infant, after all, is a reminder; he or she is the occasion for a mother's realization, once again, that she, a woman, enables us all to persist, to see the future unfold in its most intimate and concrete form, childhood. Or an infant can prompt its mother to think of something else: it is all too much, too baffling, too frustrating, too awful even to contemplate -- so away with him or her, whom I carried, whom I felt moving and kicking inside me, whom I now hear shrieking, see thrashing about, moving and kicking oh so restlessly out of a specific and unyielding hunger.

The rest of us, who have lived through the occasional, uncomfortable fears of our "colicky" infants have only to hear the pediatrician's words to feel reassured: it will pass; it is a stage; most children go through this; don't worry; we don't know what causes it; there isn't much of anything you can do; it is not your fault. Here, in contrast, is what any

of the mothers in these pictures might have said, and repeated in the presence of, in memory of, each child:

> I love to know I'm going to have one -- when the period stops. I tell my husband I'm not coming around, and then after a while I know it's for real. You can feel everything in there growing, and it is good, yes it is. The time I worry is later, because it's a question of whether we can get into a hospital or not. Some don't try. They've been turned away, or they believe they will. But I've gone down there, and I tell them I live in the county, and please can't my child just be born there in the hospital, and I'll go home the same day, or the next, if that's what they want. And twice they've been good to me and let me stay, and the other times I've had to go. It's up to the nurse; she runs the place. She has that doctor in her pocket. If she's in a good humor, she'll let you see him, and if not, well she tells you that hospitals take money to run, and why don't we quit begging. Now if you're real sick, I think maybe they're <u>supposed</u> to take you, and to deliver you also -- they're supposed to.
>
> But as I say, they either do or they don't, and you never know when you're walking up the stairs if you'll be walking back down again in five minutes, bleeding or not. One time I fainted and my husband, he had to drag me out, and he said the nurse, she told him I was faking, putting on some kind of act to scare her, and it wouldn't work. "You niggers sure must think we're dumb, falling for that. Go faint someplace else." That's what I heard later that she said. But there are good people, too -- you know. Once my husband took me all the way to Birmingham, and they were

real nice there. They told me I'd been a bad girl, and I hadn't taken care of myself much at all. They told me I had swollen ankles, and why did I put all that salt on my food, and did I know it was hurting me, and my baby, too. They told me I wasn't eating right. They could tell even before they took their tests, and didn't I know that I was going to have a baby, and he needed to eat, and even if I didn't care much about myself, I should think of him. Lord, they scolded me; but let me tell you, they were real good to me. They started in, and they took the blood, and had me give them some of my water to test, and they measured my blood pressure and listened to me all over. They said my heart was making funny noises, bad ones, but thank God the baby, he sounded all right in there, because they listened to him, too. And they sent me right on upstairs. They didn't ask me a single question, I mean whether I had a dollar to my name. They said I was sick, and I should get better, and that was all they cared about. And it was near time for me to deliver, so they did everything. I mean they got rid of the water and I lost weight. They said if I didn't we'd both die, the baby and me, especially the baby, so I was lucky to come there. I near died, eating their food, I'll admit. We're just not used to having a lot of it, but with no salt. It tasted funny, and a lot of the stuff -- well, I'd just never seen it before -- them pieces of meat with hardly no fat and milk all the time and they'd give you puddings and things like that, to build up your bones or something, they said.

They say Birmingham is a mean town, a real mean town. That's what I used to hear as a girl; but I tell everyone it's not so. I mean, it doesn't have to be. At least it wasn't for me, that one time. Of course the next time we came there, with my girl Rachel in me, they were just like around here. The man at the desk -- he

> wasn't no doctor or anything, I could tell -- he told me to turn myself around and go right back where I came from. Then I tried to explain to him what was the case, and that I had a record there, but he didn't want to listen. He told me that I'd better watch my step. And he said they didn't have room for any more people on the "nigger ward," and if I got in last time, well I was lucky. My husband was getting ready to say something else when the man reached for the phone -- and well, we both didn't say a word more. We turned about real fast and walked out. All the way home I thought they might be following us, and we wouldn't hear the end of it; but they never did, and we were happy you know, after all that, to have Mrs. Thomas come along and deliver me, like before. I tried to stop with the salt, like I remembered I should and maybe that helped, because Rachel was born a real good child, yelling and screeching she did. But then she died, a few months later. Yes sir, she did.

Why did Rachel die? I asked Rachel's mother, and she didn't know. I went to see Mrs. Thomas, a good mid-wife, not because she was "trained" but because she is intelligent and capable and has learned over the years (on her own) to deliver children adroitly, quickly and confidently. She didn't know either, but she had no inclination to let my earnest, self-righteous, thoughtful, fair-minded inquiry go unchallenged. I went to her rather as a colleague, a woman who knows a lot about people who constantly protest how puzzled they are, how much they don't know. "I don't know" was Rachel's mother's

reply, and I said to myself that maybe she doesn't, or maybe she does -- but Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Thomas will say more. She isn't so frightened, or slyly noncommittal. She has dealt with the white man. She is a leader. She is even an ally, an ally of the doctors whose concerns belong above, beyond, outside (take your choice) political or racial issues.

> I don't know. Don't you know? I mean, you're the doctor. I have my ideas, and once I tried to tell them to a doctor we have around here, and what do you think he had to say. Why, he told me that I would be getting myself into a lot of trouble, if I didn't watch myself and stop coming out with ideas like that. He said I'd best stay with the deliveries, and not go following those children into their old age, because if I did -- well, that wouldn't be like a mid-wife should, it would be civil-rights work. And since to be a mid-wife wasn't legal, except if he and the sheriff said so -- well, that's all.

We continued. I prodded her. She became in succession more polite and guarded, annoyed, forthright and rapidly thereafter, angry at the likes of me, scornful of all my sincerity, my unrelenting (medical, liberal) piety, and most of all my cautious, judicious, scientific interest in facts, in pinning down her "thoughts" and gathering something called "evidence." The more I tried to be considerate, or "understanding" or what-

ever, the more she seemed almost appalled at me.

> I know you're looking to find out what's going on, but we can't give you what you want, because it's so bad here, we don't even pay much attention any more. It's not that we don't care, it's just that you know it happens all the time, and there's nothing you can do, and nothing anybody else wants to do. The mothers, they say to me when I show them the baby: "Mrs. Thomas, what do you think? Will he live long? Mrs. Thomas, what do you think? Will he make it?" You know what they mean? You can't, I don't believe you can. They're not asking me anything. They're telling me something. They're saying -- they say it all the time -- that they keep on trying, keep on bringing those babies into the world, around here, and they have to -- because chances are most of them will die, be they in good health at birth or not, they will. That's what the mothers know, and that's what even the children know, once they get old enough to know anything. You can hear them telling one another about how this one died, and that one, and on and on. That's one thing a little boy or girl around here knows before he gets to school, if he ever does get to school. He knows he's alive. Do the children you treat up there in the North, do they stop and think they're alive? Down here that's one of the luckiest things ever, to stay alive -- yes it is. My mother used to tell me that when I complained, and when I "belly-ached," she called it (I was hungry, you know) and when I cried and when I asked her those questions, as kids do, the ones about why was it like this, and why do we have to take it, and why do some have all they want and more, and we have nothing, a lot of nothing, more than we knew what to

> do with, let me tell you. Well, my momma would tell me to stop, and to be grateful that I was alive to ask her all those questions.
>
> Now Rachel, she died. She just died. There's no doctor hereabouts to save her, to look at her, to do something for her; so, how could there be one to find out what happened to her, and why she died. How could there be? But if you want my guess, I'll tell you, and then you can go figure out how wrong I am. To me it must have been a bad cold or something, and with a weak body, you know, well that's all it takes. I mean, she wasn't getting much food, and probably her mother's milk gave out, and when that happens -- well, that's the protection God gives, even to us He does, and when that's gone, there's nothing left to take its place, nothing but luck. By luck I mean if you escape the germs, and if we don't have a harsh winter and freeze to death, and if God wrote down that this child, he just has to stay around, he has to or there won't be anyone of them left. I doubt a lot of things about religion, these days I do, but I don't doubt what my grandma used to say -- that some little babies, they're going to survive, come anything they're going to, because it's God's will that a few of us stay, and even the Klan, they can't scare Him. They claims Him, you know; but I don't believe He pays them much attention.

There was much more, a mixture I thought of shrewd, accurate observations and unconcealed cries of one sort or another. She was alone; the families she worked with never went to doctors, for reasons of childbirth or anything else. She was tired. She

knew enough to feel cheated rather than fatalistic, angry rather than compliant. Yet, every day to survive she had to comply -- and so my presence was doubly provocative. I stood for the oppressor, and yet I urged honesty and candor on her -- very nice and helpful for me, and for her a terrible thing. The fact that my questions were medical ones, made her even more uncomfortable and (I came to see) nervous and guilty -- of all ironies, guilty:

> I wonder sometimes if I shouldn't be doing more. Yes, sir, I say to myself isn't there something I could do to save a few Rachels, just a few of them. I ask my husband, but he knows that it's me who knows, and we both know that the answer is no. But then I catch myself saying that maybe if I gave some of our food to them, and reminded them to boil the water all the time, and clean up as best they can, even with all the rest they have to do. Then I'll say that it's no good, trying to contradict things around here. Either the whole business changes and a girl like Rachel can live, or a person like me is wasting his time trying to do what he can't do. I'm here to deliver the kids, one after the other. If I stop doing that, and try to save them all the rest of their life -- it just can't be done, not by a mid-wife like this here Mrs. Thomas.

As a clinical investigator, then, I have to conclude rather stiffly that we'll never know exactly what caused Rachel's death --

what "took" Rachel. Eventually I did persuade Rachel's mother to describe the death, and as I looked and stared at these pictures, not only the ones showing children but the first few, I thought of what I once heard:

> She was doing fine, real fine. I thought she was going to be fine, too. I did. There wasn't a thing wrong with her, and suddenly she was in real trouble, bad trouble, yes sir she was. She started coughing, like her throat was hurting, and I thought she must be catching a cold or something. I thought I'd better go get her some water, but it wasn't easy, because there were the other kids, and it's far away to go. So I sent my husband when he came home, and I tried to hold her, and I sang and sang, and it helped. But she got real hot, and she was sleepy all right, but I knew it wasn't good, no sir. I'd rather hear her cry, that's what I kept saying. My boy, he know it too. He said, "Ma, she's real quiet, isn't she?" Then I started praying, and I thought maybe it'll go the way it came, real fast, and by morning there won't be anything but Rachel feeling a little tired, that's all. We got the water to her, and I tried to get her to take something, a little cereal, like she was doing all along. I didn't have any more milk -- maybe that's how it started. And I had a can of tomato juice, that we had in case of real trouble, and I opened it and tried to get it down her. But she'd throw it all back at me, and I gave up, to tell the truth. I figured, it was best to let her rest, and then she could fight back with all the strength she had, and as I said, maybe by the morning she'd be the winner, and then I could go get a

> bottle of milk from my boss man and we could really care for her real good, until she'd be back to her self again. But it got worse, I guess, and by morning she was so bad there was nothing she'd take, and hot all over, she was hot all over. And then she went, all of a sudden. There was no more breathing, and it must have been around noon by the light.

Doctors like me talk about the high "infant mortality" rate that continues to be recorded in countries where girls like Rachel are born, where the people Mr. Clayton has photographed live. (America, the world's richest, mightiest nation, has an infant mortality rate that is higher than that of ten other nations.) Why do these American children die so young? Why do other Americans live only to accumulate one disease after another? I suppose that we have to ask those questions and answer them very precisely, Mrs. Thomas and her common sense and her straightforward indignation notwithstanding. We want to know, know precisely and specifically. It is our "right" to know. Among other possessions we have that right.

All right then: from the moment of conception the hazards and burdens and risks and dangers begin to accumulate. A pregnant woman has special needs. She needs, the child inside her needs, vitamins and minerals. She needs protection against

diseases like measles -- which in its brief and apparently harmless course can hopelessly damage the growing fetus. She needs protection against other diseases, too -- against diseases that occur in childbearing women and affect the heart, the kidneys, and of course the baby yet unborn. And of course, she often needs rest, particularly in the first weeks, when spontaneous abortions occur, or in the last weeks when the entire body has to work harder to keep two people alive.

What does a woman like Rachel's mother get, though? Does a doctor see her and talk with her and watch over her during those fateful nine months? Does he examine her in the beginning and follow her along and then deliver her of child? "If we're real lucky we gets in about an hour before, and they'll help you, like Mrs. Thomas does -- only you can tell your child he was born in the hospital, yes sir, like a lot of other children, I guess ... but not many around here." I suppose we all have to fall back on symbols of prestige now and then.

Nearly every day - like thousands of other doctors -- I receive samples from drug companies. Recently one came that was specially designed for "nutritional supplementation." It had vitamin B_1 and vitamin B_2 and vitamin B_6 and vitamin B_{12}. It had niacin and calcium and folic acid. It had vitamin C.

It is meant to help, among others, pregnant women. It is meant to help well-fed, well-clothed women during a period of special stress. It is meant for doctors -- who prescribe what is "best" for their patients. A high-protein diet may be fine, but there is no point in taking chances, not when the issue is the welfare of the next generation.

Obviously the women shown here aren't going to get the Berocca tablets that Roche Laboratories sent me. Nor will they even hear a high protein diet recommended, let alone receive one. If they start bleeding early in pregnancy they will go about their work. They will take care of the children they already have. They will go work in the boss man's house, and take care of his, too. Or they might work in the fields. Even with mechanization, there is often room for field hands at the height of harvest time. Whatever it is they do, there is always water to be carried, clothes to be begged, bought -- yes, and sometimes stolen:

> The last time I worked for the missus almost up to birth-time. She says I cook better than anyone else and she said it was good for me to be coming over, because it took my mind away from worrying. Well, I didn't tell her no, because if I did, that would be the end of my job, and then I really <u>would</u> worry. Instead I stayed, and I had my lunch there

all the week, and that's good, and I'll be honest and tell you that I got me a few things to wear -- for the kids, not me. No, I'd never take anything for myself, but she has all those clothes, and she just keeps them. Her kids are grown, all full grown, but she keeps their clothes, two bureaus all packed. She never looks there, so I just took a couple of little suits. Yes, I did, and there they are, being worn. And I never told her, even when she paid me, when I almost did, but I didn't.

I gets my ten dollars from her every week, and that's all that keeps us from starving to death. And thank God there's my momma. She's pretty old, yes, but she takes care of my kids and she cooks for my husband while I'm cooking for the missus. He's not good, my husband, no sir. He's sick. He got hurt on his way to work. He was in a truck, with the others; they was driving the men to the fields. And suddenly there was an accident. Well, ever since then it's been even harder on us than before. They say he's all better, but I can't see how it can be true, because his leg hurts him and his back and his head -- he gets dizzy spells. The doctor come once after he got out of the hospital -- they thought he might die -- and he said we should forget about the accident and go back to normal. So he did, and tried to work. But the boss man, he come around and said we could all stay here in the cabin, but he didn't want any of us, not one, because he had the machines coming in. And why didn't we go North, that's what he asked. He said there isn't anything here any more for the colored man, and why don't we all go up North. I thought to myself

> then that he'd be sorry. I mean his wife would be, if we did, because there'd be no one like me cooking in their kitchen.

Her "missus" took her over to the county hospital to deliver a fourth child. An hour after they arrived there the little girl was born. The baby's mother had worked to the very end. Had no "missus" vouched for her, interceded for her, the cook might well have been refused at the hospital -- which has a very small section for Negroes "who can afford to pay," as the "missus" herself put it when I talked with her. As for the cook, here is how she put it:

> Down here they may tell you on paper that I can go anyplace and see a doctor, if it's something real bad, but even my missus, she'll admit that if a white man vouches for you, it's o.k., and if you're a plain old nigger -- well, it depends on what they want to do, the hospital people.

She has had convulsions in the past, as do thousands of pregnant women who suffer from eclampsia, from toxemia of pregnancy -- a disease that strikes the rich as well as the poor. Yet, much can be done to make eclampsia relatively harmless. Diets can be changed, salt restricted, if necessary a variety of drugs given. Women like this one, however, who cook for

others and have to leave behind their own children, have no such medical luck. For them it is a matter -- to use the words I hear again and again -- of "prayer," of "waiting and hoping," of "seeing what will happen," of "relying on the next day when it will get better" or alternatively, of "preparing for tomorrow when the worst will come." In psychiatry we use a word called "passive" to describe a certain psychological quality -- to describe the kind of person who does not act, but is acted upon, who does not initiate things but rather waits for them to happen, who yields and submits and does the "taking" in the "give and take" of life. I fear that there are still other dimensions to human "passivity," medical and social dimensions that seem harder to deal with than the most intractable psychological symptoms.

When a child is successfully delivered he and his mother have survived a long, drawn-out crisis and a brief, dramatic one. Even under the best of circumstances women go through serious pain when they deliver a child; and there are a thousand complications or possible disasters to avoid. The child can become permanently injured by a prolonged delivery. He can emerge retarded, paralyzed, desperately sick. His mother can be seriously weakened. She may lose a lot of blood -- and if

she is anemic to begin with, that can be not only a serious but a fatal event. She may become infected, feverish, endangered by a "local" difficulty that has become a "systemic" one, that is spread all over the body.

Or -- miraculously it seems to the doctor, who knows all that can, that might, that often does go wrong -- she and her children may do quite well, up in a hollow or in a sharecropper's cabin near the Mississippi River. They may not "come home," but <u>be</u> home, and in spite of all the medical care and attention they did not receive, they may surprise everyone (including their husbands and neighbors) by their "victory" -- that is the word I heard a mountain woman use. For those of us inclined to discredit much of today's knowledge or wealth as unnecessary and even immoral, weakening and corrupting, I can only offer portions of her remarks, easily used perhaps for "support" of such a "position," or "philosophy" or whatever:

> You have your boy or your girl up here, and you feel like you've cut your way through the woods, sort of like we used to, I mean our forebears did. You're pretty much alone, and it's your doing. From what I hear on the radio, well they make so much of having their babies up there in the cities. Around here, you don't have your doctor to go see, and if you go to the hospital, that's only for a day or two,

> and you're out. A lot of us don't even do that, you know. There are the nurses who come help you, and me, I'd rather go through my pain here at home -- anyway, it's so far, so real far to go to a hospital. Who can do it, and not end up having her baby on the road? When I feel the pains coming I tell my husband to stand by me, and we send for my sister, and she can always deliver me, and I can her -- but she goes and tries to get a nurse from over the other side of the county, if she's able to come. But if she doesn't, I can manage alone. I got sick, bad sick twice, but I'm alive. And each time I feel like I've won a victory, all by myself, with no help, the way you do if you're fighting with someone, just the two of you.
>
> The enemy? Oh, the enemy is the trouble you can get, the sickness, I guess. If you beat the sickness and you and your little baby are o.k. -- after all the pains -- then you've won your victory against getting sick, against Being Sick -- and don't be sick if you can help it, my mother used to tell me. If I asked her how you can help it, she said we should pray every morning, and try to eat the best we can. But a lot of the time she didn't have all the food we wanted, and then she said we'd just have to hope we don't fall down sick, and pray we don't, and that's <u>all</u> we can do, pray, pray, pray.

What <u>do</u> they eat and drink -- she and her husband and her children, and the others like them, black and white, all over the country? Some are lucky indeed; they can at least turn on a faucet and drink fresh water. Doctors know that water

has no "food value," but that it is utterly necessary. The rest of us know that, too -- the people in these pictures included. They may not have running water inside their homes, but many of them can walk to a nearby pipe and tap it. Many of them can't, though. They have to walk and walk -- to a stream, a lake, a well, a spigot, and return home with their pails and buckets full. They have to rely on "nature" to keep what they bring home clear, a nature presumably unmolested by man. They have to summon what I can only call a kind of faith:

> It's pretty hard to know if the water's good or if it's bad. There's a lot of it around, but not for drinking. You have to get it and hope it'll be good. Mostly it is, but it isn't sometimes, too -- I'll have to admit. You know the strip-mining, it dirties our water, more and more of it each year that goes by. The more coal they dig, the less water we can rely on. It's as simple as that.

And in the Delta of Mississippi, where no coal is mined, the problem remains:

> There isn't no water here, no sir. We goes down the road, yes sir. There's a faucet he put in for us a while back. and it's the best thing that happened to us, because it saves you a few miles over to the store. Yes, sir, and they used to sell it to us

> in bottles -- to drink -- that's right. And of course we go and get it for ourselves, I mean to wash up, that's from the stream over there -- oh, it's about two miles, that's right.

Somehow, then, they seek and find their water to drink. Many never do trust the water they get, and prefer Coca-cola, Pepsi-cola, Seven-up, Dr. Pepper -- anything that is bottled and "made for the rest of the people." Besides, those drinks are also food, and food that supplies quick energy. On matters like water and carbonated beverages, I have often found out how condescending my assumptions can be. The people I'm observing -- who resemble in every way the people in these photographs -- live extremely hazardous lives, and I assume that they know little and care less about the way the rest of us live, at least so far as "details" are concerned. They themselves have told me over and over again how little they know about "the outside," or about how difficult it is to get by, to make do. If life presses hard on them every minute, they can scarcely want to (or know how to) compare their fate with anyone else's. Yet they do, and more sharply than I once believed possible:

> Here in Alabama if you're one of us, it's very bad, the water situation is. You spend a lot of your time worrying about water. That's the

> truth. You just don't begin a day without deciding who's going to get the water, and when, and how good it'll be when it comes back. That's why I use coke for my children, right from the start I do. It's the best thing you can get to take away their thirst, and give them the sugar they need. They drink it all over the country; it's made for the rest of the people. If they use it, we can. We have to, though. We can't turn to much of anything else. There's the milk you have in your body to start out with, and that goes real fast -- I hear say because we can't get enough for outselves. My grandma, she used to say that nothing comes free, even a mother's milk; and that you plain run dry if you can't keep yourself fed up good. The one thing you can do is keep plenty of water inside, and that's what cokes do, and as I say they give you your sugar. And when the babies get on their own they drink those cokes and you can see them perk up, perk right up. They'll be lying around, tired-like, and waiting on me to figure out what I can find for them, and then I'll get the bottle-opener and they know what's coming. My grandma, she said we'd all be dried up and dead and gone from starvation if God din't send us cokes.

Didn't they cost money, too -- those cokes? Wouldn't a little milk be better than all that syrupy cola? How did it all get started, the habit, and what did poor farm people (or city people, too) do before carbonated drinks came along? Did a woman like that really believe that her well-to-do fellow citizens fed their infants and older children the same things

she did? Had she any idea what endless cola drinks do to the teeth? Wasn't there some (unnecessary or "cultural") disposition at work, that perhaps would yield to an educational program -- given by nutritionists and physicians? Those and other questions would cross my mind as I talked with migrant farmers, sharecroppers, and the mountain people of Kentucky or West Virginia -- and similar questions still occur to me in the tenement flats I now visit, where once rural people now live -- as they put it -- "in the city" or "up North." There is in my experience no better way to comprehend the way millions of poor Americans live than to get them talking about water and cola. Their most devastating problems come to light as they talk, problems that have to do with poor sanitation, disease, hunger, and perhaps most awful of all, the twin senses of loneliness and lowliness. Here, from my tapes, speak white men and black men, white mothers and black mothers. Americans all, they share a common fate:

> Yes, a coke costs. But everything costs and even if you don't have money, you have to pay. You get the money somehow, or mostly you just do work for somebody, and he pays for your cokes and your flour, if you know what I mean. Me, I work in the house, and the boss man, he don't give me much money, but he helps us out, yes he

does, with the food. He tells the grocer to give us some things, and he does, and he don't never bill us, no sir.

Around here, you have to be careful. You go get water, and it turns out contaminated. That's right. I tell my wife to give the kids water after she's boiled it, and in between to use a coke or like that. A lot more people would be dead if we had to depend on river and spring water. The coal, the acid from strip-mining, it's getting into all our water.

Yes, the nurse told me that milk is best, way better than a coca-cola. I said if she thought so, maybe she could come around here with a gallon or two, every day, and then I'd use it for sure. She said we should be smart, and sacrifice, and buy milk when we can, with the money we spend on cokes. Then what do we do in between, I asked her. What do we do while we're saving up money to buy milk -- tell our kids to be patient, and wait until we've got something for them to drink, maybe in another few days? Maybe those coal companies could give each one of us a gallon of milk every week; they'd still be making a fortune on what they take out of this here land. Even if I had the money to get a cow, and get milk from her, I couldn't let her around here to graze. She'd get poisoned by what they've done to our land; it's covered with slime, with the landslides those machines have caused. I hope the people who use our coal know that we don't get a cent out of it and can't afford milk, no, and our

county, it's being torn into bits by what they do.

No, I don't think the cokes hurt them. I think they feel better with a coke. They have the bottle to hold, and it keeps them out of mischief, and they're glad to have something of their own, I'll tell you. My little boy, he got himself attached to an orange-pop bottle. It was the first time he ever had orange-pop -- no, he's never had orange juice -- and he liked it so much that he kept asking me for more, more, more. I said there wasn't any more, not for now. Well, you know, he wasn't really asking, I mean speaking. He was too young. He just grabbed and grabbed, and I thought, oh my, he really does like the orange flavor, and we'll have to try to get some more. My sister is up in Chicago, you know. And she works in a factory there, and she eats real oranges, and she says she can keep a bowl of fruit around, and why don't I come up there. But she wrote it was bitter cold there, and besides she don't be with her kids at all; it's my aunt who's there and takes care of them, so she can work, and they lives all in that two rooms they've got, and nowhere for the kids to go, or anywhere else. So it's bad all over, that's what I believe. The man at the store said that sure you might get better food up there, but with the sun and all down here, you don't need so much. No, I don't believe he was fooling me. He seemed to mean it; though I admit I wondered myself how the kids could get by on the sun and as much food as he'd let me have from his store. So, thank God for the commodities the government gives us.

We'd be gone without government food, the commodities, you know, and we'd be gone without cokes, too. I give my kids a coke and they don't feel hungry no more. And I'm way along -- I expect my baby next month, but even so I have to go get that water because we needs a lot and I try to help my husband, and he's tired after a day of cleaning up for the white man. (He's one of the janitors in the motel down by the highway, and they pay him real good, twenty dollars by the week, and he can have his lunch. He's sure the fattest one in this family -- only he can't get any of the white man's food over to us, that's the trouble. So, when he comes home the first thing we do is go get the water. Oh, it takes it out of you. One day if we ever get enough money, we'd like to move nearer to the town, where they has water inside. That would be something! But I'll tell you, thank God for the cokes. If we get tired, we can always drink them, and the kids get quieted down real good on them -- and they're pure, pure as it's possible to be, so you don't get sick on your stomach from bad water.

I hear tell that it's bad for our children, what they eat. The teacher, she said we don't do a good job of caring for them, and they shouldn't be having all those "soft drinks," she calls them, and they need more meat and eggs and milk and things like that. We're supposed to go buy them when they snap their fingers and tell us to. And what do we use for money? Maybe they could tell the man at the store to give us back more money, on the bottles we bring in, and then we could buy the "protein" she keeps telling us about. Sure my kids have bad teeth. So did I and my mother and my daddy and as far

back as it goes, probably. But what are we supposed to do? I see the missus and what she eats and her family eats. They don't worry how much this costs and how much that costs. I mean, they do: they talk about whether they can afford some land up there on a lake, for another home, to keep cool and go swimming in the summer. (They already has their air-conditioners, and those machines freeze me to death when I go there in the morning and I'm shaking all night when I get home, but it's good in between.) For us, though, it's different. I have to think every time I buy a loaf of bread. And I can't let my kids tell me they're hungry, they're hungry -- because it drives me crazy hearing it, and I tell them to stop, and let me tell you, they know they've got to listen to me -- or else. I say we're all hungry. That's the way it's got to be -- and maybe one day you'll go out there and make a fortune. I don't know -- I say that, too. I admit to them that it don't look like we will. I have to tell them the truth. That's how I talk to them; and they listen.

Here it's bad. These mountains haven't got a thing to offer but themselves. I like to live here, but it's getting worse and worse and worse. People don't have a cent, and there's no work, and we scrape by from day to day, and they're leaving, our young people, and they don't want to leave, no sir, but they have no choice about it. I think we're just about the least best off in America -- the worst there is, I imagine. Other places they've got factories and money, and they have influence with the government, and all that. But here, no one cares a

thing about us. We're lower than the niggers, I tell my friends that, and they smile and say "naturally." They don't even get sore, mind you. They're proud and they like to joke about things.

It can't be that it's any worse any place else. I'll tell you one thing, no white man lives like this. They all have their food and their water and their money. Even the ones that don't work -- somehow they get taken care of. But not us.

Maybe we should become like the colored folks -- start protesting, and all that. Maybe then we'd get our water pipes laid, and there'd be a job here for you, and a pile of that food -- like they send it abroad to all those countries. Maybe then, but I don't think it'll ever happen. We're not made to protest here -- though we've tried and they put you down real fast, the sheriff and his boys. And there's no one out there beyond those hills to pay us much attention. They're all busy with themselves, and they've got a lot to keep themselves busy, so why should they bend over backwards to help the next fellow. In the Bible we have, the family Bible -- it goes back to 1823, and we were here before then, I know that -- there's a letter from the first ancestor of mine to build a house and settle down. He said he was going to bless America every day for the rest of his life, and he was writing the letter to everyone who came after him, so that they would do the same, bless America every day of their lives, because of all it does for you. And when I was a boy that's what we had to do. My daddy said he wasn't so sure we should continue, but he said he didn't dare stop, or else

> we'd have nothing at all, not even what we can grow in the summer and use later -- God would take everything. Well, He just about has, that's what I told the minister last year. He said no, it was a stage the country was going through, and things would get better someday. So, that's when I said o.k., no more blessing America. We'll stay with Church on Sunday, I said to my wife, but no more blessing of America, not until we can have at least one real good meal a week, and feel full for it -- on Sunday, maybe; that would be a good day for it, Sunday.

How do men and women like these -- whose words you have just read, whose faces you can see here -- actually spend their days, Sundays or otherwise? As Agee knew and pointed out so insistently in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, no account of "life" as it is lived by any particular family (no matter how "representative" it is declared to be), can possibly do justice either to the people under description or certainly to others, who are preciously unique and different even in the way they face starvation and die -- such is the ironic breadth of what a word like "individuality" can encompass. As I write these words I am surrounded by notes and tapes that come from many years' work with migrant farmers, Southern tenant farmers or sharecroppers, and mountain families of Appalachia. Eventually I will have a number of lives "written up," but I hope

not "explained" or turned into "types." Yet, we crave "lessons," and we want whatever generalizations the "trained observer" can offer. For some it is a matter of tidiness; for some it is an intolerance of ambiguity; for some there is "practicality" to insist upon, and the need for "answers," or those important things, "interpretations" or "recommendations." It is not enough that Mr. Clayton's photographs show us "the way it is" without a single word, or that in the course of my work I have recorded dozens of voices that plead openly and directly and quite simply for food, for shelters that actually offer shelter, for jobs, for an end to all sorts of obvious insults and humiliations.

Perhaps we need intricate theories because as a nation we have so far refused to do anything "about" or "for" such people; because we -- the comfortable, well-educated, high-minded, sincere and avowedly generous members of America's middle class -- have said so often that something, anything <u>should</u> be done, only to find out how weak <u>we</u> are (politically) for all the money and "position" we have; because the plain, blunt horror of what exists and what ought to be changed (and in America can be changed) makes our clever minds first ashamed, then challenged -- yes, challenged to invent all sorts of face-

saving camouflages, wordy and abstract formulations that make the awful and the dishonest seem by rights here to stay, out of some irremediable or terribly "complicated" and slow-changing social "law" or cultural "phenomenon." And so social scientists or political scientists have got to be very careful; the legitimate inquiries they make as scholars can be used by any number of unscrupulous politicians and their followers to justify otherwise unconscionable delays, to support the formation of studies or commissions whose purposes are sometimes clear indeed: deflect what sentiment for action remains, appease what lingering outrage or shame persists, preserve "things" altogether, or give only the slightest ground, and in general postpone rather than encourage changes, no matter how urgently needed by millions of men, women and children. It is one of the attributes of the human mind that it can brilliantly and convincingly shut out those millions of men, women and children by discussing and analysing them to death, among other ways.

I say all this before going into a description of what is "done" from day to day by some poor people like those whom Mr. Clayton has photographed. I say all this because in West Virginia last summer a tall, blond, thin, brooding man whom I have known for three years let me know how he felt --

apologetically, shyly and then with unnerving force and anger:

> We know you, my wife and I, and the kids, and we're not talking against you, you realize, not a bit. It's just that the other day I heard one of the VISTA people explode, at his own VISTA, and the more I heard him talk the better I liked it. He said he was sick and tired of all this pussy-footing around, and he said VISTA and things like that, they were just like putting on a band-aid when the patient is real bad sick, and needs a lot of surgery, yes sir. We got to talking, and I think it was his fault I exploded and said what I did, but when I came home and told it to my wife, what I said -- well, she said I've been talking like that for years, and she was glad I finally told one of those "people," those "poverty workers," what I thought, what I truly thought.
>
> It wasn't a long speech I gave him either. I just told him how a few years ago, like I told you before, they came over here, to this hollow and a lot of other ones. They said they were out of Charleston, and out of Washington, D.C., and they were going to get all the information together about us, and file a report, and then there'd be some laws passed or something, and we wouldn't have to live like this anymore. So, they asked me and a lot of other guys what was the matter, and if we had our "choice" (can you figure that out -- if we had our choice!) what would we want to do -- in the line of work, I found out they meant. So I said: "misters, I'm no loafer, and I don't want a goddam thing from you or anyone else. I'll do anything, so long as I can make enough money to feed my wife and kids. I can't bring myself to move out of here,

I'll admit that. We've been here a couple hundred years, more of less, and we've given everything we have to the land here. When I was a miner I'd work all day until I could barely walk home, and if it wasn't for the union we'd have got nothing, nothing except enough to barely stay alive. For a few years they paid us pretty good, though considering you took you life in your hands every time you went down the mine, it wasn't all that much. Then they fired us all and took up strip-mining with the machines. It didn't make any difference to them, or to anyone else in the country, so far as I can see. In New England and New York or in the Rocky Mountains they were glad to get our coal, but when the companies got rid of us -- that was just the way things happen. Then if we don't get new jobs, we're all supposed to move a thousand miles, over to Detroit or Cleveland and start life again. Is that fair?' I asked the men out of Washington doing their survey -- I asked them that question and they looked as though they were annoyed because I was trying to change the subject and waste their time. I guess it's all right to treat us like waste, but you can't waste their time.

Anyway, I told the VISTA about it, about the long time I spent answering those questions. And do you know, that was way back. It was years ago. I don't remember how many, but near to ten, I'd say. Now the VISTA man, the young fellow, he means well. We all like him. But when he told me they were thinking of studying us again, and trying to figure out what they should do -- that was it. For him, too, it was it. He said he just wanted me to know, and we might be asked to join and help out if some people came by wanting to look into things and ask questions -- but he wanted me to know what he really thought.

> And that's how he got going, and me, after him. He told me about the new study, and I told him about the old one, and it led to an afternoon we spent, exchanging our ideas.

I heard more, much of it only barely indirect, like the above quoted comments, and much of it -- later on -- right to the point of our conversation:

> I hope you won't go telling people that we're a hopeless people right here. We've had a lot of people come through these parts and go off to let everyone know how bad it is, and how bad we are, and how it's no good. These mountains and us who live here we should move away, or start a big fight and march on the capital, or be left alone, because that's the way we like it, and we don't like no one from outside -- that's what the VISTA fellow told me he was taught. Of course, I said to him, "if you can tell me that, why then we're not getting along so bad, are we?" And he said, yes, that was right. But he and I agreed that there's a lot of bad talk about us from people who come here and then they go, pretty fast they're gone, and talking, talking about us "poor folks," and how it's awful sad about us, and aren't we the funniest people, the way we live, real peculiar they say, and isn't it the limit, us here all these years, and sticking to our guns, and keeping our habits like we do. The VISTA, he said there's books and books on that, to that effect, and what did I think. Well, he was joking with me. because he know for damned sure what I thought. and I told him I'd let you know. too.

So he did. Oh, he apologized after he did, and reminded me -- as he did his friend from VISTA -- that the fact we could speak so frankly was important, and meant we were friends, and proved wrong a lot of things said about mountain people. Yet he was worried, I was fairly certain, still worried. So it is with people who have grown accustomed to their own desperation, and to the callous, profitable or elaborately rationalized indifference of others. ~~For them~~ To speak out is to take a risk. Why bother? But maybe it is also risky for people like me to speak out. Don't we "responsible" observers have an obligation to take the utterly overwhelmingly evident and bury it in a thicket of "data" or comments that leave "important" people unthreatened, unbothered, even untouched? In fact, the remarks made by my kind usually sort themselves into two distinct categories. In order to earn some cheap and quickly forgotten sympathy, the lives of perfectly respectable and determined people may be caricatured and distorted so that they emerge as useless, semi-retarded, pitiful and in need of charity, a dole, a pittance -- so that "we" won't be embarrassed abroad, for instance. On the other hand, those lives may be made so exclusively "different," so intractable, so proud, so "happy," so uncomplicated, "natural," unaffected,

stoic, beautifully patient and enduring -- that awe or envy of them can be the only suitable and justifiable response from "us."

With caution and fear, then, one goes about the effort of describing or picturing the daily efforts of others. With a few families "studied," and a few more photographed, is there anything more to do but put it on the line, all the "findings"? What will the people described and pictured say, or what would they say if they saw the observer's report or book -- and they don't always by any means. And how, really, can it be done by Mr. Clayton or me? We have heard and seen the struggle, the seige these people have to lay every day -- on life itself, a sort of great empire that is everywhere and yet seems always on the point of disappearance. And then we have left, sure of ourselves, sure that some day we too will die, but never under any imaginable circumstances destined to enjoy "living like that."

Perhaps I ought to talk about "living like that," the way a sharecropper once summarized his "day." He told me what he did from sunrise to sunset, and then he asked me whether I thought a lot of people were "living like that." I said yes, I thought a lot were; but also a lot weren't. His

house, for instance, is sturdier than a tent, and more comfortable than an igloo. On the other hand it is what a lot of us in America could only call a terrible shack, very much like the ones we find in this book. As one approaches the building, the lack of sewerage pipes is obvious. In fact the cabin is unconnected to the rest of the world except for the wires that bring electricity to it -- something, you will recall, that was accomplished in the thirties, now thirty years ago, when "rural electrification" was voted and implemented. Consequently, I know as I come near that I will find electric lights, and hopefully, but not always, a refrigerator. I can see the out-house, so I know I won't find a bathroom, and I can see the pails near the door, so I know I won't find any source of running water. If I stay I will find out where to go for the water, where to fetch it, how to tote it or haul it -- and I will learn that the day begins with the sun's light and the search for water: "One thing you have to say about here, there's always water, so long as you go to get it. It's no desert here, like I saw in the War." A veteran who fought for his country overseas, he now has one of the life-long advantages that travel can provide -- a sense of perspective, an awareness that all privilege and all despair are relative.

And inside, what does one find inside? What stands past the walls, past the garbage that the town would not consider hauling off, and past the beautifully kept garden of flowers and vegetables that make it hard to say what a lifetime of proper, middle-class living urge upon the mind if not the lips or pen? ("Why don't they clean all that stuff up, even if they don't have sewer pipes connected to their homes, even if they don't get visited by garbage collectors, even if they have no furnace to burn things up?")

People, of course, are what can be found inside those houses -- even when the people are not immediately visible (if you are a stranger, dressed well and "looking into things"). People are there, and the floors they walk on, the furniture they use, the ceilings that more or less provide cover for them. In my experience they are people who live exceptionally close together, sleep perhaps less than many of us, eat a good deal less than most of us, and stand a far better chance of dying young than the rest of us do. When they manage to stay alive into old age they appear venerable, monumental and incredible -- to their own kin, who likely as not at one time or other will say what this 60-year old-man from eastern Kentucky did:

I'm 60, and that's older by 20 years than I ever expected to live. I started feeling old when I was about 30, and my friends would die -- of tuberculosis, or killed in the mines, or there'd be pneumonia that would sweep through here like it was a rug my mother was shaking and beating, and we'd be the dust, just falling to the ground with each of the epidemics. They'd sometimes rush a doctor over here from somewhere, it got so bad, but he couldn't do much. We outnumbered him too much, the sick ones. When he took care of me, I asked him to tell me if I stood a good chance of dying and he said yes, truthfully, I did. So I said that was o.k. My mother lost so many of my brothers and sisters, some before they was born and a lot after, too, that I felt lucky to be alive and a grown man. My father kept on saying that every year counts, because not many of us stick around long enough to get old -- not like in other places, where they have a lot of people being 65 and 70 and on and on. But somehow I made it, through the pneumonia and another bout a couple of years later. I lost my teeth and my hair by the time I was 40, and I had a bad cough, and my lungs weren't good, and once I saw a doctor because I threw up fresh blood, and he told me I was lucky to be alive, but there was no point in my going over to Lexington or someplace like that -- the only thing to do was go home and pray that everything would be good. And somehow it was, you know. That's the "miracle," according to the doctor I last saw -- three years ago. He said I was real "aged," but I was alive as I could be and that's better than being dead by a long shot. It's my wife's cooking I owe it to. She's the one

> who's really going to stay alive. I'm just lucky to have her. If she'd gone a long time ago, I know I would have followed her real fast, real fast.

They are close, he and his wife. They are also very close to their children and their grandchildren. They don't recognize the privacy that we in the urban and suburban middle-class cherish so dearly. They have a kitchen and they have two bedrooms. The kitchen is also a dining room and a living room. The bedrooms are that and no more. They have beds in them -- no chairs and no bureaus. The kitchen also has beds, three of them. In that one house live fifteen people: the grandparents and one of their daughters, already widowed at 35, their son and his wife, the daughter's four children and the son's six children. They have a refrigerator, made in the forties, and an old-fashioned coal stove. They have an outhouse -- so very cold in winter and in summer hard to use because of the abiding stench, the inevitable and persistent flies and mosquitoes. They have heat, too: the stove and a gas burner placed at the other end of the kitchen, near the grandparents' bedroom. The kitchen also has a table, six chairs -- three odd ones, and three that match -- and an old sofa that has been patched and patched and patched. One win-

dow has curtains. The others have none. Each room has a socket and a bulb -- 40 or 60 watts. There is no cellar to the house; it is on piles of bricks.

It hurts to call a home a flimsy wood-and-tar-paper shack, but that is the truth of it -- and in winter particularly the wind and cold make the floor seem more pretentious than anything else. For weeks in December or January clothes are never taken off and blankets are used inside as well as outside. During all four seasons people sleep together. In winter they warm one another up, and in summer -- well, they are there:

> Yes I hear say you go to the city and if you can't find a job you can go on welfare -- you can't here -- and then you have to be careful, because they'll come around and tell you to give each child a bed, and things like that. If I had a million dollars I don't think I'd want to have my children scattered all over the house, not hearing each other breathe and living the loneliest life possible, it seems to me; to themselves, all to themselves. If I could have real good blankets, and if we could have another heater, and maybe a stove I could depend upon -- then I'd be happier than with a lot more beds, yes sir.

I was asking her -- the grandmother -- what she might want, what more she wanted. I set no limits on her, but she was not

about to take a blank check from me or anyone else. I suppose I should have noted how cautious she was, now "restricted" her "fantasies" were under my prodding. Instead, I was struck by how concrete and shrewd she was. The longer we talked that day, the longer I realized that for years she had been waiting for someone like me to invite her to dream, to ask her for what she wanted and needed. She was a polite woman, and certainly not one to be demanding, to take wholesale advantage of a stranger's invitation -- in order only to complain and criticize: "I keep the bad things that trouble us in mind, but I say to myself that maybe before I die most of them won't be here still troubling us. It might get better, you know." I might add that she and her family have no television and no automobile. Nor have any of them graduated from high school. Nor -- so far as things go in their county -- are they all that unusual in any of these respects.

In homes such as theirs or in similar homes I've come to know throughout the South the day begins at the latest with sunlight and often much before. Clocks are usually absent, and radios not used to awaken families. When the mother or grandmother stirs and rises, all the rest get the message, move or thrash about and await expectantly her words, often a

laconic "up" to the children or "ready" to the husband -- which means coffee has been prepared, but not necessarily anything else, and often enough even that is missing. In other words, in thousands of American homes there is no such thing as breakfast. Mothers rise in order to get their children off to school, or their husbands off to the fields; or worse, mothers rise because that is what life is, days and nights -- even for unemployed fathers and children without clothes enough to allow attendance at school.

It is awful and humiliating for me to mention such matters, to describe them, to ask you to comprehend the fact that this proud and terribly powerful nation (some fifty billion a year to go to guns and bombs -- "military hardware" is the term one meets up with) has living in it by the thousands and thousands white families and black families whose men cannot bring in a penny of cash, week after week, and whose boys and girls have not the shoes and dresses and shirts and pants that enable teachers to call children "decently clad." So, they stay home, and the laws that say they shouldn't are ignored not only by parents, but by teachers and county officials who know all too clearly the limits of education.

We don't get all the children in the county to school; we know that. I can tell you as superintendent that out there off the roads and especially near the fields a lot of them just don't have the desire to learn, and we're not set up to go seeking them out. I don't believe they're really suited for school -- and our nigra teachers feel that even more strongly than I do. The principal of our nigra school calls them "primitives," and she wouldn't let them in even if they tried, which they don't. She wants every child dressed -- wearing shoes if not socks, and more than a tee-shirt and some worn-down dungarees or shorts full of holes. You know some of them, they walk around without any clothes all day, or maybe some underwear. In winter it's hard on them, real hard, so they can't very well come to school then, it's too cold to leave the house. A lot of them have Sunday clothes, though; they get dressed to go to church, if for nothing else. They're religious, even the most ignorant of them; no doubt about that.

To be honest, I just don't think they've got what it takes. I mean they're not endowed the way we are. But even if they are, it'll take a lot of doing to get them going -- to make them feel it's of any use to go to school. I believe most of them think it's a waste of time; and they may be right. And I think they're afraid, too -- of their own, I mean; they're afraid of the nigra teacher, even more than of the nigra minister or the white man. Some of our nigra teachers are very strict. They have to be, I guess; and the people get scared. They think to themselves that they'll send their kids to school, and his clothes will be poor, and he won't behave the way he should, and he won't know how to use the fork and the spoon -- yes, he'll want

> to eat with his hands -- and the teacher will just blow her top and send him right home and tell him not to come back. That's what happens.

What happens is that children grow up to live apart -- and feel apart. Minute by minute of each day they acquire their very own set of assumptions about the world. At night there is a bed for several of them, or indeed no bed at all. There are no books, and either nothing on the wall or a calendar, often with its reminder of the funeral director's address and telephone number, and its religious quote. In many Southern or Appalachian homes I also see, I still see, a picture of John F. Kennedy. In his brief time as President he reached these people in a way that perhaps only Franklin D. Roosevelt did. And so I have to remind myself that if they are apart, they are also very much nearby, waiting and listening and dreaming and responding in a flash to a man and a program that seem to be, at last theirs -- as well as everyone else's spokesman or property.

For the most part, though, the walls are barren, even without paper. So are the cupboards, where they exist. There may be some bottles of coca-cola, or crown-cola ("R.C.") standing about on the floor or a table. There may be a loaf of

bread, a jar of jam, a can of coffee, a carton of precious and carefully dispensed milk. And for the lucky, there may be a cardboard box with some "commodities" in it -- government food, surplus food that a particular county has elected to receive and distribute to the hungry.

> Yes, sir -- without the commodities I think all of us would be dead and gone. Once a month we go down to the courthouse and they gives them to us. There is flour, and dried beans. There is peanut butter and some meat, and they gives you dried milk, too. It doesn't last through the month, but it means we have something to eat, you know. And that's better than nothing. Some places, I hear the county people, the sheriff and his people, they won't let you have the commodities. And some places, they use the stamps. That means if you're on welfare you use the money you get to buy stamps. That means food costs less, because with stamps you can buy more; but you don't have money to spend on other things -- clothes for the kids, and rent. So, I'll take the commodities to the food stamps, if you ask me. Because what happens when you don't have <u>any</u> money -- and that's what it's like a lot of the time.

In dozens of counties (for example, in South Carolina the overwhelming majority of them) there is <u>no</u> provision of any kind for the hungry, the near-starving. One after another the county officials refuse to take advantage of existing federal programs, let alone press Washington, D.C. for more adequate

ones. They refuse to receive commodities, things like flour and beans that have been declared "surplus" and are thus available to poor people declared by the local officials to be "eligible." They refuse to join the "food stamp program," under which, for example, a family of six whose income is $159 a month can pay $22 for stamps that will buy $74 worth of food. They have even refused to take part in a federal program which provides loans to people whose incomes are so close to zero that they cannot muster a sum like $22 a month for food stamps.

What, then, do thousands of hungry parents do? I have said that they rise early, avoid breakfast, often shun sending their children to school and look in vain for work. I have indicated that they don't quite have what we have -- for instance, they lack plumbing and bathing facilities as well as money, adequate amounts of food and clothing, a weekly supply of cash. Still, they go through each day. And sometimes in the face of such circumstances, they manage games, frolic, laughs, intimacy -- what in sum is called "good days" by one mother from Mississippi's Delta whom I have know for almost ten years now:

I'll tell you, it's like this. I get up, and then I rouse up my husband, and then the kids move along. They pace themselves, going outside (to their outhouse) and then we does some talking, and if there's extra cornmeal, I'll fry it up. I have the baby to care for, and the other kids (there are five altogether) take care of themselves. We try to keep things in order, as best we can. I mean we sweeps up once a day. Then, most of the time the kids just play outside. I always try to send one to school. We have three old enough, but we only have clothes for the one. Mostly it's visits we have with my brothers, their wives and the children. They all play together, the kids. It's a lot of them -- we could have our own school here, you see. And I makes something for every one to eat -- in the middle of the day. When the sun is strongest we come inside and it's cooler and we eat. And the kids will rest, and we have some fun. The kids go chasing after a fly, or they climb in and out of the windows. We might be having some people in, my brother or my husband's two sisters. And we'll sit and talk, and try to remember some of the funny things we can think of.

Since we got that TV set, we look at it all the time. It was left behind by some people. They went "North," and there was no room in the car -- they had all they could do to fit in themselves. Actually the TV didn't belong to them; it was theirs on payment. They said they gave the man five dollars they got from Chicago, and he said if they gave him a couple of dollars every month he'd be satisfied for them to keep it. Well, when they couldn't take it along, they thought why should they give it up to him, when they would be clear out of Mississippi by morning, and so they came over here on their way. Yes sir, when

> you're leaving here it's good to go by night. The police will be watching you in the day, and they always find some trouble to make. They tell you they want you to go get out of here, but they search you, and they'll take anything you have, the least bit of thing you try to take, like the TV set or -- if we went -- a watch my husband bought me in France when he was in the war. I don't use it, I keep it in a little suitcase I have, with some old pictures. But there's no telling; if we went to Chicago and it was daylight and they saw us, they might go right through everything and leave us with only what we were wearing and the car. They'll even be known to tell you to get out and walk, because you can't prove you own the car. That's if you're called a "civil-rights" one, or they want to punish you. So, we leave by night.

So far, she has remained, despite it all. She manages to feed her children those mid-day meals -- more fried cornmeal, some beans, on good days a piece of bread with peanut butter, and always the soft drink. In the afternoon everything begins to slow down. The children tend to be hungry (and so a bit slow) in the morning; in the afternoon they are "digesting the day's food" so that again "they slow down." By sundown they are all rather quiet as they watch television; and usually they are asleep by 7 or 8. Each one has a particular chore: to get water before it becomes dark or first thing in the

morning, to put out the light by turning the bulb in the socket, to close the door -- there is no bolt or lock -- so that stray dogs or cats stay out.

The school teacher may talk of their "primitive" quality, but I find in their daily lives a definite rhythm, an almost desperate effort to find order, to achieve for each person at least a fragment of continuity, regularity, predictability, coherence -- all that "we" strive for, too. Then, there is the Bible, and God's presence, talked about and deeply felt by these "backward," and "primitive" and "illiterate" and voteless people:

> I teach my kids to wake up with a prayer and go to sleep with one. I hear them saying them, too; so I know I get them to believe. I tell them it's not the best here, but we may have another chance the next time around, and He's watching us, so we better be good. Sometimes my kids, when they're real young, they'll want to know if the white man is Him, God. I tell them no, he isn't. They think that because the white man is watching us all the time, that I mean him when I talk of God looking down on us; but they soon know the difference -- between God and the white man, yes, sir. And they learn to pray hard, real hard; and if they forget I remind them.

From time to time her husband works in the field. He does not pick cotton as he used to do -- machines now have

replaced him. He helps with a side-crop of corn and tomatoes. He does errands for a man who manages a large plantation. He rakes and "cleans up" around the house, "mostly outside." He also grows some flowers outside his own cabin, and he has some corn and tomatoes there, too. He hauls water, cuts wood, and from time to time goes into town -- to pick up his commodities, to check in with a friend who is a delivery "boy" for a grocery market. If he would only desert his wife and children they might (but only might) collect a welfare check from the county:

> It wouldn't be much -- I think around 50 or 75 dollars, I don't know exactly -- but it would be as much or more as I ever make on my own, and it would come in real regular, every ~~week~~ month. Like it is, I'll make 20 or 30 dollars one week, and the next I don't hardly make anything. The boss man, he'll give me commodities, and that's good. But you can't expect him to support me -- no, sir, not now that he's got his machines. He said we could stay in the cabins all we want, that he wasn't going to plow us out and force us to go North, like some of the other boss mans do. But he couldn't do any more, he said, and didn't we agree. So I said "Yes, sir," and he said "That's right." And I told him we'd try to stay, because we hear it's not so good up there in Chicago, either, nor the other cities. I do hear you get more food, and you can go to a doctor for nothing and he'll see you, but they say you can get lost up there, and freeze to death, and they have big rats that jump on you. Me -- I'm 45, too old to want to move, I guess. And I'm scared -- to be honest with you -- yes, scared.

If he and his family and others who live near them did go North they would present any medical clinic they visited with a shocking variety of what doctors sometimes summarize as "pathology." Let me describe what I have seen among fifty or so people who live in four small cabins at the edge of a large plantation. In child after child I have seen evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious, untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases; unattended bone diseases secondary to poor food intake; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic disease, as well as severe anemia, with resulting loss of energy and ability to live a normally active life; diseases of the heart and the lungs -- requiring surgery -- which have gone undiagnosed and untreated; epileptic and other neurological disorders; a severe kidney ailment that in other children would warrant immediate hospitalization; and finally, evidence of what can properly and conservatively be called malnutrition, with consequent injury to the body's tissues -- its muscles, bone and skin -- accompanied by an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness and exhaustion. Diarrhea, chronic sores, chronic leg and arm (untreated) injuries and deformities -- they are everywhere around for one like me to notice, and eventually begin to overlook and forget.

I have to remind myself after a while that I am staying in homes that lack screens and running water and even on occasion electricity. I have to remind myself that mosquitoes and flies bear germs, that stagnant water also does, that a meal of grits, bread, Kool-Aid or coke and occasional slices of "salad meat" or fat-back gives the body some calories to burn, but precious little else. I have to remind myself, as a physician, that not all American children are plagued by illnesses with names like trichinosis, enterobiosis, ascariasis or even a plain-worded one like hookworm disease. I have to keep in mind that dry skin, shrunken skin, ulcerated skin is rarely seen by the pediatricians who work with my children, with "our" children; nor are rashes, boils, abcesses, furuncles, impetigo, and scars the usual and constant thing to be found in child after child.

All that and more goes on. With five other doctors in May of 1967 I went from home to home in several counties of Mississippi. We were shocked, even as I have been horrified, terrified and ashamed all these past years. We wrote a report called "Children in Mississippi," and in July of 1967 presented our findings to a group of United States Senators -- they were members of a subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty,

and they listened to us and questioned us in a public hearing. (Some of these photographs were offered in evidence.) At that time I had before me and read from some of my notes -- and still I found myself wondering how it all could be, in 1967, in the richest nation that ever was. To quote myself:

> Almost every child we saw was in a state of negative nitrogen balance; that is, a marked inadequacy of diet has led the body to consume its own protein tissue. What we saw clinically -- the result of this condition of chronic hunger and malnutrition -- was as follows: wasting of muscles; enlarged hearts; edematous legs and in some cases the presence of abdominal edema (so-called "swollen" or "bloated" belly); spontaneous bleeding of the mouth or nose or evidence of internal hemorrhage; osteoporosis -- a weakening of bone structure -- and, as a consequence, fractures unrelated to injury or accident; and again and again, fatigue, exhaustion, weakness.
>
> These children would need blood transfusions before any corrective surgery could be done -- and we found in child after child (and in adults, too) the need for surgery; hernias; poorly healed fractures; rheumatic and congenital heart disease with attendant murmurs, difficult breathing and chest pain; evidence of gastro-intestinal bleeding or partial obstruction; severe, suppurating ear infections; congenital or developmental eye disease in bad need of correction.
>
> The teeth of practically every child we saw -- and of their parents, too -- were in awful repair -- eaten up by cavities and often

poorly developed. Their gums showed how severely anemic these children are; and the gums were also infected and foul smelling.

Many of these children (and again their parents) were suffering from degenerative joint diseases. Injuries had not been treated when they occurred. Bleeding had taken place, with subsequent infections. Now, at seven or eight, a child's knee joint or elbow joints might show the "range of action" that one finds in a man of seventy who suffers from crippling arthritis.

In child after child we tested for peripheral neuritis -- and found it, secondary to untreated injuries, infections and food deficiencies. These children could not feel normally -- feel pressure or heat or cold or applied pain the way the normal person does. What they do feel is the sensory pain that goes with disease; pricking, burning, flashes of sharp pain, or a "deep pain" as one child put it.

The children were plagued with cold and fevers -- in Mississippi, in late May -- and with sore throats. They had enlarged glands throughout the body, secondary to the several infections they chronically suffer. Some of them showed jaundice in their eyes, which meant that liver damage was likely, or that hemolysis secondary to bacterial invasion had occurred.

What particularly saddened and appalled us were the developmental anomalies and diseases that we know once were easily correctable, but now are hopelessly consolidated. Bones, eyes, vital organs that should long ago have been evaluated and treated, are now all beyond

> medical assistance, even if it were suddenly -- incredibly is the word the people themselves feel rather than use -- available. In some cases we saw children clearly stunted, smaller than their age would indicate, drowsy and irritable.
>
> In sum, children living under unsanitary conditions without proper food, and with a limited intake of improper food, without access to doctors or dentists, under crowded conditions in flimsy shacks pay the price in a plethora of symptoms, diseases, aches and pain. No wonder that in Mississippi (whose Negroes comprise 42% of the state's population) the infant mortality rate among Negroes is over twice that of whites; and while the white infant mortality rate is dropping, the rate for Negroes is rising.

Perhaps more valuable and instructive were the comments of five Mississippi doctors who were asked by the state's governor, Paul B. Johnson, to visit the same counties we visited -- "in response to certain charges of starvation and conspiracy in the state of Mississippi." Many people in the state, not only doctors and politicians, felt that once again "outsiders" had come upon the Delta, the South, to tarnish and calumny "traditions," to single out unfairly this area, that region -- when all over the country certain people have trouble finding work, a decent place to live, and even enough food to appease their hunger, their children's hunger. Let our own doctors go

see what really exists, Mississippi's governor properly said -- and by prompting such a step he provided the kind of leadership the nation certainly craves and doesn't always find. Here are some observations from the medical report submitted to Governor Johnson, and then to the United States Senate:

> The situations encountered were indeed primitive. In one locality eight families were found to share one faucet and one privy. The mother of one of these families stated that she obtained surplus commodity food and that her welfare check was $71 per month. She said she had been unable to get work for some time. Her monthly rent is $15. She has no children in either of the Head Start programs, but her house does have electricity and a new refrigerator. Sanitation in the area was not acceptable by modern standards. Six of her eight children were seen. Several of them had infected lesions and all appeared to have some degree of anemia, but none were on the verge of starvation.
>
> At one house visited, there was one outdoor privy serving "9 or 10 families." Not far away was a single water faucet which constituted the only water supply for the same people. Garbage and refuse was strewn about the premises and the smell of human excrement was unmistakable....
>
> Hospital facilities for indigent patients are virtually non-existent....
>
> In summary, the situation as observed in Humphreys County does not appear to be markedly different from that in Leflore County. Here, also, there are persons who are under-

housed, underfed, undereducated and under-employed. Some of them lack sufficient medical care and hospital facilities and many are virtually unemployable. Through the two Head Start programs an effort is being made to improve the lot of children in the four and five year age groups, but here again, there is overlapping of activity, reduplication of facilities, and competition for financial support....

In the 1960 census, Washington County had approximately 83,000 people, 47% of whom had a yearly income below $3,000.... The people in the 47% group have a mean education of approximately the third grade level. They cannot read and they cannot write, and they cannot function in a modern society. There are approximately 1,400 deliveries a year, a third of which are made by mid-wives. Dr. Korowski has been quite interested in infant mortality and has a report on file in the Mississippi State Board of Health of his study over the past year. This report revealed that of every 1,000 live births in Washington County, in 1965, 25.1 white children to 62.2 Negro children died before their first birthday. The average in the United States for the white children was 22.9 and 43.3 for the Negro. Dr. Korowski was able to study 19 Negro infant deaths for that year and only one of these deaths could be attributed to malnutrition or starvation and even in this case it was not a matter of food getting to the parent. In their files they were able to obtain 3,517 cases of children from one month of age to 18 years. Of this group, only 39 were judged to have any nutritional problems.

Starvation in the sense that children or persons are actually dying from the lack of food in Washington of Bolivar Counties does not exist....There are, however, children

and adults who are living in extreme poverty situations which are detrimental to health. Some have very inadequate housing, very inadequate clothes, very inadequate medical and dental care and a diet that is inadequate in terms of quality and balance. This is due in part to the following: a) Low income: Welfare checks are not adequate. The average adult receive $45 per month and the average child only $12. The average Aid to Dependent Children family grant is only $38 per family per month. The state is now paying only 28% of its legally authorized grant. b) Ignorance of the parents: There is a basic lack of education in budgeting monies, meal planning, food preparation, the proper types of food for a baby, and fundamental personal hygiene. c) Overloaded health and welfare staff: These staffs have the highest case loads in the United States, and are able to provide only "touch and go" attention to some of these people's problems. The state agencies we consulted, primarily the Public Health Department and the Public Welfare Department, are doing an extremely good job with the facilities and the monies available to them. We believe that they know the answers to their problems and have the know-how to go about solving them, if they had more money with which to train and employ personnel and expand their facilities....

As Mississippi makes the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society it is inevitable that major social problems will arise. For generations, Negro families have lived on farms and plantations where the only requirement for survival was a willingness to work with one's hands. With the advent of farm mechanization and minimum

hourly pay scales, their labor has become too inefficient and expensive. There are numerous examples of land owners who, with genuine sympathy for their tenants, have made efforts to support them as long and as well as possible. Inevitably, however, increasingly large numbers of these Negro families are being pressed into urban areas. They are almost completely lacking in skills and training that qualify them for employment in an industrial society. They congregate in areas where they make almost no contribution to the economic life of the community. In such instances, the property they inhabit is sub-standard, but they can afford nothing better. If the landlord is called upon to make improvements he must pay for these by raising the rent, which the tenants cannot afford.

In the view of this Committee, situations such as this must be appreciated as encompassing not merely a need for improved health facilities, but as a problem for sociologists, economists and educators, as well.

It is manifestly impossible for a small group of physicians to determine with any degree of precision the total health needs of persons in an area as broad as the one in which the observations were made. To obtain a meaningful picture would require a long-term study in depth. Such a study should be planned with a high degree of sophistication and carried out with care. It would be doomed to failure unless adequately financed and unless sufficient manpower were available.

It has been recently alleged that in Mississippi people are starving to death. In all places visited it was specifically requested that we be shown the worst conditions known to exist in the area and the most destitute persons

> living there. Some of these same places and persons had recently been visited by individuals making the charge that people were starving. In no case could any condition approaching death from starvation be found. It is true, however, that in many localities sanitary conditions are below the acceptable minimum and there are varying degrees of undernutrition, malnutrition and anemia, as there are in other parts of the nation. No reliable data exist on the numbers of persons in Mississippi thus characterized, and in its brief period of observation the Committee could formulate no impression as to the probable percent of the population. This needs to be determined.

There it is -- from distinguished physicians who live and practice medicine in the state of Mississippi. They come from a profession that is generally regarded as particularly conservative, and from a state that votes regularly to support what are called conservative policies. It would be hard to see how those doctors or the governor who appointed them and later submitted their report to the Congress of the United States of America can be considered "wild-eyed" radicals or worse.

In point of fact it was what they could not escape seeing that prompted the essentially "radical" document they authored. They became sober-eyed, and terribly distressed. Like the

rest of us, they had managed for a long time to avoid or shun what anyway was not in the cards for them to look at. They are leading medical authorities in their state, yet for a long time they did not meet up with the very sickest people in that state. Who, indeed, has the right to single out them or their state for particular condemnation -- when children from all over this land, from all over the territory that comprises this "world power," face conditions not ~~all~~ at all unlike those described in the report requested by Governor Johnson?

Some of the children those doctors saw can now be seen by all of us in this book. The faces, the landscape, the concrete, physical reality is all here for our eyes to behold and scan and capture and send along those neural pathways to our central nervous systems, to what neurologists call the "hind-brain," where emotions like rage and horror and terrible sadness lie buried or not-so-buried, hidden or merely waiting -- for expression, to be spoken and heard and felt by others. Our eyes also dispatch what we see to those precious and singular "frontal lobes," the pride of man. There we sort things out and come to terms with them. There we think. There we beget understanding. There our sensibilities are born, live on, and in moments of real truth, exert themselves mightily. There we

receive the brunt of all our built-in wildness and primitivism; and there we turn "emotions" to powerful ideas and to beliefs that command attention and devotion. There pictures and "data" mix -- and somehow, sometimes, become refined into, honed into a thing called "enlightenment" or "judicious concern" or "civilized indignation" or "compassionate, thoughtful protest." There, finally, we discover, "balance," and weigh our security, our social security. When we have done so, when we have considered how much of our own skin, our own comfort we are ready to jeopardize for the sake of the next fellow -- then we are ready to defend ourselves, to call one man "too upset," another "too sympathetic," another "too outraged," still another "too idealistic" about this or that to realize the practical, complex, complicated, intricate, longstanding, incrediby difficult and resistant nature of -- oh, just about any "problem" that is described these days.

So, life is not mere emotion -- be it a feeling of hunger or a feeling of moral outrage. In a civilized society, an advanced, technological one, "thinking, responsible men," men with power in their hands, must delay things, decide on "priorities," choose the "important ones for now," assign the rest to "later." The same thing goes for the children whom

Mr. Clayton bothers us with so repeatedly in this book. They also have to do something with their lives, with the choices they have or don't have, with the "raw" emotions that flood them no less than us. While we consider them one "part" of the "larger challenge" to a great world power, they day by day achieve what I suppose can be called a "world view" -- of which "we" are assuredly a part. They begin to learn exactly what is permitted and what is impossible, what is encouraged and what is done on pain of death. They also begin to learn what pain is, what it means to get up in the morning and feel the skin itch, or pour out pus, or send messages of hurt and injury back "inside" to the brain. They begin to <u>expect</u> things: this arm doesn't quite work, or that leg. The presence of a dull, aching pain in the stomach is the way it is, the way it has to be. An accident or an injury are followed by nothing much -- no trips to a doctor, no stay in a hospital, no medicines, no bandages and splints and advice and special attention. When the weather is cold, it is cold everywhere -- in the fields, up the hollows, by the creek or inside the house. When summer comes, it too cannot be contained -- by an air-conditioner, or by screens that keep out flies and mosquitoes or by fans or by lots of cold showers or

by vacations to the sea-shore, or by the mountains or by going abroad. And school -- yes, there are schools: a one-room shack here; a new building there, full nevertheless of teachers who don't themselves know whether "it's of any use, the little learning we offer these children."

So spoke one of them when I asked her to describe her work:

> We try, a lot of us do. I know some of don't even care any more. But a lot of us try. We try to give these children a few hours of order and discipline. We try to teach them -- and at least every day they come here we have one meal for them, and we try to keep the building neat and orderly for them. You know, they're not used to that, a lot of them aren't. But after a while I think they begin to think we're not real, we're the exception. I mean, they'll tell you, even the most silent ones by the time they're here a year or two, they'll tell you. They'll say there's no point to it all, that they'd just as soon stay home, that you can't do any better with education than without it, not around here. We tell them to close their mouths and stop talking like that, or they'll get into trouble, lots of trouble. Then you know what? They say they know. They say they know that you don't say a word to the white man, because he'll kill you, that's what he'll do around here. But they want us to know what they think, what they've decided. It's hard, very hard -- on them and of course on us, the conscientious teachers who stay here and do the best we can. You can say we're no good -- that's what some of the civil rights people say -- but someone

> has to be here, even in the worst places, with the segregationists running the state. Someone has to be here, even if we don't do much good. The kids at least have to know that there is something called a school, and that if a lot of other changes occurred, the school would be better, and would be a place they wouldn't mind coming to at all. As it is, though, they do mind. I admit that.

What do they "mind"? What is on their minds? In the lofty way that people like me have of putting things: can we analyze and formulate the development of these children, the particular phychological processes that unfold in them, the underprivileged, the disadvantaged, the deprived -- or the just plain down and out? Well, yes, I think so; I think we can. Nor do we really need all that more "research," sophisticated research, in-depth research, longitudinal research, or any other kind. Note how Governor Johnson's doctors say in one breath that we know all that needs to be known, and need only money and men to "implement" what quite obviously needs doing; while in another moment, at the end, when perhaps they had to face "political realities," or be "pragmatic," the need is declared for a "long-term study" to obtain a "meaningful picture."

So it happens: middle-class professional men suddenly find themselves in the midst of the most awful, surprising and shaming circumstances, say that, demand action, the kind of action that occurs to them, and would occur to anyone with half a set of wits in his head -- but finally, surrender to a much greater need than any merely hungry person feels, the need that politicians have to perpetuate what _is_, to prevent what _might be_ from ever really happening, from ever disrupting, unsettling, shaking up, transforming, significantly and extensively changing "things as they are." That truth, that _political_ truth, is actually what this book's children, like all children, manage to learn. After a few years any one of the children Mr. Clayton has photographed can indeed get to know an outsider, at least know him well enough to abandon absolute silence and fear and suspicion and an unspeakable kind of mocking, wondering, smiling, laughing sensibility for a moment of wry speech:

> Things as they are around here -- well,
> they're not too good. That's what my
> momma says to me. They're not too good.
> She says someday they might get better.
> She says they would, they'd get better if we
> went up there to Chicago. She and my daddy,
> all the time they say no, it's bad there
> too, or yes, we're going tomorrow, or maybe

next week. Then something comes up, and we never seem to leave; we never get there, to Chicago; or anywhere that I can see; just here; and once a month into the town, to get food for to eat for the month; and to church, we go every Sunday there; and that's all. Oh, I forgot school. Some days I'll go, and some days not. The teachers want you all dressed up, and they tell me it's not only that I haven't got the right clothes, it's that I have this bad thing on my head -- it's a rash, and it may be something catching, she says, "for all I know it may be catching," that's what she said, yes sir. So if it gets better for a while -- yes, sir it does -- I'll try me the school. I'll wear my brother's shoes. They're mine, too; but he says they're his because he's the older one. And I'll go. Once I was there all week.

Well, I think I'd like to try being a pilot on one of those airplanes. They fly over here, going to the Air Force base. Sometimes they fly so low I figure I could touch them if I was up there on top of the tree. I figure they can see me down here, they can, when they fly so low -- so I shout up at them. I say "hello" and I say "you're a real big plane," and once I said "hey, stop over there; you can land on the field, near the cotton and we could come look in." But he was gone before I finished telling him.

It won't be long, of course, until that nine-year-old child is much, much "older." Teeth that are never repaired

begin to drop out. Vitamin deficiencies render the gums swollen, painful, bleeding. The skin can take only so much dirt, so many infections and bruises that are not treated; and so by 20 or 25 a person can look wrinkled or lined or far too leathery even for the most sympathetic, the most romantic of observers. What is worse, all the ailments under the skin begin to accumulate and worsen and wear the body down. An injured limb or joint that never healed correctly gradually has become "stiff." A child's rheumatic heart disease finally becomes crippling. The coal in the air, the acid or the germs in the water, the worms in the food -- they have all had their chance to work, to take root in the lung's delicate airways, the stomach's sensitive lining and -- believe it or not -- in seemingly offbeat or remote places of the body, like the liver or the eyes, where worms find their ways.

As a matter of fact, the least educated share the same puzzled curiosity that we medical students did when we learned how devious "simple worms" can be. Like us, when those sharecroppers or migrant farmers or Appalachian mountaineers get going with their questions a lot of them come out:

I hear the worms don't only bother the stomach and give you the indigestion. Our minister tells us that they eat their way through, and swim around in the blood, and they hits you all over the body. My little boy had bad convulsions, and at last they said they had to send him to the hospital. So they did, and they told me when I came to pick him up that he had real bad blood, thin as could be, and it was the worms. They said he had them in his liver and it was dangerous. They told me to give him a lot of meat and fish and eggs. And I said yes sir. And milk, they said. And I said yes to that. Then I asked my minister what we were supposed to do. I mean, where do you get those things? Where, where, where? No place, I'll tell you. The way I see it, you can take so much, and then you fall to pieces, and with us it don't take long for the limit to come. If it wouldn't be the liver, it would be something else. Isn't that right? I know it is. When your blood gets real thin, you're weak, real weak, and you can't have too long ahead, even if you're young. Right? That's how I see it. Something is falling apart, and the blood -- isn't it the thing that holds you together, like cement? -- just isn't there to keep you going. That's why I'm more worried about his poor blood than the convulsions he gets from time to time. We've learned that he survives those fits, and the minister says it may be a sign that God is visiting the boy and speaking to him -- because in the Bible it happens all the time. And if God <u>is</u> visiting him, well it's the best news we've ever had down here, I'll tell you that. It means maybe

> things will get better soon, though I doubt it. It may sound real bad of me to say it, but I think even God would get a case of the nerves, trying to change it all around here; even He would.

Does her son agree with her? No, he doesn't at all. He is quite prepared to be around "a few more years, maybe." At twelve the whole world is opening up for him, right in front of his eyes. Most of his friends are completely through with school. Many of them are going steady, and in a year or two will be thinking of marriage. What is more, at home and in the neighborhood he is no longer looked upon as a child. He is growing, even grown. He knows his way around. He knows how to speak to bosses and sheriffs and store-keepers. He has weathered a full decade of life and more. He is a <u>survivor</u>. Though he tends to be shy and laconic, let me connect together remarks he has made to me over the years:

> I guess you see a lot here, as much as any place. Now that I'm out of school I get to see even more. School wasn't much of anything but a waste. The teachers didn't do much. They just shouted at you and made you feel real bad. Whatever you did, they were on you, telling you it wasn't good, and it wouldn't lead you anyplace. They'd be asking us every morning if we wanted to be like our momma and our daddy, and if that was

the case we could go ahead, but we'd pay for it later. And they said if we minded them -- well, then we'd go way up, to I don't know where. And when I told them I didn't believe them, I didn't believe we'd go anyplace but where we were, be we in school or not -- well, that was when she told me, the teacher told me that the time was drawing near for me to leave and go sit at home with my daddy. I was about to stop anyway. You get to be over ten and it's no good, sitting there, hearing them. You're too big for the chair and they don't know what to do with you anyway. They just want the little kids, to lead about for a little while, until they won't oblige any longer.

I don't know about later. I feel pretty good now -- not all better, but o.k. I haven't had a fit for a while, and they tell me my blood is stronger from the new blood they gave me a while back. I help around the house all the time. We watch each other, and we figure things to do, the others and me. I go for the water sometimes, and I see my friends a lot. If there's any spare work in town, they know they can come get us. They send out a truck and we goes to help them -- if there is cleaning to do, or the lawns to care for, or things like that. You can clear yourself a few dollars every few weeks if you're real lucky, though there's more of us than there is work, I believe that. The best thing you can do, though, is get yourself a good woman to marry. If she knows someone in town who will give her a regular job -- housework, like that -- then you're really set up. You don't have to worry about groceries. You can always buy them if you have a little money coming in each week.

The women he is talking about make ten or fifteen dollars a week, and no doubt about it, that helps at the food store. He has his eye on a girl, a woman a year older he wants to marry soon. They don't know where they'll live or how, but that is a worry for tomorrow. I am quite sure they know one another intimately well. From what I hear they may eventually move -- either to a Southern city like New Orleans or Birmingham, or up North. They watch television all the time, in fact know more about what is going on in the world than friendly and in various ways condescending observers like me are apt to let themselves discover. One day I had the nerve to ask them -- I tried to do it in a casual way -- who the governor was and what they thought about him. The young woman of 13 replied quickly:

> Johnson. He's gone back on himself. He used to sound real bad. You might have thought he would be the worst one we've ever had. But he's been quiet-sounding since he's been governor. He doesn't say much that's too bad. And if he hasn't brought much help to us -- well, my daddy says no governor here can. We just have to accept that, and try to do what we can for ourselves. That's what he says. Me, I tend to think we should go ask for more. That's the direction it seems to be, more and more. Our minister said so a few

> weeks ago. He said it didn't mean we were going to Heaven because we are poor. So, we might as well try to get something more if we can -- as well as pray. Now that's how I see it.

Soon they will be married, and I don't frankly know whether they'll "stay" or "move on to the city." I do know that she is nearly as anemic as he has been, and I do know that an anemic woman suffers a much higher incidence of spontaneous abortions and miscarriages, gives birth to more retarded children, and in general is weak and tired before an inevitably yelling, crying and hungry child appears before her to herald a new set of possibilities -- and probabilities and disasters.

Again and again we can only say: so it goes, "world without end." From time to time I look at the photographs that Walker Evans or Dorothea Lange took in the thirties and recognize what seem to me the exact same white and Negro families I work with today. On second thought, though, things have changed very much -- not only for "us," for whom the "great depression" is a distant, bitter, fearful memory, or a piece of history one now studies in class, but for "them," too. Why should the very poorest be exempted from the cliché that appearances do not tell all? I do not believe the people Mr. Clayton has enabled us to see are quite the ones Agee and

Evans met in Alabama, or Dorothea Lange saw in her travels through America in the thirties. The American landscape has changed: the cars, the roads, the styles of clothing, the "environment" that even the very poor share with everyone else. Somehow the people in this book seem different -- perhaps more lonely, more confused by the ironies and paradoxes that this nation presents to them as much as to those of us who feel educated and sensitive. In West Virginia last year I heard this from an elderly man:

> A while back you knew you had a lot of company. You'd tune in on the radio and hear Mr. Roosevelt telling the whole country that we were in a hell of a state and we all had to pull together. Then the war came, ~~and~~ the second world war, and then the Korean one, and a lot of people got it better, but things stayed still here, dead still. In fact they got worse. It makes you ashamed. You wonder what you did, or what you didn't do. You can't say it's laziness, either. We just don't have work here. The business people and the government, they send their money and their new factories to other places.

He is not poor by any means. He is a doctor, and well read. Yet, he says that in the most remote of hollows his patients -- and the many he cannot and does not see -- know what he knows:

"They know more about what's going on than they used to know -- and it's harder on them than it used to be when there weren't many of us that well off."

We realize all that, I suppose -- when we stop to think about it. I don't know what "good" is accomplished for the people whose faces and homes appear on the following pages that we see them and for a moment twinge at their "fate." Yes, Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange moved thousands of Americans to shame and indignation and sympathy and a sense of longing -- to say something, to do something that would change things, so that the toughness, the persistence, the desperate strength in people barely able to stay fed, clothed and under a roof would not prove wasted. Yes, Mr. Clayton may help us become more determined, more curious about America -- all of it. Certainly he has not held back. In picture after picture he spares himself and us very little. Like a physician he bears down on details, on lesions and swellings and lumps and deformities. Like a mechanical or hydraulic engineer he catches machines doing their work and havoc, or water standing about in gutters and amid debris. He does not seem predominantly interested in "composition," in an artistic presentation -- and yet his pictures grow and grow as one by

one they speak to us about birth, growth, decay, death -- and always the struggle that American citizens must make between sunrise and sunset and sunset and sunrise. The children cry and play and seek one another out and rest out of fatigue and hunger and boredom. Their parents care -- their faces will smile or frown or look impassive and suspicious and amused and expectant and utterly jaded. Their grandparents look doomed and defiant and resigned and tired beyond all exhaustion and still ready to be puzzled, to be surprised -- by being granted the decent living conditions that in themselves enable any man or woman to be no better or worse than his neighbor, but at least strong enough to find a destiny other than constant pain, hunger, uncertainty and terror.

In any event, all that is shown here has been brought to "us," brought to our cities by people who have had to move or just about die. These are the people who reluctantly or eagerly have come to "the big places," to "the avenues where there are the big buildings." They leave the inheritance Mr. Clayton has so painstakingly documented for streets that border on our own; and the last pictures in this book show where they go. They have become our neighbors, our urban neighbors, close at hand, around the corner, at our very

threshold -- far more so than perhaps we frankly care to acknowledge. One way or another "they" have become "us." One way or another we will have to make one another's acquaintance -- because the odds are overwhelming that our slums or ghettoes will increase and increase over the next few years:

> I see the planes fly over here, and I want to go where they go, up North a lot of them. But I don't know if I should try it. I'd stay here if I thought it would get any better, or I'd go there if I thought it was worth it. But when I'm in a real low mood, you know what I think? I think it don't really make that much difference, either way. Probably, though, we'll all be in some city or other, the way it's going down here. They're pushing on us all the time to "git, git, git" -- that's what the boss man says, "git, because we've got no use for you anymore." He even told me there are a lot of white people he thought should leave where they are and go someplace else. Now, there's a fair man for you.

Incredible, utterly incredible that an American, that such a man -- bright, shrewd, imaginative, almost illiterate, hungry, ragged, jobless, witty, philosophical, tired, disappointed, proud, searching, downcast and sore -- has to live the kind of life he is now living. In his presence -- out of

shame and fear and nervousness and yes, arrogance, namely a desire to convince him and myself that he may be powerless but someone like me can summon words, can muster effective outrage -- I have offered my "help," spoken my wish that the billions and billions of dollars that our country possesses would one day be spent differently, so that not a single citizen of this country would go hungry. "Maybe so. Maybe so. I don't think I'll live to see that day," was his reply. He saw me seeing his "despair," his "hopelessness." (I suppose that's all I can do, turn his lifetime of experience, of expectations and disappointments, into a few static words, like "despair" or "hopelessness," or even worse, "depression.") Then, he suddenly did something else -- by saying something else: "Don't worry, though. I tell my kids we'll somehow make it. I'll get by until tomorrow, and they'll get by longer, I hope. And some one of us, he'll be the lucky one to have it good, like you say."

Exactly who needs "help" and "reassurance" in this nation -- that man or those who feel sorry for him but can't do a thing to change their sorrow into deeds? Perhaps one day we will all be better citizens -- when that man has a better life and our lives are on the way to becoming better because of that

fact alone. Meanwhile, in anticipation of Mr. Clayton's sad, awful, lovely, tender, brutal photographs I can only make a few concluding, summarizing observations, rather in the fashion (one vaguely recalls) of the sentences on pages of books children use in elementary school -- because everything Mr. Clayton's camera presents to us is so terribly simple, so direct, so obvious, so there, waiting for action.

When a doctor sees a child who is sick he may well be seeing the last stage in what I suppose we ought to call a bit formidably a process. That is, a disease may be the final confrontation between a littered, chaotic, deteriorated, contaminated, unsanitary and in fact poisonous "outside" world and the child's body, his "inner" world of growing but needy and vulnerable blood vessels, muscles, bones, vital organs and skin.

The trash and waste around a child's home are not inert; they harbor germs, flies and rats.

Stagnant water also encourages germ-bearing flies and mosquitoes.

The child is lucky if his home has electricity and available water. For that matter, he is lucky if his home is not one day, suddenly and arbitrarily, crushed to rubble by strip-miners and their machines and what their machines do. Anyway, electricity can only go so far in easing a burden in a rural shack, and water can be "available" and "running" but not safe or in any way convenient.

The child is lucky if he can take a bathroom for granted -- its water, its protection from extreme cold.

A child has to take what he gets -- and as a result live or die. He learns about God, and he learns about Man, and what Man has come to call the "environment." He slowly begins to learn which home is <u>his</u> ... and which homes belong to others.

And he learns about food -- whether it comes from a supermarket, or a nearby farm or in the form of commodities, emergency supplies from the government.

At birth the child is already a "medical statistic," among other things. He is delivered in a hospital by a doctor and pronounced healthy, or he is delivered at home and afflicted with defects -- an umbilical hernia, or a persistent, gastro-intestinal complaint.

As he grows, the child becomes alert and responsive, or he learns to be fearful and suspicious, to sleep a lot, even when picked up and held, and when awake to be fretful and unsmiling. He or she may have a scalp infection or a skin disease or a hair-lip -- all of which seem like the usual "out-of-order" things around.

Children, of course, cling to their parents. A mother and father <u>are</u> the child's world. The child may be hungry or in pain; with her mother or his grandmother or his father, he has at least all the prtection he has come to find possible.

Parents feed children, sometimes regularly and well, sometimes unpredictably, with a piece of bread, a coke, or better, milk, an apple and meat.

Parents can't always feed their children well, though; and the children's appearance and "health" testify to that fact; and the sad look on a parent's face also testifies to that fact. It does not take a doctor to see a child who needs medical and surgical help. It does not take a psychiatrist to see how bitter a mother becomes when she cannot offer food to a hungry, crying child. The doctor can direct his attention to the child's skin, his belly, his scarred or twisted limbs, his dazed or confused look. The "ordinary" observer can see the same, grim truth for himself -- and does not require medical terminology for "confirmation."

No matter how poor and hungry, children cling tenaciously to whatever life, whatever "community" they have found as a birthright. They huddle together, or they go off by themselves -- figuratively, with a look, or literally.

Eventually, they grow up -- and whatever they have suffered and lacked and missed becomes all too relentlessly obvious. One can see their skin. One can see swollen glands or nodules or a goiter. One can see retardation that has never been challenged or given its own dignity. One can see the feet, or one can see the teeth.

And in those who do survive, who live out a reasonably long if hard and uncertain life, one can see those final moments -- of awful, stoic endurance, such as William Faulkner described and tried to comprehend.

It is also possible to find old men who are puzzled, but stubbornly determined to keep trying, and old women who do their best each day, with meal after meal, with chore after chore.

There are sick and tired ones, too. It is, perhaps, better not to get very close to them. Their faces, their eyes, tell a thousand dreary, sad "everyday" stories.

Eventually, for many, there is the decisive story -- of the "move," of the moment when one city beckons people who hate to leave or cannot wait to go. And indeed they have gone, gone to the cities; they have gone and gone and gone, by the millions in this century. Black and white, they have gone, and now that they are there, they are "here," with us.

We face them. They confront us. Their violent, violated past becomes a fearful presence to us. Their history makes history right before our eyes; and we find out not only who they are and what they are like, and what they have become, but what we have done. We learn about our own history. Perhaps but only perhaps we will learn to make for all of us a new history. Particularly to young Americans -- who are studying history, who are learning and want to learn -- the urge rises to cry out with questions: Will the tired old, stale old excuses and evasions forever keep us paralyzed? Or will the might and wealth of this country once and for all be summoned to the side of the people we see in this book, so they can at last eat decently and work honorably -- and so the rest of us can have at least one less important reason not to lie nervously, fearfully awake?

The Board of Governors
of The Jewish Museum and The
World Publishing Company
request the pleasure of your company
at the preview of **Still**
an exhibition of photographs by
Al Clayton and Dorothea Lange,
coinciding with the publication of
"Still Hungry in America,"
by Robert Coles and Al Clayton.
Monday evening March 24, 1969
from 6 to 8 p.m.
at the Jewish Museum,
Fifth Avenue at 92nd Street,
New York, New York.

Guests of honor:
Al Clayton
Robert Coles
Senator Edward M. Kennedy

RSVP: RI 9-3770, ext. 378

The Jewish Museum
is under the auspices of
The Jewish Theological
Seminary of America.

January 18, 1959

Mr. John R. Larkins
Consultant
State Department of Public Welfare
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mr. Larkins:

We acknowledge receipt with many thanks of your study of Negro leadership in North Carolina. I have read it and passed it on to others here. It seemed to me to be an excellent job, from which I have learned much. You are to be congratulated on it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 10, 1959

Professor John Osgood
Department of Psychology and Education
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear John:

I could have told you before I left that I would be in your hair (what there is left of it) but thought it best to let the fact creep up on you. Can you wrench yourself from Pstalozzi long enough to think about a question or two?

We are considering putting out a modest report which would do two things: (1) summarize carefully but succintly the most important desegregation plans that have been used to date by school systems which have taken the big step; (2) provide some authoritative evaluation of them. Our principal motive would be, if we do this, to supply something of interest and use for federal judges dealing with school cases.

Do you think this is a worthwhile idea? Do you think it is rendered superfluous by the Phi Delta Kappa report?

If we do this, the compilations plans would be done here. The autheratative evaluations would have to come from elsewhere and the logical sources are southern professors of education or southern school men. In either case, they would have to be people who were willing to write for us, could write concisely and who possess sufficient stature to be attended to.

I have been inquiring locally about such people, but I would be extremely interested to have your suggestions.

Give my best to Mary Alice. We will be fully counting on seeing you all on your way to Alabama next time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 20, 1959

Mr. Frank Crabtree
1922 Bixby Street, S. E.
Atlanta 17, Georgia

Dear Mr. Crabtree:

Thank you again for your good and prompt job on our calculations. I hope that we shall have opportunities for working together in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 2, 1959

Professor C. B. Cosnell
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Dr. Cosnell,

Liberty County does have more Negro than white registrants according to the Secretary of State's figures. I am afraid that we have little to offer by way of explanation. One observable fact is that Negro registration is fairly high in the whole group of coastal counties between Savannah and Brunswick. Liberty County, then, would appear to be only a part of a cultural unit which traditionally has tended to be somewhat ahead of other rural areas in Negro voting. Another explanation which has been suggested to me is the spread out of Savannah of urban influence; this seems to me an explanation rather too pat and nebulous to be convincing.

For a long while , as you probably know, there has been a political division in the county, centering around the sheriff, Paul Sikes. He is reportedly a pretty unsavory type, and reformists have been trying unsuccessfully to dislodge him. He has had the support of Negro voters, and presumably has encouraged their registration.

The press reported that eight Negroes filed in early 1958 for election to the Democratic Executive Committee. We cannot find any further report, and assume, therefore, that they were defeated. We know of no recent Negro office-holder in the county.

I have, incidentally, seen on this matter of the coastal counties a citation of Hugh Owen's thesis, The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia: 1944-50, pp. 52-54. Also, have you checked with Lynwood? He and Joe Berud may have something in their article. Also, you might like to know that Professor Bassett got a similar inquiry from Goodman.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

Here are some figures:

Population*			Registration			Negro as % of Total	
White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	Population	Registration
4,000	5,700	9,700	2,128	2,472	4,600	58.8	53.7

* Estimates of Georgia Department of Health, July 1958

As of 1957, an estimated 3,173 Negroes were over voting age. The 1950 census reported no urban population in the county so that answers one of Mr. Goodman's questions. 71.6% of the total population was classified as rural non-farm, and 28.4% as rural farm. Of the Negroes, 3,385 were in the former and 1,781 in the latter classification as of 1950. (Thus a 1950 total Negro population of 5,166: not decreasing!) Educational and economic indices do not show off the county favorably:

1950 Census		Liberty County	State
Median school year completed		6.6	7.8
	Negro	4.3	4.9
Median income of families and related individuals		$1,122.	$1,644.
	Negro	879.	909.

I am sorry we haven't more to give you. Oh, yes! the county went for Eisenhower in 1956, by 967-892.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 6, 1959

Professor Henry Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Roberts:

After some thought is seems to me that the most convenient way of furnishing you the raw figures on the Virginia correlations is to send you the data cards and the compilation sheets that were compiled. We would of course like to have these returned when you are through with them. They are the only copies we have, and although we have no present need for them, and you may, therefore use them unhurriedly, I would like to have them back for our files. The statistical method employed for the correlations is the Yule's-Q device. I had not myself been previously acquainted with it but the procedure is fairly simple, and seems plainly revealed from the computations.

I am especially willing to send these along to you because you have indicated that you will rerun the correlations and check on their accuracy. I think this would be a wholesome thing and I would be most interested to know the results.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

KEY TO COUNTY CARDS

A. Negro Registration

B. White Registration

C. % Potential Negroes Registered

D. % Potential Whites Registered

E. -

F. % Population Non-white

G. % Population change

H. % Population Change (Non-white)

I. Urbanization

J. Industrialization

K. Negro Farm Tenancy

L. Median School Year Completed

M. Median School Year Completed (Non-white)

N. Median Family Income

O. Median Family Income (Non-white)

March 19, 1959

Professor Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Roberts:

First of all, apologies for the delay in answering your letter of March 3rd. It somehow got sidetracked in the office mail.

I have pulled out the computations which were done for Virginia after the 1956 survey. I believe the following are the data that you want:

Non-white population (Counties above population median correlated with counties above median Negro registration)	-.42
County population change (Counties gaining correlated, etc.)	.18
Non-white population change (Counties gaining correlated, etc.)	.06
Urbanization (Counties above 50% correlated etc.)	.43
Industrialization (Counties above 25% correlated etc.)	.04

Tenancy (Counties with over 50% tenancy correlated, etc.)	- .77
Median school years completed (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.48
Median school years completed, non-white (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.60
Median family income (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.45
Median family income, non-white (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.41

I am not, myself, in a position to attest to the accuracy of these figures, though I have no reason to doubt that they were properly and carefully obtained. Please let me know if you need any of the figures upon which the correlation is based. You may recall that the Negro voting registration for Virginia, which is the constant factor in all our correlations, was 19.78.

You asked about further studies in this field. A new survey was done for 1958 and the results are now being written up. The report will be, we think, somewhat more detailed than The Negro Voter in the South. Margaret Price is again the penman, or rather pen-woman. A preliminary statement, put out largely as a matter of public information tactics, was issued last November and I am enclosing a copy of it and also a copy of an earlier Special Report summarizing official comments about Negro voting. You will certainly get a copy of the new survey report when it is issued.

Please let me know if we can help you in any other way.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Blind Copy: Professor Donald Matthews, Dept. Political Science
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

It occurs to me that you may be interested to know that such correlationsas the above have been done here, although I gather that no one has evidenced pride in them - they never got out of our files.

April 24, 1959

Professor Douglas Verney
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Professor Verney:

Dr. Mitchell's address in Scotland is: The Lodge, Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland. I am sure he would be glad to talk with you and to have your report from his home region.

We are mailing you, as you requested, some diverse materials which you may find of interest. Included among them you will note is the text of George Mitchell's by now moderately famous "Map Talk" which accompanies the movie, "Face of the South". There is also a copy of our 1956 "Negro Voters Survey". A new report is in progress and will be out, we hope, within the next couple months. We have also nearly ready for release a lengthy report on "Violence and Intimidation in the South Since 1954". If you would want either of these things when published, please let us know.

There is included a selected bibliography to which I have added one or two titles of articles. Most of the items listed there are, I am sure, already familiar to you, as are some recent books such as those by Brooks Hays, William Peters, Melvin Tumin and Franklyn Frazier. You may possibly not have seen C. A. Becker's The Economics of Desegregation. You will want to obtain a copy, which you probably can from Dean White in the Education school, of Action Patterns in School Desegregation, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, a Phi Delta Kappa commission project.

There are two pamphlets which I have an especial liking for: one is a symposium titled "Christianity and Race", published in the spring of 1958 by the Perkins School of Theology, a Southern Methodist University; the other is "Race Relations in the South" by R. W. Patrick, published in 1958 by the Florida State Teachers Association.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Research Director

LWD:a

Enclosed: Bibliography

Mailed separately:
- Map Talk
- The Negro Voter in the South (and Special Report, 1958)
- Highlights from Recent Literature, Oct. & Dec., 1958
- Public Ethics and the Integration Question
- Segregation versus the Space Age
- Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decision
- Correspondance Concerning South Carolinians Speak
- Press Release, 11 Protestant Social Action leaders
- The Economic Effects of School Closing
- A First Step
- The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools
- Publication listings
- Statements on Schools: Ministers, Doctors, Professors
- Accent on the South
- The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox
- New South: June '57, July-August '58, Dec. '58, April '59
- James M. Dabbs interview with Mike Wallace

May 15, 1959

Mrs. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi
Director, Research Unit
Christian Life and Work
National Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Nishi:

I read with great interest the copy of the proposal of the National Council for a large program of research on race relations and the church. Certainly there is both utilitarian and theoretical need for more understanding, more knowledge and consequently more investigation. One can say this more impressively and lengthily but it amounts to the same. I don't know that I have any particularly important specific comments to offer. It seems to me that your plans envisage a high degree of dependence upon the initiative, imagination, and skill of the persoan who will be put to work. And this is as it should be.

I shall be in New York next week for the meeting of the Society for the Study of Sociological Problems. My plans are to come into New York Thursday night, which would mean some free time Friday morning, as I understand the meeting does not begin until noon. I hope that I may have a chance to talk with you, either at the meeting, if you will be there, or at your office on Friday morning. Perhaps you could drop me a note before then and let me know your convenience. In addition to learning more about your plans, I could tell you

of the one or two modest thing that we have in prospect, or know about.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

FRANK G. WILKINSON LIBRARY

May 27, 1959

Mrs. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, Director
Research Unit, Christian Life and Work
National Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Nishi:

It was good to meet you last week and hear you describe more fully the plans which you are forming for the Council's program for research in racial relations. The Southern Regional Council wishes you all success in getting this program underway.

The people whom you are considering for your advisory committee seem to me good. If any names other than the few I suggested to you occur to me I shall be bold enough to write. The Duke professor is, incidentally, James W. Vander Zanden, Sociology Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

You asked me if we had a statement concerning our own plans for a series of short studies on segregation and Southern self-interest. As I look over what we have it seems too diffuse to copy and send. Perhaps the summary statement will indicate to you where we are headed.

The series will include pamphlets concerned with the effects of segregation on:

1. southern manpower and its effective utilization in a growing industrial economy

2. southern income and purchasing power

3. southern "business climate"

4. the national interest in optimal manpower utilization because of Russian economic competition

5. the United States' position as world leader, needing the respect and confidence of other nations

6. southern influence on national politics

7. the tranquility and pleasure of southern societies

8. southern politics

9. the ability of southern cities to cope rationally with typical urban problems

10. southern housing patterns, and the price paid by the whole community to maintain those patterns

This is merely the tentative scheme and will be continuously redefined. Where we stand now is that a pamphlet on the ninth topic is well along in preparation by C. H. Parrish, sociologist at the University of Louisville; and Donald Dewey, economist at Duke seems inclined to consent to do the first topic.

I believe that I mentioned to you our plan for a study of the treatment of racial relations news by the southern press. Because I think there is everything to be gained from those of us working in this field to know what each other is doing, I can now report that Walter Spearman of the Department of Journalism of the University of North Carolina has agreed to do the job for us.

We shall see that you get copies of various reports and pamphlets as they are issued.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 5, 1959

Professor Eugene Rabinowitch, Editor
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists
5734 University Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Professor Rabinowitch:

Thank you for your quick and encouraging response of May 12 to our suggestion of an article in the Bulletin on southern colleges and universities. As it turns out, other people, happily, were thinking along the same lines. At about the time I wrote to you, the magazine Commentary was proposing a similar article to our president, Mr. James McBride Dabbs. Mr. Dabbs has accepted their commission. He has the leisure and the wide contacts to enable him to pursue this carefully. The great respect our staff has for Mr. Dabbs makes us believe that his article will be a genuine contribution.

However, this is not the sort of subject which one article will exhaust. I shall see that you get a copy of Commentary when the essay appears. It may be that you will think that another article done for Bulletin's readers may be suitable. If so, we would be glad to cooperate in its completion.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 1, 1959

Professor Eugene Rabinowitch
Department of Biochemestry
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

Dear Professor Rabinowitch:

I received yesterday a reminder to renew my subscription to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (which I shall quickly do), and the notice caused me to think of the Bulletin in another connection. First, however, may I tell you that this lay reader finds the magazine invariably interesting. You do a magnificent job of affirming the complete involvement of modern culture with natural science.

Earlier this week I attended an interagency meeting with representatives of such organizations as the National Council of Churches, the NAACP, the American Jewish Committee. Although the subject was not on the agenda, a lengthy and troubled discussion developed over the effects of the present Southern defiance on our universities. I suspect that you are familiar with some of the academic freedom cases that have arisen - at the University of South Carolina, Alabama Poly, Texas Tech and other schools - and which the AAUP, in its own methodical way, looks into. The injustice done to the individual is the most important aspect of these repressions. There is also damage done to scholarship, to the integrity of universities, and to the dignity of the concept of a community of scholars. It is this latter aspect which I have in mind as I write this letter.

I am enclosing two clippings - one from Civil Liberties, (the ACLU publication) and the other from the Arkansas Gazette - which underline the dimensions of this attack on the universities as centers of free inquiry and teaching. It occurs to me that the Bulletin might well take an interest in what is happening here. I believe that a carefully constructed article, by a respected scholar, inquiring into the hurt sustained by scholarship and teaching through the acts of sourthern state governments since 1954, would be a tremendously valuable offering to sanity. I do not know what form your arrangements take with your contributors; if you know of someone already close to this problem, or someone who could be interested in examining it, I am sure that the Council could assist with any expenses that might be needful in the interest of reliable observations.

I hope you will excuse me for writing at this length. This is a matter with which we are greatly concerned, and one which we think deserves serious thought throughout the country.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Department of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures

COPY

June 5, 1959

Professor Ralph Purcell
Department of Political Science
University of Delaware
Newark, Delaware

Dear Ralph:

You misunderstood me--your fault, I may add. We don't want to draw attention to Nutter, we want to supersede him. Maybe I did not say it plainly enough before: I think his memorandum is silly, plus being wrong.

Things go interestingly here. We have a good study of the private school problem in the offing, a study of the treatment of racial news by the southern press in the process, and a couple of other things moving along, including a voting survey. I have put you on our mailing list despite your unconscionable desertion of the better side of the Mason and Dixon line (or is Delaware still below it?) and you will be receiving some things within a few days.

Give my best to Al Duff and tell him I know that I owe him a letter.

We hope Marge and the kids arrive safely from Austria--no more broken knees or other Purcell unfortunates, and we are sorry you could not make it to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 4, 1959

Professor Ralph E. Purcell
Department of Political Science
Wake Forrest University
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Ralph:

Thank you for sending copies of the Nutter-Buchanan analysis. We are more than ordinarily interested in this because we have a study of our own in progress. I hope and believe it will be good enough to obliterate completely this vicious reasoning of the Charlottesville pundits.

I would like to see the Harry Golden column if you can find it. We get the Carolina Israelite (you should too) but I assume your reference was to his syndicated column which we don't see.

Walter Bennett telephoned last week and asked me to read a paper at the Southern Political Science convention in November. I asked him for a while to think it over. I probably should do it, although I must be extremely careful about committing myself to such undertakings; what used to be curricular is now extra-curricular. Besides, one angle of what he wants me to do would take some rather hard digging.

Have you, by the way, ever thought of making a contribution to your native briar patch by writing something on the Asiatic reaction to our race relations, and the

consequences of this for our stature abroad? If you have such ambitions, I would like to hear about it.

Try to make it down during the last days of your bachelorhood. Peggy adds her urgings.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 19, 1959

Professor John Osgood
Department of Psychology
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Mass.

Dear John:

Your procrastination does not diminish my appreciation, nor my weakness for lousy alliteration. Your comments are good and I am glad to have them. We, however, got caught up in so many other things that I have let the idea of an analysis of desegregation plans lie fallow; besides, nobody seemed very much interested and after the Phi Delta Kappa report I was dubious myself as to its utility. We do have almost ready for printing an interesting pamphlet by two professors of education at Emory on the problems involved in establishing private schools. I shall send you a copy and would like to have your comments on it.

I will write more at another time. Meanwhile, give my best to Mary Alice and we do hope to see you sometime this summer. If you are really planning to hit all your kinfolks and friends between Austin, Texas and Massachusetts, God help your digestion.

Cordially,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:m

June 19, 1959

Professor Frank H. Jackson
Department of Economics
Florida State College
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Professor Jackson:

Thank you for your most welcome letter of March 27. I have postponed answering for too long, but I was hoping to receive a copy of your article before writing. Please do remember us when the article is published.

We are beginning to issue some short reports that touch on economic effects of the school controversy and are forming plans to publish some more substantial treatments of this general subject. I am enclosing a few of our releases with the thought that you may find them interesting.

I trust that by this time you have recovered from your illness.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: L Reports, 1-5

June 22, 1959

Professor Curtis Smith
Dept. of Physiology
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Mass.

Dear Curt:

Could I ask a favor? Our president has in mind a conference which, in an indirect way, bears a similarity to the McLeish-Van Doren-West-Dillard symposium. Do you think there is an available copy of those papers? If not, is there a copy that we could borrow? I think their statements would make interesting reading for Mr. Dabbs in connection with his own plans.

Please don't let this get messy. I don't want to get involved with the Lecture Committee, or the Dean, etc. Just if it is easy do I want this.

Will write soon. I assume that Peggy and Elaine are communicating and planning a meeting.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 25, 1959

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
Coordinator of Conference Studies
White House Conference on Children & Youth
330 Independence Avenue S. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Goodman:

I shall be glad to read your notes on "pioneer" children and their families when you have them ready. One other item: I have recently read the thesis proposal of Mr. C. E. Garth, in the Sociology Department of the University of Kentucky. His subject is "A Study of the Role of the 'Self' Concept as a Motivational Factor in Negro High School Students Who Change Schools in a Voluntary School Desegregation Plan." The proposal seemed to me quite promising in its concepts and approaches, and I understand Mr. Garth is nearing completion, of has completed, his thesis. You may wish to correspond with him.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 26, 1959

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
White House Conference on Children & Youth
330 Independence Avenue, S. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Goodman:

Enclosed you will find the Ken Clark report on Little Rock which was promised. I trust you will find it as interesting as we believe it to be.

I was pleased at the opportunity which the meeting in New York gave of meeting you. Please call upon us if we can be of any help to you in preparation of your paper for next year's meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: Little Rock Study,
Kenneth Clark

July 7, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Enclosed is an exchange of correspondance with Marion A. Wright, which is, I think, self-explanatory. Mr. Wright is an officer of the Council and at present a member of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. As you will see from my letter to him, I have tried to suggest that you may not have more information with which to help him; but if there are any leads or ideas or facts that you can supply him, we would greatly appreciate your communicating with him.

I think that by now everyone at the Council has read The Southern Temper. It is really quite a book.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: Copy, MAW's letter
" LDW's "

Esleeck
Glearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 19, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Thank you for your long and detailed letter of March 17. It is great news that your book will be out next month. We shall do all we can to get people to read it. I don't think that we are in such a press that we cannot wait for publication of the book in order to use the material. After all, we are interested in "impact" too, and if Doubleday thinks this is the way to do it we defer to their canny judgment.

Many thanks for your kind words about SRC.

Best wishes for the success of the book.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 8, 1959

Mrs. Frances R. Cousens, Co-ordinator
Research and Survey Division
Fair Employment Practices Commission
900 Cadillac Square Bldg.
Detroit 26, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Cousens:

We are glad to have your letter of July 2nd and its description of your interesting plans for a study of school achievements of Negro and white youth. As I read over your memorandum, I compared it with many conversations I have had with Professor C. H. Parrish and found them similar to each other. Dr. Parrish has permitted me to quote from a recent paper of his some paragraphs describing the research which he and his group at the University are engaged in; he asks that you accept this also as his acknowledgment of the copy of your letter which he received.

The paragraphs are as follows:

"Our tentative plan calls for the use of the elementary school district as an ecological unit. Tract data on education, occupation, and monthly rent taken from the 1950 census will be used in order to construct an index of socio-economic rank for each district. Median intelligence and achievement test scores for each school for the five year period 1948-1952 (with 1950 as the middle year) will determine its educational rank. Sharply contrasting and strikingly similar schools and school districts will be studied intensively, holding successively race, socio-economic rank and educational rank constant.

a. Compare schools serving the same racial group but drawn from divergent socio-economic areas.

b. Compare schools serving the same racial group and of similar socio-economic level but located in different parts of the city.

c. Compare schools serving the same racial group in the same district.

d. Compare schools serving different racial groups in the same district. (Or adjacent districts)

e. Compare schools serving different racial groups located in widely separated sections of the city but of the "same" socio-economic level.

"The statistical description of the school district will be validated wherever possible by existing records and by interviews with the principals and teachers who staffed the schools during the predesegregation period.

"The 1956-1958 test results may be used as crude measure of any significant changes which may have occurred during the first years of desegregation.

"The scholastic careers of selected individual students will be traced from the 1948-1952 period to the present time with a view of assessing the importance of the socio-economic milieu upon their careers and occupational choices.

"It is not anticipated than an analysis of the socio-economic factor will account completely for the lag in achievement of Negro children. Many students have called attention to the cultural diversity of the urban community. Ethnic groups, particularly, exhibit culture patterns often markedly different from comparable patterns in the general community. Negroes, prohibited by law as well as custom from participating in many community activities, have tended to create a social life of their own. A major research project is indicated in this area. An attempt will be made to determine what the significant culture differences are, how they influence the motivation and the career choices of Negro children, and in what ways such differences affect the desegregation process.

"Against the socio-economic and cultural background, the racially mixed school will be studied rather intensively. Schools will be selected at each level for these investigations. With certain precautions, junior high schools may be selected by using the same

ecological techniques that are to be employed in the analysis of the elementary schools. Appropriate techniques will be adopted or devised in order to examine intergroup and interpersonal relations in the classroom, in extra-class activities and in parent-teacher organizations. Research designs for this phase of the investigation will be formulated on the basis of information provided by the background studies described above."

I know that there is also some research along this line going on at several other Kentucky campuses. Perhaps you would like to correspond with Willis Sutton, in the Sociology Department at the University of Kentucky; Willis is not, so far as I know, directly involved in any of these studies, but I believe he would be the best person to inform you as to their nature. Also, the new and very large program of studies on the Negro to be carried out by the Institute of Social Science Research at the University of North Carolina will include an investigation of occupational mobility of Negroes which may be of interest to you. Although everyone seems to know of the Chapel Hill program, I believe no public announcement has yet been made and you may wish to keep this in mind if you decide to make contact with them.

I hope these items of intelligence will be of some use of you and will supplement already published material which I am sure you have. I don't believe, however, that anything directly on the points with which you are concerned has yet been published.

Give my regards to Fred. Tell him we all miss him.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 9, 1959

Professor Benjamin Higgins
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Center for International Studies
50 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Higgins:

We were very glad to receive your letter of July 6th. Your plan for an attack upon the economic problems of the South through an analogy with those under-developed countries is most interesting. It seems to me that there is a growing awareness that the old hope of the South's social inequalities being cured as a by-product of economic growth is yielding to the view which you suggest, and a realization that our social system is also a cause of economic lag. We will be most interested in discussing with you the study plans that you have when you return. I am not sure how the Council could be of assistance, but this is a matter which we can explore.

If you are in Indonesia and should come across my good friends Red and Kay Hawkins at the University in Jakarta, I hope you will give them my regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 19, 1959

Professor Benjamin Higgins
Chairman, Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Professor Higgins:

Some weeks ago, Richard Eckaus, of Brandeis, wrote that he had discussed with you some plans we have for a series of short studies on the South's "peculiar" problem. The connecting thread of these will be that they will seek to relate, negatively, segregation to southern self-interest. Economic issues have pride of place in such an approach, and we have hopes of interesting able southern economists to contribute to our project. One, as a matter of fact, has agreed to do so: Donald Dewey of Duke University will write a pamphlet, to be published next Spring, on manpower supply and ~~integration~~ utilization for an industrial system.

We would be very happy to have you initiate suggestions of likely subjects or authors for other pamphlets. We have, for example, thought that an analysis of the effects of segregation on purchasing power would be feasible and certainly valuable; we would be interested in publishing an inquiry into the added costs necessitated by segregation for businessmen and taxpayers; we have considered the problem posed by the Soviet's programs of full manpower utilization contrasted with our widespread underutilization.

Any comments you may have regarding these notions would be gratefully received. We would like to publish some pieces which not only advance our organizational point of view, but which can be welcomed by social scientists. We are, therefore, desirous of getting the best advice we can.

May I take this opportunity, on behalf of the Council, to welcome you to the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 29, 1959

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Assistant to the Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

Many thanks for your letter of July 17. It answers my query perfectly.

We are trying to get out within the next week or so a background statement on what may be the critical localities next September. It is a little late to be asking for help, but I recall that you used to keep a sort of score-card on the legislation passed by each state (I believe you published it once), and if you still maintain such a record you might be able to answer my questions easily. At any rate, we wouldn't want you to put much time on them.

Briefly, could you confirm these assertions?

1. That Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia have enacted some form of pupil placement law since 1954; and that Georgia and South Carolina have not.

2. That Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia have statutes which require or authorize the closing of schools, either by state or local authorities, to prevent their desegregation; that Texas (as well as Florida and Virginia) has a

"Little Rock" statute; that only Tennessee has no school closing law at all.

3. That some sort of tuition grant plan has been enacted in Alabama, Arkansas (declared unconstitutional), Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia; that the other states in this group of 11 have not so enacted.

4. That of this group, only North Carolina has not since 1954 enacted measures or taken other legislative action aimed at the NAACP (e.g. new barratry laws, membership registration, investigating committees).

We'll be more than grateful for any help you can give on this.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. My most bothersome concern is that I have found no record in Race Relations Law Reporter of a pupil placement law in Louisiana, or of a school closing statute in Alabama (other than the constitutional amendment which cleared the way for one). A newspaper clipping in the former case, and S.S.N. for September 1957 in the second, are my authorities for including them; the latter we trust always; I am not as happy about the clip re Louisiana.

August 14, 1959

Professor F. Stuart Chapin, Jr.
Program Director
Urban Studies Center
P. O. Box 1167
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Stu:

If he is not already receiving that, could you send back copies of your annual report to

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Chairman, Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Ky.

and place him on the mailing list for future reports.

I thought your 1958-59 report was particularly interesting and well done.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 8, 1959

Professor F. Stuart Chapin
Urban Studies Center
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Stu:

It was awfully good to see and talk with you after all these years. I am sorry that car trouble plus a crowded schedule kept me from once again invading your home and seeing Mildred and the children. Hopefully, there will be another time and I put you on notice that we expect to hear from you whenever you are in Atlanta.

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the report Where Shall We Live? This seems to me a couple of notches superior to the usual product of this sort of undertaking. There will be a couple of other things included with the report, and I am placing you on a mailing list to receive some of the publications we are issuing.

I would like to repeat my invitation of the other day - that if any of you in the Center ever want to say something about segregation and housing, or segregation and urban development, I wish most heartily that you would give us an opportunity to discuss your publishing plans with you. Some time ago I made a series of notes to myself, outlining possible items for SRC pamphlets. I am enclosing with this letter an approach which seemed to me at least possible, r relating housing segregation to economic costs. As you know, I am strictly an amateur in this field, but something here may prove suggestive.

Incidentally, we did put up for the night at Morrow Mountain State Park. T'was raining like the blazes, so we left the sleeping bags in the car and took a cabin; but it is a really lovely spot and we want to go back. I recommend it to you.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: 6-A

Mailed separately:
Where Shall We Live?
L reports, 1-5
Housing Report, Atlanta

August 28, 1959

Professor M. M. Tumin
Department of Sociology
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mel:

Did I do this all right? Because there is always the chance that more quizzies of this kind will be received, I will be most grateful for any corrections, suggestions, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: Blakeney letter
CC of reply
Copy L-8 Report

August 27, 1959

Mr. R. D. Blakeney, Superintendent
Thomasville City Schools
Thomasville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blakeney:

Thank you for your letter of August 25. The questions you raise are of undoubted importance and many scholars are searching for their answers. As I am neither psychologist nor anthropologist, I can give you only my understanding of the directions which current research has taken.

1. The statement which we reprinted in L Report 8 was issued as a rejoinder to Dr. McCurk. As such, it was carried in U. S. News and World Report on October 26, 1956.

2. In two basic particulars, it rejects the McCurk analysis:

   a. By questioning the reliability of his "equations" of social and educational opportunities. I think the point here is, that this group of widely recognized social scientists is denying that their own science has yet devised sufficiently accurate techniques to do what Dr. McCurk attempted.

   b. By rejecting the possibility of devising "non-cultural" questions and tests.

3. I believe the following statements summarize fairly well the present state of knowledge on Negro-white intelligence:

   a. Negroes score consistently lower than whites, on the average, in intelligence and achievement tests.

b. It has not, as yet, been demonstrated that this is caused by innate racial characteristics.

c. On the other hand, it has not, as yet, been demonstrated that race is not the cause of the lower scores.

d. So far as I know, therefore, no scholar can give you what you request, i.e. documentary proof that no differences exist. What the leading scholars do say, however, is that no innate differences have been shown to exist.

e. At the same time, every test has established that scores on intelligence and achievement tests, of both whites and Negroes, are affected by environment.

4. The following passage, from a recent book (B. P. Kamon, The Negro Personality, 1958) summarizes accurately, I believe, the present conclusions of scientists:

"It is worthwhile to review briefly what is known about Negro-white differences in intelligence. The consistent findings in a number of studies that, on the average, whites do better than Negroes on intelligence tests were seized upon as evidence of an innate inferiority of the Negro. (Although Binet, the founder of intelligence testing, had pointed out that intelligence tests were affected by environment, his successors seem to have forgotten this.) Doubt was cast upon this conclusion by the fact that northern Negroes differed from southern Negroes in the direction of white-Negro differences. In fact, the average score of Negroes from some northern states on army intelligence tests were higher than the average score of whites from some of the southern states. But a new hypothesis was devised, that of selective migration --whereby it was "obviously" the more intelligent Negroes who came North--so that innate differences could still be maintained as the true differences between whites and Negroes as well as the differences between northern and southern Negroes. Meanwhile, evidence accumulated for the effect of environment on tested intelligence. Further, the intelligence of Negroes was found to vary consistently with the number of years they lived in the North, while no consistent relationship was found between degree of white characteristics and intelligence among Negroes.

"The most decisive blow to the selective migration theory was dealt by Klineberg's study of the school records of 562 Negro migrants to the North from three different cities in the South. He compared their school record with the records of

their classmates who did not migrate and found no significant difference.

"In short, one can conclude that whites and Negroes, and northern and southern Negroes, do differ in average intelligence as measured, that intelligence tests are affected by environment, that the environments involved do differ in respects known to be related to intelligence test scores. One cannot conclude that there is no difference due to hereditary factors between the groups, but only that there has been no demonstrated hereditary difference, whereas there has been demonstrated an environmentally based difference of considerable magnitude."

5. You ask for proof of the statement by H. H. Giles. He is, of course, dealing in averages, and I suppose his statement could be simply re-worded, "northern students score higher than southern whites." I believe this is a well-established result.* I believe it is also widely recognized that northern averages are held back, at the present, by Negro scores. In an earlier report (L-6), for example, we noted that in 1953 in Washington, the median grade equivalent in reading of white 6th graders was 7.2, against a national norm of 6.7. In 1954, when 6th graders both white and colored were tested, the grade equivalent dropped to 4.9. But, in 1959, - after five years of desegregation - the grade equivalent in Washington had risen to 6.7, against a national norm of 6.6; as you probably know, 74% of the enrollment in Washington schools (all grades) is now Negro.

I hope these notes will be of some interest to you.

May I add one further comment? It seems to me (and to the Southern Regional Council) that the average Negro or white is not nearly so important as the individual Negro or white. Even Dr. McCurk's study showed a considerable amount of "overlap." What we are hopeful for is a South which will provide opportunities to the individual Negro according to his merits, not his race.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

* For example, you would probably agree that the Atlanta schools rank high among southern school systems. You will note from the following paragraphs, quoted from a 1955-56 official report, that white students have scored slightly below national median in 3 of 6 tests, above in 2, and at the median in one.

From: Learning and Teaching in Atlanta's Schools, 1955-56
Part I, page 1.

4. Median and average scores for white pupils are above, at, or "within striking distance" of national averages at all grade levels.

In reading, the average scores for white pupils fall within 0.3 grade of the national average at grade 4, within 0.1 grade at grade 6, and about 0.5 grade above the national average at grade 12 (in English). In arithmetic, the average scores for white pupils fall right at the national average at grade 4, within 0.3 grade at grade 6, and a good 0.5 grade above the national average at grade 12 (in mathematics). White pupils show a slight, but not entirely consistent, tendency to do better in arithmetic than in reading.

Enclosure: Robert D. North, "The Intelligence of American Negroes"

L-1 Report

September 2, 1959

Professor Walter H. Bennett
Department of Political Science
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Walter:

Your letter of August 28 reminded me - sadly - that I should have written to you, and laid bare what is by now my fully recognized problem. It has become clear to me that I cannot do the job you have in mind, viz. an informed critique of the executive in either France or England. The exigencies of my job just do not permit me to keep up or to do the necessary research; and in France, at any rate, too much has occurred in the past year to work from old notes or thoughts. A few weeks ago I considered asking your permission to invite a friend, who specializes on France, to join me in the authorship of the paper; I discarded the notion because it was not certain there would be time for fruitful collaboration.

Perhaps I should have backed out. I didn't, on the strength of the letter of your invitation if not its spirit. You had said that the France/England approach was not mandatory, and so I decided I might avoid it, though I expected to make some general comments about parliamentary governments.

What I have conceived is somewhat like this. First, I plan to develop some thought by expanding on the analyses of Locke and de Jouvenel; a third figure may be inserted between them, for I think he has got less than deserved attention: Sebastian de Grazia. Second, I plan to explore what seems to me two contrasting ideas in traditional thought, and examine their modern merits: first, the distinction between executive and legislative powers in terms of their constituencies; second, the distinction in terms of function. The title could be, A Non-Representational Theory of Executive Power.

I shall be delighted if Juic can send me a draft of his paper; I promise to make every effort to do the same. Summer is our busiest season here, and I have made a late start.

With best wishes, and hopes that this plan will not be too disruptive of your's,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 14, 1959

Professor Lee Coleman
Department of Sociology
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Lee:

We have recently been considering the usefulness of publishing something dealing with Negro crime. Our immediate interest arises from concern over the spate of news stories in recent months, and our belief that we might be able to do something, by way of interpreting crime rates, to put these stories into a more correct perspective. The problem, though, is what to do. We have a few ideas, but I am wondering if any approach occurs to you, which would be both feasible and effective, in presenting Negro crime as primarily a social and economic, rather than racial, problem. Tentatively, we think of this, if we do it at all, as a mimeographed report; if it seemed desirable, however, we might make a pamphlet of it.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 20, 1959

Mr. Victor D. Starlard
439 South Washington Avenue
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Starlard:

I am most happy to hear of your plans for a doctoral dissertation on Negro voting in Arkansas. We are always glad when academic research is undertaken in this field, which has been a long and continuing interest to the Council. I hope that we may hear from you from time to time and that you will call upon us whenever we may be of assistance.

We are sending under separate cover copies of our 1956 and 1958 voting surveys. In connection with the earlier one, a great deal of statistical data was assembled. Generally it consisted of associations between Negro voting and various social and economic factors derived from 1950 census data. These statistics were never published and have stayed in our files ever since. They are on 3 x 5 cards and this obviously makes it rather difficult to lend them. If you would be interested in consulting them, the ideal arrangement would be, of course, for you to come to Atlanta, sometime during your study. If this is out of the question, please let me know and perhaps something else can be worked out. We have in our files also a report on the Negro franchise in Arkansas prepared in connection with the 1956 survey. It is a good job and I am hoping we can find some way to make it available to you.

~~I know this only through hear-say, and would not like my name used in connection with the information, but I do understand that the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools in Little Rock has collected very detailed information on voting in that city.~~ omitted

Please let me know how we may be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
The Negro Voter in the South, 1956
The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1958

November 9, 1959

Professor John B. Mason
Department of Government
Georgetown University
Washington 7, D. C.

Dear Professor Mason:

Some things have gone out to Mr. Lewis, and under separate cover a few things are being mailed to you. If you would like to be put on a mailing list for other materials, please let me know.

I enjoyed meeting you, and hope that you will call if you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60
Leadership Reports, L-9

November 9, 1959

Professor Walter F. Murphy
Department of Politics
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Murphy:

Thank you for the reprints. The job you did on Kilpatrick was beautiful. The gentleman, incidentally, turned his guns on us recently and we were sufficiently impressed that we reproduced his salvo as per the enclosure.

When you come to Atlanta, please look in on us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosed: Kilpatrick editorial, reproduced

November 9, 1959

Professor Joseph Tanenhaus
Department of Government
New York University
New York, N. Y.

Dear Joe:

Why do our paths cross so seldom? At any rate, it's all the better when they do. I read your paper yesterday; many thanks for providing it. Frankly, I'm too lazy either to try to understand your statistics or to feel conscience stricken over my ignorance. But I am a tolerant man, even with those things which I cannot understand. And if somehow it seems incongruous to me for the career of a Supreme Court Justice to be reduced to a mathematical equation or a square root, I nonetheless admire the man who can do so. Whenever I next get to New York, maybe you can instruct me, though probably my tolerance exceeds my educability.

For your possible interest I am sending you a couple of things we have recently put out.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
New South, October 1959
Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60

November 9, 1959

Professor John D. Lewis
Fulbright Professor
Oxford University
Oxford, England

Dear Professor Lewis:

At the Southern Political Science Association meeting last week, Mr. John B. Mason asked that I send some materials to you concerning the present situation in the South. We are forwarding several things under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
Background Report on School Desegregation
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Leadership Reports, L-9, L-11

November 9, 1959

Professor Robert L. Gill
Department of Political Science
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Professor Gill:

It was good to see you at Gatlinburg. I am adding your name to our mailing list. Under separate cover I am sending you some materials. If you should come to Atlanta, please look us up.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Mailed separately:
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60
Leadership Reports, 1 through 11

November 10, 1959

Professor Robert Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

It was good seeing you again. I am hopeful something will be worked out with Harry Manley, and, if so, we owe thanks to you for suggesting it.

In case you can't remember the things you promised in Dick Baron's room, I am expecting a copy of your paper. Our voting survey is being mailed to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
The Negro Voter in the South, 1956
The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1958

November 12, 1959

Professor Robert J. Steamer
Department of Government
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Bob:

Your paper has arrived and I have read it. I am really impressed. This is an excellent job and I hope it will get published soon.

I hate to ask you for any more consideration, but we have on our board a handful of lawyers. It occurs to me that they would be interested to read this and that it would be good to have it read by a few well-placed attorneys scattered through the South. I could, in short, use about a dozen copies if you have them. I would want to pay you for them if you do. If you haven't any, could I reproduce a few copies?

I should not think that this would be of any disadvantage to you in publishing, but if you think it would, I of course withdraw my request.

I am sending you under separate cover a couple of other things of ours which, after reading your paper, I think you might be interested in seeing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Mailed separately:
Background Report on School Desegregation
<u>If the Schools Are Closed</u>

November 12, 1959

Mr. Rupert B. Vance
Kenan Professor of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Professor Vance:

I wonder if we may turn to you for a word of advice?

We feel an increasing obligation to offer, through our publications, an informed perspective on the subject of Negro crime, which has bulked so large and sensationally in the press of recent months. We are not overly optimistic that we can influence either the reporting of the news or the reading of it, but we would like to try. The best method of doing so, however, is anything but clear, what with the murky state of our knowledge on the causes of crime.

It occurs to us that our soundest first step would be to engage a person of authority to prepare a memorandum for us which would enable us to plan intelligently the shape of a publication. What we have in mind is a paper of modest length which, without elaborate documentation, would do these things:

- summarize the presently accepted conclusions as to the principal causes of crime, with some special attention to the importance of social and economic factors;

- summarize the presently accepted conclusions and (if any) scientific disagreements about the relation of race and crime;

- in reference to the objective of understanding the high Negro crime rate, indicate what are the principal inadequacies (if any) of present data or theory.

Could you advise us as to what Southern specialist we might go for this sort of consultation? Ordinarily, I suppose, we

would have approached Dr. Guy Johnson. In his absence, would A. L. Porterfield, who contributed to The Urban South, be a likely resource? Or could you suggest someone else? We would, of course, intend to pay a modest honorarium.

Although I have limited this request to advice as to persons, we would be glad to have your comments on the outlined scope and content of the memorandum itself.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 16, 1959

Professor Harry S. Manley
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Professor Manley:

Since talking with you at Gatlinburg, I have thought how a study of Negro voting in Mississippi might be organized and designed. I think at this point it might be best if we exchanged views, or, at least, questions.

In 1956 we had hoped to include Mississippi in our voters survey, but were unable to do so. You persuaded me that there is little or no chance of doing a more-or-less intensive field study of one or two of the no-vote counties. This leaves still unanswered the question of what can be done.

I would, therefore, like to get your judgment on the feasibility of a general survey along the lines we attempted in 1956, and for that purpose am enclosing a copy of the study outline used then. Could we use this as a basis for determining whether there is sufficient data that can be mined, and whether you would be willing to undertake it?

Some modifications of the outline would appear to me necessary, and others will occur to you. For example:

Negro registration. I believe the race of registrants is no longer indicated. What can be learned from interviews with circuit clerks? Would it be a fruitful tactic to write to the registrar in each county, quoting the figure reported by the Commission on Civil Rights, and requesting confirmation or correction? Can reliable estimates be got in the cities?

Do Negro voter organizations and the NAACP have estimates? Could a combination of several approaches such as these provide a basis for sound estimates? (So far as we know, the most recent estimates are those in the M.A. thesis of James Franklin Barnes, Negro Voting in Mississippi, University of Mississippi, 1955.)

Voting Performance. Can anything be done in the way of precinct analysis in the cities?

Socio-Economic Factors. Perhaps this could be filled out by a discussion of the use of racial issues in political campaigns, especially the gubernatorial primary of 1959; and by analysis of the official, editorial, and church reaction to the Till, Counts, and Poplarville events, and the effect of this reaction on the Negro population.

The objective is to put together a good, sound description of the situation of the Negro in Mississippi politics, with special interest in his access to the franchise. If this picture can be drawn, we want to publish it as a pamphlet. The other side of that is that unless we can get sufficiently reliable and significant data to make possible a publication, we would not be justified in tackling the study. And this is where we must particularly rely on your judgment, as to whether the prospects warrant the undertaking.

In that connection, I should tell you that, in checking our files, I find that Dr. Maddox considered doing this study for us in 1956; you might want to discuss with him certain reservations which he had then.

I very much enjoyed meeting you, and also Mr. Bowen. I hope you will feel free to discuss this project with Bowen, and to invite his collaboration.

I shall look forward to your reply. If you think there is a feasible project here, would you indicate how long you think it would require. Ideally, we would like to be in print early next year.

Two copies each of our 1957 and 1959 voter surveys are being sent under separate cover, for you and Mr. Bowen.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Survey Outline

November 17, 1959

Professor Howard Beale
Department of History
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Professor Beale:

I am very sorry that you had trouble finding our building, and that I was unable to accept your luncheon invitation on Saturday. Perhaps the next time you are in Atlanta you will allow me to guide you to our offices, for we would be very happy indeed to see you.

The couple whom I spoke to you about, who are at work on a biography of Dr. Alexander, are Mr. and Mrs. James Stokely, 405 Clifton Heights, Newport, Tennessee; they ordinarily publish under the by line "Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely." They have done some very good things, including a book, Neither Black Nor White. Mrs. Stokely is also engaged, with a Guggenheim, on a book about the mountain warfare of the Civil War. I am sure they would be glad to have any information you could share with them about Dr. Alexander.

We are sending you under separate cover a few of our recent publications and you will be placed on our mailing list to get later ones.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Mailed separately:
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
If the Schools Are Closed
Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60
Leadership Reports: L-1, L-10, L-12
New South, November 1959

November 24, 1959

Mr. George W. Oakes
734 15th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Oakes:

We are enclosing, in response to your letter of November 20, a listing of desegregated colleges and universities in the South. In using these lists, we would like for you to keep in mind two considerations: 1) the lists may not be complete; 2) the naming of an institution does not necessarily mean that its student body is bi-racial, but only that a policy of non-racial admission has been announced.

There are also enclosed copies of articles or addresses by Guy Johnson, Howard Grimes, and Julius Gassner. There are two other references which we would recommend to you: Don Shoemaker, ed., With All Deliberate Speed, Chapter 10; and an article by Guy Johnson in the April 1958 issue of The Review of Politics.

These articles will supply you with descriptions of several specific instances of the success and difficulties of the desegregation of higher education. At some of the larger schools in the South, admissions have become largely routine. I suppose the University of North Carolina would be as good an example as any of a school which has successfully met the issue.

You asked our comment as to why integration in the colleges in the South seems to have been more successful than in the lower schools. A number of reasons might explain this. For professional and graduate education, the law was spelled

out soon, and there has been more time to adjust to it. There is even less arguable ground for claiming that the Negro facilities were or are equal to the white institutions. The tremendous expense of duplicating facilities for higher education, particularly at the graduate and professional levels, has discouraged all but the most fervent segregationists from advocating that the states do so. College faculties and even administrations are somewhat less influenced by community pressures than are those of the lower schools. Desegregation in higher education began at the graduate and professional level where objective standards dominate. Schools of higher education are generally regarded as less a community possession, expressive of the community's culture, than are the lower schools.

On the other hand, in deep South states such as Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, the resistance to any desegregation of higher education has, up to the present, been completely firm. Furthermore, desegregation of higher education may well be less successful, academically, than one could fairly expect desegregation of the lower schools to be, and this for the reason that by the time the Negro youth enters a college or graduate school, he is already handicapped by years of frequently inferior preparation.

We shall look forward to your article with a great deal of interest. As we do not subscribe to the Star, we would be grateful to you if you might send us a copy of your piece, if you have one to spare.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures:
Gassner, Julius - "Integration in Acadia" Interracial Review
Grimes, Howard - "Experiences of an Integrated School" New South, February 1956
Johnson, Guy B. - "Integration in Public Southern Institutions of Higher Learning"
Desegregating white institutions; desegregating Negro institutions, from SRC files

December 8, 1959

Mr. Robert T. Daland
Associate Director of Regional Extension
Urban Studies Program
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Daland:

Thank you for your letter of November 24. Within the limits of my ability to contribute I shall be glad to assist in your exchange of information.

The Council has at least one thing in common with the Institute for Research in Social Science, and that is that Howard Odum was a principal figure in the establishment and the first head of each. The Council has not in the intervening years been able to realize Dr. Odum's hope, that it would be a generally supported center of regional effort for the solution of the South's economic and social problems. Events have forced us to concentrate directly on problems of racial relations. The research that we do is, therefore, always aimed toward some particular and pressing issue in that area. I suppose it would be legitimate for one to use words such as "popularize" or "propagandize" to describe our activities. But I think it would be more accurate to say that we try to focus objective research (or fact-finding) on the practically urgent issues of Southern racial relations.

With this explanation, or caveat, out of the way, let me mention some of the things we are doing which relate, I should think, to urban studies.

First, during the past year we have published two pamphlets which have a tangenital bearing on urban problems:

Donald R. Green and W. E. Gauerke (Education, Emory), If the Schools Are Closed, A Critical Study of the Private School Plan

Margaret Price, (SRC staff consultant), The Negro and the Ballot in the South (under a grant from the Field Foundation)

A third such pamphlet is in process, and should be published about January or February; it is a study of the Southern press - all examples used being large city newspapers. A principal contributer to the study is your Walter Spearman. A fourth such tangenital study is one by Donald Dewey (Duke, Economics) on the effects of segregation on the Southern industrial manpower supply; Dr. Dewey expects his manuscript to be finished next Spring.

Second, we have in process several pamphlets which relate more directly to urban problems:

C. H. Parrish (Sociology, Louisville) is treating the sociological problems of the city from the standpoint of the way they are aggravated by segregation. Dr. Parrish has a unique twist on this old subject, and so I am fearful of describing it more exactly. He has done arough draft, and I assume (not very confidently) the final manuscript will be in within the next few months. (I would, incidentally, suggest Dr. Parrish as a person for your list of informants.)

Jane Reif (ex-newspaper staffer, Norfolk) has written a portrayal of community reaction in Norfolk to the schools closing. Probable publication: January or February, 1960

Frank H. Stallings (Education, Louisville) is summarizing and interpreting for us the (a) results of achievement tests given to white and Negro school children in Atlanta in 1956; (b) the academic results of five years of integration in Washington.

Third, E. M. Rudwick (Social Welfare, Florida State) is surveying anew the employment of Negro policemen by Southern cities. We have made a small financial contribution and helped Mr. Rudwich otherwise. How or when he will publish I do not know.

Fourth, B. E. Lott (Psychology, Kentucky State) and A. J. Lott (psychology, Kentucky) are conducting a very promising study of career motivation of Negro high-school students in Lexington, sponsored by the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, an affiliate of ours. Members of the Council have recently completed a more modest study in Louisville on the "fit" between job opportunities and employment potential of Negro high school seniors.

Fifth, we have decided to undertake work in several other fields, though as yet we are only unlimbering.

Housing - we have commissioned a memorandum by a professional housing consultant on the economic situation of the Negro in the Southern housing market. We expect to use this memorandum as the basis for defining a publications approach.

Medical care - we have formulated, after considerable exploratory study, a plan and a proposal for an analysis of inequalities in medical service. We are requesting foundation assistance; if we do not get it, we shall undertake the study anyway, though on a more modest scale.

Negro crime - we have decided that we should do something to help put the high incidence of Negro crime, and the even higher notoriety of Negro crime, in a correct socio-economic perspective. We have accordingly been in correspondence with several Southern sociologists in an effort to define an approach.

Negro achievement and opportunities - we have formulated a plan and approposal for a descriptive account of achievement on the one hand, and narrow opportunities on the other. We expect to request foundation assistance; if we do not get it, we shall go ahead on a more modest scale. Basically, this would be an elaboration of the growth of the Negro bougeoisie.

Sixth, we seem to learn of, in one way or another but usually from the researcher, most of the scholarly research being done in or around the field of race relations, and in some measure operate informally as a clearing-house of news. Likewise, we have used whatever opportunities present themselves to encourage foundations to support meretorious research plans.

I believe the preceding sentence would not be an appropriate item for your newsletter; for several reasons, I would prefer that your newsletter made no mention of our study of the Southern press; and our connection with the Rudwick survey is so slight that we should not be the source of publicity for it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures:
If the Schools Are Closed
The Negro and the Ballot in the South

December 14, 1959

Mr. Daniel Price
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Price:

I was glad to have the opportunity of meeting you last Friday, and hope that you will stop in again when you are next in Atlanta (or perhaps have lunch with us).

I am taking the liberty of putting you on our mailing list to receive some of our materials.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Mailed separately:
Leadership Reports, 10 and 13
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
SRC Statement, December 6, 1959
New South, November 1959
If the Schools Are Closed
Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities

December 15, 1959

Professor Robert L. Gill
Morgan State College
Coldspring Lane and Hillen Road
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Professor Gill:

It was I.

I am very glad to have your letter of December 6, and I am grateful for your interest in our organization. We shall continue to send you materials and trust that they will merit your approval.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 16, 1959

Mr. Allan S. Hartman
Executive Director
Center for Field Studies
Harvard University
Spaulding House
20 Oxford Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Hartman:

Although your letter of September 21 was a sort of thank you note, I have long meant to acknowledge it because of your very kind comment. I have delayed so long in replying for the simple reason that you extended an offer of help to us and it is not often that we allow such to go unaccepted. So I have been looking for something for you to do. Let me assure you that the research will continue. Generally, for reasons which you probably can understand, we fall back on persons with Southern identifications in our research and publications. But I am not sure that you can forever escape our solicitation.

I am afraid we have also been negligent in not placing your name on our mailing list. This has now been done, and we are also sending off a package of things released earlier which may interest you.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Mailed separately:
Leadership Reports, through 13
New South, October and November, 1959
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Background Report on School Desegregation

December 18, 1959

The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee
Associate Executive Secretary
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

Both Harold and I have read and admired your address, "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension", which, if I infer correctly, was delivered before the National Convocation of the Church in Town and Country. I wonder if you could tell us if you have publication plans for this?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 18, 1959

Dr. Tilman Cothran
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Professor Cothran:

I admired your talk to the Hungry Club so much that I hope you will be able to send, even if on loan, a copy of your paper so that I may show it to some of the others here.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 27, 1959

Dr. F. C. Rosecrance
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Dr. Rosecrance:

Thank you for your letter of December 16. We sent off at once the requested copies of New South and I assume you have them by this time.

Your studies on the roll of teacher education in human relations sound most interesting, and we wish you all success. If we can be of any help with information and materials, I hope you will call upon us. Any sources of funds we could suggest are obvious ones which you have no doubt already explored--that is, the Fund for Advancement of Education, the Field Foundation, etc. I wish we could give you some advice here that would be helpful, but I can only assure you that if we ever hear of a likely source of aid, we shall not forget to let you know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Consultants

January 6, 1960

Professor Harry S. Manley
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Harry:

Of course we were disappointed, but I can understand and respect fully your reasons for not undertaking a voting study in Mississippi. We don't have any plans for doing anything more about it at the present.

I hope you will keep in touch and, if we can be of help to you at any time, that you will please write. I am putting you on one of our mailing lists with the thought that you may find some of our stuff interesting.

Best wishes, and give my regards to Bowen.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 7, 1960

Mr. George W. Oakes
734-15th Street N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Oakes:

Many thanks for sending us the clipping of your article on college integration in the South from the Washington Star. It seems to us to be a first-rate report. If we can help you with other of your assignments, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 19, 1960

Professor J. Kenneth Davies
Department of Economics and
Business Administration
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Professor Davies:

Mr. Fleming has asked me to reply to your letter of January 4 which, together with the attached research proposal, we have both read with much interest. I am afraid that we cannot help you financially, though other kinds of help, such as they are, are always available. We simply do not have the funds, or the mandate, to enlarge our activities into fields other than race relations at this time. Even in our own particular field, as a matter of fact, we are seldom if ever in a position to help with the financial sponsorship of more or less original research.

We do wish you all good luck with your undertaking and regret that we cannot be a part of it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MEMO February 10, 1960

TO: JACK PATTERSON

FROM: LESLIE DUNBAR

I mentioned to you yesterday John Fulmer of Georgia Tech. Here are titles of some articles he has done which, if you are interested, I think you could get reprints of from him:

"Neglected Factors in the Educational and Economic Progress of the South," Journal of Public Law, Vol. 5, No. 2, Emory University Law School, '56

"State Per Capita Income Differentials: 1940 and 1950," The Southern Economic Journal, Vol. 22, No. 1, July 1955

"Grass-root Industrial Development," Georgia Business," Vol. 18, No. 11, May 1959, College of Business Administration, University of Georgia

"The Challenge of Economic Development in Georgia," Georgia Business, Vol. 9, No. 8, 9, 10 - August, September, October, 1959

We had a study done for us in 1956 on ~~principal~~ ~~source~~ post-war industrial development in the South; never published. Some interesting background analysis in it. Would be glad to let you look at it.

March 23, 1960

Mr. L. K. Northwood
Study Director
School of Social Work
University of Washington
Seattle 5, Washington

Dear Mr. Northwood:

I have held your questionnaire longer than you wished, hoping that I could find time to do a conscientious job on Part I. I think I should not keep it any longer. We have been terribly crowded here recently and there seems to be no prospect it getting better. Actually, however, I know little about the urban redevelopment program and problems in Atlanta and could not be an authoratative source anyhow. Some of the questions in Part I which are purely factual, or are matters of record, could I think be appropriately referred by you to the Metropolitan Planning Commission, whose address is Glenn Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia. I have tried to do a little better on Part II.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Questionnaire

April 12, 1960

Professor James K. Sours
Department of Political Science
University of Wichita
Wichita 14, Kansas

Dear Professor Sours:

Thank you for the historical sketch of Wichita, which you enclosed with your letter of April 7. I look forward to reading it within the next few days. In the meantime, let me tell you that you are welcome any time during your stay in Atlanta later this month. I don't know where your association is meeting, but our office is centrally located down-town and ought to be convenient for you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 12, 1960

Mr. Brunswick A. Bragdon
Southern Regional Director
U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
1371 Peachtree St. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bragdon:

We would like very much to receive a copy of your address to a meeting of Associated Merchandising Corporation research directors on March 29.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 13, 1960

Mr. Robert T. Daland, Asso. Director
Regional Extension
212 Caldwell Hall
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Bob:

I have thought some more about people, and have also talked over the names with one informed person. I think I will stick with the three I gave you Tuesday: Tilman Cothran, Philip Hammer, Bob Thompson.

Incidentally, Bob Thompson would like to get on your mailing list for your news letter. He would also like to receive back copies.

It was good seeing you. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 13, 1960

Mr. John Chapman
Harvard Business Review
Soldiers Field
Boston 38, Mass.

Dear Mr. Chapman:

At the request of Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, we are forwarding address tapes for southerners who are directors of industrial corporations in the Fortune list of 500. This is not by any means a complete compilation of all southern directors of these corporations. The tapes include those for whom we have mailing addresses. Mrs. Miller also asked that we give you a list of corporations with interests in the south. After some thought, it seemed to us that the easiest way of doing this would be to mark on the Fortune list of 500 those which have no plants in the south (according to Moodys, 1959). This we have done by circling the 1958 rank number on the enclosed verifax copy of the Fortune list.

For your possible interest, I am enclosing a copy of a paper by Governor Collins which we are distributing this week.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: verifax of list
Governor Collins' speech

tapes

April 13, 1960

Mr. Brunswick A. Bragdon
Southern Regional Director
U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics
1371 Peachtree St. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bragdon:

Many thanks for your offer to send me a copy of your next speech. In case you would like a copy for your files, I am enclosing a thermafax of the report which brought your talk to my attention.

I am also enclosing a pamphlet we are distributing this week, reprinting a speech of Governor Collins'; I think you will find it of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: Chattanooga Times clipping
Governor Collins' speech

April 19, 1960

Mr. Carl Murphy, President
Afro-American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Dear Mr. Murphy:

I am enclosing a copy of our voting study, which we published last Summer. It reports (in the appendix) the latest data we have for Virginia and South Carolina, as well as several other Southern states. We are enclosing also some statistics gathered for the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, subsequent to our voting study. Because we have confined our fact-finding to the South, we have no data on Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

As you probably know, the Commission on Civil Rights has just released the reports of the state advisory committees. There is apparently nothing in the reports about three of your states, and on Pennsylvania there is only the following: (page 337)

> There is no literacy of poll tax requirement for voting in Pennsylvania. Minimum age is 21 years, and a voter must have resided in the State 1 year or, if a former resident, 6 months. Registration is required unless one is a member of the United States military forces. Registration is permanent, but one must vote at least once every two years or request reinstatement. Voting lists are brought up to date not later than 50 days before each primary or general election. The registrant must state his party affiliation. State law does not provide for permitting voters

time off to vote, and absentee voting is not permitted even to the physically incapacitated but only to those in the armed services.

Only eight counties in Pennsylvania have information available to show the number of persons who voted or registered by race (Bedford, Cameron, Elk, Franklin, Juniata, Montour, Sullivan, and Wyoming), according to the Commission questionnaires circulated by the Advisory Committee to each of the 67 counties.

Analysis of all the information assembled by the Advisory Committee with respect to voting laws, registration procedures, and actual registration data indicates that there is no legally sanctioned or administratively imposed discrimination in regard to the voting rights of any minority group in Pennsylvania.

I am sorry we cannot be of more help to you, but I hope this will be some help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:x

Enclosure:
thermafax, appendix II N.C. voting
<u>The Negro and the Ballot in the South</u>

May 3, 1960

Mr. R. B. Kochtitsky
303 Perkins Dormitory
Southern Methodist University
Dallas 22, Texas

Dear Mr. Kochtitsky:

I have your letter of April 21. It will be a week or two before I am able to prepare a reply, but I did not wish to hold it longer without acknowledgement. This is a subject in which we are greatly interested, although I am afraid there is not as much material available as either you or we would wish.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Orig letter & blue copy
ret. to LWD

May 3, 1960

Professor A. Lee Coleman
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Lee:

I have just read your article, "Social Scientist Predictions about Desegregation, 1950-1955," in the March issue of Social Forces. We would be most grateful to have a reprint for our files if you have one available.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 4, 1960

Mr. James H. Laue
329 Harvard Street
Cambridge 39, Mass.

Dear Mr. Laue:

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, our report on the Student Protest Movement, as you requested. It is good to know that Thomas Pettigrew and Gordon Allport are working on developing a book on the sit-ins.

In connection with this, you will certainly wish to read the May issue of Ebony, which contains an article and many pictures and also an editorial. Also, Governor Collins of Florida recently made a speech on the sit-ins. He sent us a copy upon request, and you may wish to write him: his offices are in Tallahassee, Florida.

We will keep your name on file to receive any additional material we publish on the student movement.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
The Student Protest Movement
New South, March, April '60

P.S. A list of our publications is enclosed. We have sent your name to the Southern Project, National Student Association, and you will be receiving materials from them also.

May 6, 1960

Mr. Lambert Davis, Director
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Davis:

Mr. Dabbs has asked that I reply to your letter of April 13, which he discussed with us on his visit here this past week. Mr. Dabbs' address is, incidentally, Rip Raps Plantation, Mayesville, South Carolina.

The Thompson and Thompson bibliography has always been of great value. And still is, to a remarkable extent. Although in the last few years its function has been partially filled by the bibliographies done by Melvin Tumin and published by the Anti-Defamation League, we would endorse whole-heartedly a new edition brought up to date of Race and Region. The 1949 work showed standards of thoroughness and skillful classification that have not been equaled. We are afraid, however, that our endorsement cannot be of the sort which interests you especially. We don't see Race and Region as a study group item, and we frankly doubt that it has a place except in libraries and other institutions.

Because of this, we don't really see that it would be a great advantage to get the price down to $2.00 or $3.00. Speaking for ourselves alone, we would buy a new edition (one or two copies) of the book, even if the price were higher than the original $5.00. But this is a subject that you know best, and we cannot presume to advise.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

May 18, 1960

Mr. George W. Strickler, Jr.
263 Pennsylvania Avenue
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Strickler:

We have your letter of May 7 and I am afraid there is little assistance we can offer. As an organization, the Council is solely concerned with questions of racial relations and we maintain files regarding employment and labor unions only as race relations questions are involved.

By chance Professor Donald Matthews, of the Department of Political Science of the University of North Carolina, was here last week and mentioned to me that a graduate student at Chapel Hill is also doing some research in the field of the churches attitude toward labor relations. I don't have the students name, but you may wish to write to Matthews. Some time ago I had some correspondence with Professor J. Kenneth Davies, Department of Economics and Business Administration, Duke University; I believe that Professor Davies has an interest in this field also.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 18, 1960

Mr. Brunswick A. Bagdon
Regional Director
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Suite 540, 1371 Peachtree Street N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Bagdon:

I have now had an opportunity to finish reading your speech before the Employment Managers of the Associated Merchandising Corporation. It is an excellent and illuminating address, and I thank you for the copy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Doing research for Pettigrew at Harvard on sit-ins

May 25, 1960

Mr. James H. Lane
329 Harvard Street
Cambridge 39, Mass.

Dear Mr. Lane:

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, the materials you requested. You will be welcome, on or about July 5, to look over our literature and to gather data on the sit-ins from our files. When you are here, I am sure Mr. Leslie Dunbar, our director of research, will be happy to talk with you further regarding your offer to "combine tasks."

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Southerners and Schools
Accent on the South
Economic Effect of School Closing
New Factories Thing of Past in Little Rock
What the Supreme Court Said
If the Schools Are Closed
The Negro and the Ballot

Atlanta - July 15-20

same letter: Adolph Reed
Baton Rouge, La
Bracier + Webster Parishes

June 15, 1960

Professor William Howell
Department of Sociology
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dear Dr. Howell:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Dr. Tilman Cothran. As you perhaps know, the Southern Regional Council has had a continuing interest in the status of Negro voting, particularly from the standpoint of discriminatory practices. We would like very much to have a brief field report on Orangeburg County, and I wonder if you would be interested in undertaking it for us.

We do not need at this time a study in depth or in detail suitable for publication. As a matter of fact, we contemplate no publication. What we have in mind is a report which will do these things:

1) indicate as exactly as possible the numbers of Negro and white registrants in the county;

2) describe the means, if any, used to discourage Negro voting;

3) instance any noteworthy examples of intimidation and reprisal against Negro voters or would-be voters;

4) concisely characterize the present state of race relations in the county. (2 6 7)

I know that within this framework one could write a book. I am enclosing, therefore, a couple of studies done for us of Georgia counties by B. R. Brazeal. These will indicate to you our requirements.

Being a resident of Orangeburg County, you could undoubtedly write much of the report from your own knowledge. I do not need to tell you that, in any interviewing or discussing of this that you might do, if you undertake it, the confidential nature of the project should be observed. For our part, we will make no revelation of your name in connection with any of the material reported.

We are able to offer you an honorarium of $100 plus any travel expenses you may have.

I hope that you may have the time and inclination to accept this task. We would be very glad to have you participate in our work.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: two Georgia counties, BRB reports

file

June 16, 1960

Professor Adolph Reed
Department of Political Science
Southern University
Scotlandville, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Reed:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Dr. Tilman Cothran. As you perhaps know, the Southern Regional Council has had a continuing interest in the status of Negro voting, particularly from the standpoint of discriminatory practices. We would like very much to have a brief field report on Bossier Parish and another on Webster Parish, and I wonder if you would be interested in undertaking these for us.

We do not need at this time studies in depth or in detail suitable for publication. As a matter of fact, we contemplate no publication. What we have in mind is reports which will do these things:

1) indicate as exactly as possible the numbers of Negro and white registrants in the county;

2) describe the means, if any, used to discourage Negro voting;

3) instance any noteworthy examples of intimidation and reprisal against Negro voters or would-be voters;

4) concisely characterize the present state of race relations in each of the two parishes.

I know that within this framework one could write a book. I am enclosing, therefore, a couple of studies done for us of Georgia counties by B. R. Brazeal. These will indicate to you our requirements.

The studies would largely be interviews with Negro residents of the two parishes. In all of your interviewing and discussing, the confidential nature of the project should be closely observed. For our part, we will make no revelation of your name in connection with any of the material reported.

We are able to offer you an honorarium of $100 for each report, plus any travel expenses while in the field.

I hope that you may have the time and inclination to accept this task. We would be very glad to have you participate in our work.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: two Georgia counties, BRB reports

MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT

July 15, 1960

Professor Lincoln Day
Bureau of Applied Social Research
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Dear Linc:

I am sorry not to have answered your query before now. The fact is that this whole business of foundation dealings is one of which I am abysmally ignorant, and purpose to remain so. Knowing as little about it as I do, I perhaps never should have said anything to you about Taconic. I have discussed this with Harold, and he doubts (Harold knows the Taconic people intimately) that they would be interested. The reason is that, up til now at any rate, Taconic has avoided altogether any kind of projects which have the appearance of being basic research. From the little bit I could tell him of the study which you and Jaffe have in mind, Harold thought that the 20th Century Fund might be your best bet. It occurs to me to remind you that August Heckscher is a friend of Red Hawkins. Harold's second suggestion is the Field Foundation (whose president is Adlai Stevenson). The director is Maxwell Hahn (also executive vice-president), and the address is 250 Park Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. (Because I was able to discuss this so sketchily with Harold, I think you should not, of course, use his name in any approach--but I suppose that is a needless reminder.)

Linc, I am sorry to be of so little help with this. I am fortunately in the position of not having to raise my own money and the whole matter is one which I shun as much as I can.

I am enclosing a copy of the proposal which I had told you about, which I developed and which is, I trust, still being considered by the 20th Century Fund.

Best wishes; I'll try to get off another letter soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 28, 1960

Harold Fleming Leslie Dunbar

Brann memorandum

While I am sure that studies along the lines proposed by Brann would be valuable, I would like to note some general reservations. Basically, my dissent from Brann's approach rests on the belief that if the Twentieth Century Fund enters this field, its money and the energies and talents which it may enlist ought to be put to other and, I think, better objectives.

As briefly as possible I shall note below only my general reservations. There are a number of specific points in Brann's memorandum which I would question, but shall not here.

At the outset, I would like to note that the eight questions set down on pages 10-11 of the memorandum seem to me useful, and that Study #2 proposed on pages 21-22 seems to me excellent: more on that later.

1. Brann recommends research aimed at business leaders. This is done on the premise that research should be "action-oriented," that to be so requires that it be directed at the effective leadership group within the South's "power structure," and that business and industrial leaders are that group. Of course the whole notion of "power structure" and its centrality to change is itself a very big assumption with which one can legitimately dispute, but I am principally concerned here with the accuracy of the belief that business leaders are the group who determine broad economic changes. It would seem to me that the whole history of the last 50 years or so gives another answer, and indicates clearly that government, labor unions, d pressure groups, and public opinion generally have been at least as decisive as business men in setting economic policies and practices. I am, in short, dubious of the

scientific worth or lasting use of studies slanted to this audience, guided by the social theory implied, or carried out under the counsel of an advisory committee composed of business (presumably) leaders. Moreover, I would say candidly, and I believe truthfully, that studies conceived in this way would attract the participation of what might be called the business administration type economists, but would not be interesting to more detached, and better regarded, economists. Brann seems to anticipate this when he recommends recruiting economists who are "practitioners" rather than "academic" (page 17).

2. I am vaguely uneasy about the emphasis on Negro upgrading. I can agree that a positive approach is preferable to a bare assessment of the costs of discrimination and segregation, though I find it hard to see how any positive program can be charted without computing the disadvantages of the present situation (Brann seems, in fact, to recognize this). But to launch a large investigation which does not meet "head on" the social problems seems to me curiously unrealistic. I would hope, on the contrary, that any work undertaken would, while faithful always to its economic concern, be carried out in explicit, imaginative awareness of the profundity of social change. It bothers me that Brann is suspicious of controversy, that he puts "facts, documentation, and understanding" in contrast with "publicity, pressures, and controversy" as if they were always antithetical. I would very firmly suggest that any study in this field undertaken with the intention of being non-controversial had better be left undone.

(Moreover, though a minor point, Brann recognized on page 23 that in fact many of the business leaders of the South are not southerners at all, that they are instead the managers of national businesses. Yet elsewhere in the memorandum I get the impression he overlooks this fact. Controversy may inhibit southern businessmen; the absentee managers may react differently.)

3. I wish there were not so much emphasis on case studies. The NPA case studies on employment were done as well, probably, as would be anything forthcoming from these present plans, yet they have not inspired notable changes. My own supposition (it is no more than that) is that, if "action" is the goal, case studies are almost the most ineffective tool, and that hard, quantitative, generalized analysis and projection is far more serviceable. Furthermore there is here the same matter I remarked on above: if case studies are emphasized, the project will interest a different and less impressive type of economist.

4. Finally, I would like to suggest that the sort of model-building proposed by Brann on pages 21-22 (minus the limitation implied in the concluding paragraph) is exactly what is needed. I would hope the Twentieth Century Fund might take off from there and explore with front rank economists their interest in pursuing such research. My only suggested change would be one of tone; the focus should not be on the Negro, but on the region and all its people.

November 14, 1960

Professor Noel P. Gist
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

Dear Professor Gist:

Mr. Fleming has asked me to reply to your letter of November 7th. We are very glad to learn about Mr. Sweet and his plans for research. The area he has chosen is an important one and we wish him well.

I am afraid we cannot give any encouragement about financial support. We have never attempted to aid academic research, and it is probably best that we not change this policy. On the other hand we have, on occasion, been in a position to use portions of studies which fitted into our publications and field programs, and whenever we have done so we have paid a modest honorarium. We have also rather extensive files consisting of clippings from newspapers and other periodicals, and many other materials. If Mr. Sweet is in Atlanta at any time he can have full and leisurely access to them. I hope that he will be, because we would like the opportunity to meet him.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 23, 1960

Mr. James Cook
386 Vallejo Street
San Francisco 11, Calif.

Dear Mr. Cook:

In reply to your letters of November 12 and 13, we are sending you under separate cover a bundle of stuff. It has been selected in the hope that it will provide most of what we can tell you on the questions listed in your letter of November 12. Two of the items requested specifically in your letter of November 14 are no longer available. These are Report L-9 on the Virginia private schools and the pamphlet Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence. In lieu of the former, we shall send you as soon as it is released a new report on Virginia's private schools, prepared for us by Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, and about ready now for mimeographing. The Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence pamphlet is out of stock, but it was reprinted in Part 3 of Hearings Before the Sub-committee on Constitutional Rights of the U. S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1959, at p. 1373;" these hearings ought to be available at a convenient library.

The following comments refer to numbered paragraphs in your November 12 letter:

3) We did school desegregation reports in 1958 and 1959 and they are out of stock; at least we can't find them now and if we can later we will send to you.

4 & 5) Your source is Race Relations Law Reporter.

6) You might write to the Race Relations Department at Fisk University, for Fellowship for Whom, a study of racial inclusiveness in the Congregational Christian Churches.

9) Write to Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

11) Your best source is the American Jewish Committee's monthly report, For Your Information. Write to the American Jewish Committee Institute on Human Relations, 165 - 56 Street, New York 52; perhaps if you explain your need they could furnish you with some back copies.

14) There are so many segregationists' newspapers. I would certainly add to the ones you have listed the Richmond News Leader, Montgomery Advertiser, and the Birmingham papers.

16) Professor Elbert Johnson, of North Carolina State College, has completed for us a short study of Negro crime. His manuscript is on my desk, but I doubt that we shall get it in print before about February.

18) Your best source is the Report of the Commission on Civil Rights; some of the acts are summarized in our The Negro and the Ballot in the South. These 1959 reports do not, of course, cover Fayette County.

22) In addition to Race Relations Law Reporter, your best source is Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law.

23) Robt. McCrary, of South Carolina, and Charles Bloch, of Georgia, are probably more important than either of the men you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:m

Mailed separately: (Cook)

Rudwick, "The Negro Policeman in the South" 1960 (thermafax)
The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, "Characteristics of Negro Employment in Federal Agencies in Atlanta, Georgia" 1960 (thermafax)
Race in the News
Changing Patterns in the New South
Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South
Price, The Negro Voter in the South, 1959
Georgia's Divided Education, 1960
Spearman & Meyer, Racial Crisis and the Press
Mike Wallace interview with James McBride Dabbs
McGill, N.Y.Times Magazine,"The Agony of the Southern Minister"
New Factories Thing of Past in Little Rock, reprint
Montgomery, The Economic Effect of School Closing
Miller & Hill, Safety, Security and the South
Segal, Accent on the South
Ed. from Richmond News-Leader, "Why It Will Work"
SERS, Southern Schools: Progress & Problems
Report L-2, 4, 5,11, 19
Miller,"Private Business & Public Education in the South" reprint
Special Report: Organizations & Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South
SRC - Its Origin and Aims
Green & Gauerke, If the Schools are Closed
Special Report: Housing for Negroes in Atlanta, Ga.
Tarplee, The Church in Areas of Racial Tension
Collins, The South and the Nation
ADL, Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools?
GAP, Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation
SRC Reports the Changing South
Fuller, Southerners and Schools
Fleming, "A Southern View of the South," reprint N.Y.Times Magazine
Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas
Special Report: The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960
" " Toward a Solution of the Sit-in Controversy
New South: May '58, June '58, Oct. '58, Sept. '58, Feb. '55, March '55, April '55, May'55, June '55, July-Aug. '55, Sept. '55, Oct. '55, Jan. '55, Feb. '56, March '56, April '56, May '56, June, '56, Sept. '56, Oct. '56, Nov. '56, Feb. '57, March '57, May '57, July-Aug. '57, Nov. '57, Dec. '57, Jan. '58, Feb. '58, March '58, April '58, July-Aug. '58, Nov. '58, Dec. '58, Jan. '59, Feb. '59, March '59, April '59, May '59, June '59, July-Aug. '59, Sept. '59, Oct. '59, Nov. '59, Dec. '59, Jan. '59, Feb. '60, March '60, April '60, May '60, June '60, July-Aug. '60, Sept. '60, Oct. '60.

McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement

Research Colleagues

January 17, 1961

Mr. Herbert A. Aurbach
Research Analyst
Commission on Human Relations
City of Pittsburgh
518 City-County Building
Pittsburg, Pa.

Dear Mr. Aurbach:

I have gone over the inventory of research needs attached to your letter of December 2nd. The sort of descriptive and analytical study proposed under C-2 and D-2 are, it seems to me, most needed now and in the near future. I believe we need a lot more analysis of situations, a more clear and objective understanding of the social relations which actually exist and shape the issues of cultural change.

I believe, however, that you wish me to do something more than comment on the list of questions or propositions. I would like to suggest for consideration what is, I think, one of the really urgent problems associated with helping the South through this troublesome period. We need some good, realistic study of ways in which rational thinking and scientific information can be communicated to the large mass of white southerners in rural regions and in low-income urban classes. What sorts of ideas and information will grab their attention? What media are most likely to be effective? This is a problem so vast and so old that most of us (including SRC) resign ourselves to doing nothing about it; instead we talk about reaching the decision makers or content ourselves with the hypothesis that people will adapt their behavior to authoritatively supported change. Yet time after time it has been this mass which is the decision maker; and people's adaptation has often been so slight as to make the next step of change nearly as difficult as the first one. Over the long haul, there are forces which will produce changed attitudes; but this can be a long haul indeed and in the

meantime the pain can be terrific. A study of how to reach these people might include an initial study of their present sources of ideas and information and the content of these; there has been little serious examination along these lines.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 19, 1961

Mr. Arnold Bloom
News Editor
OVERVIEW
470 Park Avenue South
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bloom:

I am glad that you are moving ahead in your study of opportunities for Negro school administrators. Please call when you reach Atlanta. As I told you in my letter of January 3, I doubt that we can be of much help with this subject, but we shall be glad to try.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 6, 1961

Professor Harry J. Vander, III
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Professor Vander:

We are sending under separate cover several studies of Negro voting done by the Council. If we can be of further help to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A

Mailed separately:
Voting studies
√ 2 - Price
? See John ? old study (10-12 yrs ago) Luther Jackson?
3-3-61 MA

PRESS COVERAGE
of
THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights was released to the press January 30, 1961, after having been previously submitted to President Kennedy and members of his administration.

The press coverage has been heartening, and it seemed to the staff that members of the Council would wish to know about it. Consequently, this summary, with exhibits, has been prepared.

The New York Times gave the report front page treatment, in an article under the by-line of Claude Sitton. Several Southern papers used the Times story; these included: Chattanooga Times, Houston Chronicle, and Corpus Christi Caller. The Chattanooga Times ran the story on page one, and even added to it.

PRESIDENT PUSHED ON DESEGREGATION BY SOUTHERN BODY

Chattanooga Times

1-30-61

Regional Council Proposes Major Program in Field of Civil Rights

TO AID NEGRO STATUS

Report Touches on Jobs, Education, Voting and Armed Services

By CLAUDE SITTON
© New York Times News Service

ATLANTA — The Southern Regional Council has urged President Kennedy to adopt a sweeping program of executive action in the civil rights field.

In a 48-page report to the President, the council makes 18 proposals for strengthening the rights of Negroes. It is thought to be the most far-reaching blueprint of its kind yet received by the new administration.

"The presidency is the center of American energy," the council noted. "What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations."

The council also urged that President Kennedy move swiftly to give a public statement on the national goals his administration will set in the civil rights field. In contrast to past performances, the council suggested, the White House should frequently issue guiding statements "genuinely helpful to public understanding" in this area since "the nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of presidential concern and activity."

Areas Covered

The report's proposals cover executive leadership, federal employment, education, personal and property rights, voting, the armed services, propaganda, health and recreation, transportation, government contracts and housing.

"The President holds power under the constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable," the council argued.

The council called on President Kennedy to make it unmistakably clear to the South where he stands on matters of racial discrimination and to underscore specific policy statements that his administration is prepared to enforce.

It also urged the President to give consideration to holding frequent consultations, private or public, with Southern economic and political leaders to the end of wooing regional support for equal opportunities for all citizens and the abatement of sectionalism.

There are millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to "break loose from enfeebling customs and who would respond with gratitude to presidential leadership," the council declared. In consequence, it said, "an earnest, informed and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist Southern good will and cooperation."

Ideas Transmitted

The proposals, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," were transmitted to President Kennedy, his Cabinet and chief advisers before the inauguration. They were released Sunday by the Atlanta headquarters of the council, an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

Harold C. Fleming, executive director, noted that there had been indications that President Kennedy would approach civil rights "with somewhat more vigor" than previous administrations. "As a Southern organization that had worked with the problem of race relations, we felt we had a re-

See Page Seven, Column Six

KENNEDY PUSHED ON RACE ISSUES

Regional Council Proposes Major Program in Field of Civil Rights

From Page One

sponsibility to give our thinking on the question to the new administration."

The council advocated clarity of policy, "inward commitment," imaginative action and sustained effort to achieve definite civil rights goals. "A new administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise," it asserted.

Not Minimized

Discussion of personal as opposed to official presidential activities was omitted. But the council said "their importance is in no degree minimized." It continued:

"Since the presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of that office receive national attention and thus set an example for millions of Americans."

Appointment of a staff adviser on race relations was recommended. He would assist the President in interpreting developments to the nation, in framing and supervising executive orders and providing "intimate coordination" between the federal Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department.

The council criticized as inadequate the present executive committees on government employment and contracts. These should be replaced with a single agency, it said. That agency would serve as a watchdog "to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination."

The importance of outspoken presidential leadership was emphasized. "Controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the belief and intentions of the chief executive," said the document.

Frankness Urged

The United States Information Agency should be candid in explaining our racial difficulties, it said. "We should relate them frankly, as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial nations themselves, to remove them."

The council charged that Civil Service prohibitions against discrimination were being flouted. It proposed "prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices."

The President was asked to choose deliberately competent Negroes for appointive positions. Moreover, the organization said some should be placed in the South, "which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition."

The most compelling unfinished business, asserted the council, is school integration. "The basic problem is two-fold: to reestablish a climate of respect for law, and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to desegregated public education."

President Kennedy was urged to affirm publicly his full support for the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. The council also said he should direct the attorney general to study the possibility of intervening in school desegregation cases under the present laws.

Obligation Noted

While turmoil over school desegregation continues, it declared, "the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statues which protect personal security."

Stepped up enforcement of voting laws was called for along with "a national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President."

The council advocated immediate desegregation of the National Guard. Because Southern units are all white, it said, Negroes are denied the option of enlisting in the guard or being drafted.

Federal expenditures for health programs, aid to public schools and higher education and for recreation facilities such as beaches should be administered in line with a basic policy of non-discrimination, the council said.

The council proposed "a final, decisive effort" to end segregation on common carriers. It said large contractors on government projects should be required to recruit Negro employes.

An end to cooperation with discrimination in federal-state ap-

The New York Times also carried a profile of Harold Fleming as its "Man in the News" for the day; this was used in the Chattanooga Times as well.

The Washington Post and Times-Herald ran a front page story (by-line Elsie Carper) and an inside page analysis by James Clayton.

Race Study Urges Use Of Executive's Power

By Elsie Carper
Staff Reporter

An independent survey suggests that existing presidential powers, "dilligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable."

The study, prepared by the Southern Regional Council, a nonprofit organization seeking ways to improve race relations in the South, was published yesterday. The Council has offices in Atlanta.

The 48-page report was issued at a time when President Kennedy's Administration is formulating policies and programs. Broad recommendations on ways the President may use his powers to combat discrimination are outlined in the report.

One of the major recommendations is a presidential staff adviser to keep the President informed on racial matters and to coordinate activities of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

Long-range view considered best for suggested program of Executive action on civil rights.
Page A6.

The report states that consideration be given to setting up an office, with adequate staff, to serve as a watchdog over Federal programs for compliance with a policy of nondiscrimination.

The Federal Government's own operations, the report declares, need to be a model of just race relations. The Government must hire, fire and promote with obvious regard for racial equality and eradicate segregation in its offices.

While the survey is limited to official activities of the President, the report makes it clear that the President's personal attitudes and actions also are important.

"A President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial," the report states, "to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as executive orders and formal pronouncements."

Presidential leadership is defined in the report as "a showing of concern, in all the countless acts of the office, that America be a place where men live with each other in confidence, and society cooperates with each of its members in the fulfilment of his search for a good life."

"There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantage of race, and pledge that the Federal Government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way." the report declares.

The Council points out that race relations is "America's oldest unsolved problem," once again at a stage of crisis. In

See RIGHTS, A7, Col. 1

RIGHTS—From Page A1

Race Unit Asks President's Aid

the past the crises were resolved by compromise, war and from 1877 to 1933 "by national avoidance of responsibility."

"This ancient and always divisive issue has a claim on us not only for settlement, but for decisive resolution," the report states. "It is a burden which national self-respect demands that we finally lay down."

Honest dealing by the Government and the public toward non-white citizens, the report declares, would strengthen the prestige of the United States abroad while continuing discrimination will weaken it.

The report states that "Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from, literally, the cradle to the grave." America has no undeveloped resource comparable to the reservoir of human talent, which, in the Negro population, is going to waste.

Negroes are not the only minority at a disadvantage and discrimination exists elsewhere than in the South but the racial problems of the South are the acute test of the "American ideal of liberty and equality."

The Council finds little in the record to encourage the belief that the situation in the South will improve "unless recognized as the Nation's failure, and properly subject . . . to national policy."

National unity, the report states, will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly about racial problems in the South and if statements are confined to what he and the Administration are prepared to enforce.

In an obvious reference to the recent riots in New Orleans that followed desegregation of two schools, the report makes this veiled criticism of the Eisenhower Administration:

"That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible."

The report declares that within the South there are numerous whites who will give practical, effective support for reform if there is national leadership. Frequent conferences and consultations by the President with Southern economic and political leaders would broaden this base of support.

"Pre-eminently the most compelling unfinished business is school integration," the report states. "Respect for law and Federal authority requires a prompt resolution."

The Council urges the President to "publically reconfirm his full support" of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision and his intention to employ his executive powers to insure compliance.

Throughout the South the burden of desegregating schools has fallen upon Negroes. The Council urges the President to direct the Attorney General to look closely into authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases.

It also urges the President to direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to provide information and counsel to school administrations and schools engaged in desegregation of schools.

The report states that in the field of housing the policies of the Federal Government, through its mortgage credit aids, public housing and slum clearance programs, "has been a principal architect of housing segregation."

The President should issue an executive order stating that the national policy is to encourage integration in housing, the report states. It recommends that the Administration study proposals to reduce the size and increase the number of public housing projects and scatter them in bi-racial and all-white neighborhoods rather than place them in Negro and transition neighborhoods.

The Administration also should consider a system of "benign quotas" in public housing projects to keep them from becoming all Negro or all white.

The Council recognizes that a strict non-discriminatory order for FHA and PHA housing will reduce the number of starts in the South and hamper or halt urban renewal but believes that Southern opposition should not be a deterrent. Benefits of participation in Federal programs have such a powerful attraction that there is every reason to believe that the slowdown will not last long, the Council states.

Other recommendations by the Council:

- Federal employment practices should be reviewed with the aim of immediate compliance with nondiscrimination. Special effort should be made to recruit qualified Negroes for offices concerned with race relations such as United States Attorneys, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Marshals, Civil Rights Division, Commission on Civil Rights and housing agencies.
- Negroes should be appointed to the Foreign Service but not restricted to positions in African countries.
- Federal grants in aid for vocational education and research funds should be withheld from schools and colleges which restrict admissions because of race. The Federal Government should insist that public schools attended by children of military personnel be non-segregated.
- Discrimination in the National Guard and in ROTC units in universities should be ended. The President in making appointments to the service academies should give special attention to Negro candidates who are at a disadvantage in receiving Congressional appointments.
- The Department of Justice should "enforce vigilantly" existing statutes and precedents to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly. Action could prevent violence, reprisal and intimidation surrounding school desegregation, sit-in controversies and Negro voting.
- The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys. Working relationships with United States District Attorneys should be so defined to permit widespread enforcement of voting provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts.
- The Federal Government should undertake a national registration drive, under sponsorship of the President. A side result would be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South.
- The "separate but equal" clause in Hill-Burton Act funds for Federal aid for hospital construction should be reexamined.
- The Department of Justice should study ways to end discrimination in interstate travel now clearly established as unconstitutional.
- The Federal Government should insist that its contractors follow practices of nondiscriminatory employment. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in programs of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and the U. S. Employment Service.

Washington Post and Times Herald 1-30-61

Difficulties Are Many

Long-Range View Held Best For Rights Executive Action

By James E. Clayton
Staff Reporter

The program of Executive action on civil rights suggested by the Southern Regional Council is best thought of as a long-range goal rather than something President John F. Kennedy is likely to put into effect immediately.

Clayton

Although many of its suggestions coincide with campaign promises made by President Kennedy, the political and social difficulties involved in putting even some of those into effect are likely to be deterring factors to the President's program.

The two political factors involved are the strength of the Southern bloc in Congress and importance of the Southern electoral vote to the Democratic Party.

Any proposals which require new civil rights legislation require a weighing of the need for that as against the effect of such a legislative push on other parts of the President's program. Any proposals which rely exclusively on executive action require a weighing of what Southern Congressmen might do in reprisals.

Some of the ideas put forward by the Southern Regional Council would make deep inroads quickly into segregation practices. Action cutting off universities from Federal funds if they segregate would drive some Southern universities to the wall. Action to require desegregated conditions in Federal-supported housing programs would certainly upset some urban renewal programs and many housing developments.

How strong and how deep the political repercussions of such moves would be are certain to be carefully studied before the President takes such steps. It is quite clear that he knows there is no turning back once the step is taken.

It is interesting, however, to note how many of the Southern Regional Council's proposals overlap with President Kennedy's campaign promises. During the campaign, he made these pledges:

- To provide "moral and persuasive leadership . . . to create the conditions in which compliance with the constitutional requirements of school desegregation takes place."
- To make a major effort in 1961 to be sure "that everyone has the right to vote."
- To be prepared "to put an end to racial and religious discrimination in every field of Federal authority. . ."
- To establish a "Federal Bureau on Intergroup Relations to help solve such problems of discrimination.
- To find for the Attorney General "power to enforce all constitutional rights—not just the right to vote."

It can be expected that he will follow through, more or less immediately, on some of these.

One area where such action could come quickly is in housing. An executive order requiring no segregation in federally supported housing programs is all that is required, many legal experts believe, to initiate the program. But the political repercussions of such an order would be legion.

Another area is voting where the next year is likely to see a great increase in the attacks on discrimination at the polls. All the necessary power is already in the hands of the Attorney General

A third area likely to see immediate action is inside the Federal Government. There, the Vice President's Committee on Governmental Contracts is likely to step up its drive to keep contractors who deal with the Government from discriminating in their hiring policies.

With a push from the President, this committee could become far more effective. With the same kind of push, the use of more Negroes in Government jobs would come quickly.

These, then, are the areas in which something is likely to happen in the months ahead. But as to the suggestion which is the key to the Council's report, there may be no action soon.

That is the suggestion calling for an office in the White House to coordinate civil rights activities throughout the Government. This idea was pushed at President Kennedy by many of his advisers last spring.

The closest he came to publicly accepting it was to promise a Bureau of Intergroup Relations. But such a Bureau might require legislation and might be set up away from the White House.

The President's objection, apparently, to a White House office for civil rights is his desire to keep his staff there as small as possible. There has been no clear indication yet as to whether this desire will outweigh the urgings of those near him who want to see such an office created.

On civil rights, as in other fields, the men around President Kennedy have been remarkably reluctant to talk since the election about what will be done in the next few months.

The AP did a straightforward and long account, which cited all 18 of our proposals. Southern newspapers which have carried it in whole or in part include: Birmingham Post-Herald, Mobile Press, Mobile Register, (Ala.); Athens Banner-Herald, Augusta Chronicle, Columbus Ledger, Macon Telegraph, Macon News, Savannah News, Thomasville Times-Enterprise, Valdosta Times (Ga.); New Orleans Times-Picayune, Baton Rouge Advocate, Shreveport Times, Lake Charles American Press (La.); Tampa Times (Fla.); Charlotte News (N.C.); Louisville Courier Journal (Ky.); Oklahoma City Times (Okla.); Dallas Times-Herald, Fort Worth Star-Telegram (Texas); Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, Gulfport Biloxi Herald, McComb Enterprise-Journal, Jackson Clarion Ledger, Starkville News, Vicksburg Post (Miss.).

Atlanta Journal 1-30-61 P. I

Regional Council Urges Kennedy to Fight Race Bias

By DOUGLAS KIKER

The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council submitted a long report to President John F. Kennedy Monday, urging him to take decisive, far-reaching executive action to end racial segregation and discrimination in nearly all phases of national life.

The report, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," proposed that the President "affirm his support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his opposition to segregated schools."

It strongly suggested, additionally, that he act immediately to end segregation in federal housing, the National Guard, and in college-based Reserve Officer Training Corps units.

• • •

IT RECOMMENDED that federal funds for research be cut off to colleges and universities operated on a segregated basis.

It said that the Justice Department should be "vigilant in the prevention or control of violence and intimidation connected with sit-in demonstrations.

And it recommended that the President appoint more qualified Negroes to high level government posts "here and abroad."

The council — a biracial organization whose purpose is to "advance equal opportunity for all the South's people" — said that President Kennedy holds the power to "carry the country far toward good race relations."

"A president of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality," the report stated.

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THE LISTING of areas in which the council said the President could act was a long one. In all, it made 18 different specific proposals for executive actions aimed toward ending discrimination.

"The President speaks the moral tone of America," the council said. "He has an incomparable position from which to define the problems of our policy and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done."

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IN OTHER proposals included in the report the council also said that:

1. The Department of Justice

Turn to Page 20, Column 1

COUNCIL

Continued From Page 1

should test in court its existing authority to intervene in or initiate school desegregation suits.

2. A presidential staff adviser on race relations should be appointed and a single office created to replace the current Committee on Government Employment and the Government Contract Committee. This new office would review all federal programs to see that no discrimination is practiced in governmental operations.

3. The "separate but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton hospital construction law should be examined for unconstitutionality.

4. A final, decisive effort should be made to end segregation on both interstate and intrastate trains and buses.

5. Large government contractors should be required to recruit Negro employes as a condition for contract award.

6. Special attention to racial equality should be given in federal aid for vocational training and education of children of military personnel.

7. The Civil Rights division of the Justice Department should be "adequately staffed."

8. The President should sponsor a national voter registration drive, supported by a wide distribution of information on voter qualifications and procedures in every state.

9. The U.S. overseas information programs should interpret the country's racial troubles "truthfully and candidly."

10. There should be a continual review of federal employment to insure nondiscrimination, rather than reliance on the processing of complaints.

The report was prepared by the Southern Regional Council staff and reviewed and approved by its officers.

The Atlanta Constitution had an inside page account. The early edition of the Atlanta Journal carried a front page article by Douglas Kiker, which was moved inside in later editions.

The Nashville Tennessean had a top of the page two-column spread on page 2.

The Christian Science Monitor carried a long and comprehensive article under the byline of Joseph Baird.

Senators Hart (Dem., Mich.) and Javitts (Rep., N. Y.) have each read parts of the report into the Congressional Record (January 30 and 31).

Atlanta Dateline N.Y. Times 2-5-61

The latest argument for civil rights comes from the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial group, with headquarters in Atlanta. Those responsible for this report include the council's director, Harold Curtis Fleming, who was born in Georgia of Georgian parents. The report is in the hands of the Kennedy Administration and covers such subjects as equal rights in employment, voting and schools, the desegregation of public conveyances, equal opportunities in housing, the desegregation of all Federal services and offices and the abolition of segregation in the National Guard.

These are not radical doctrines. Substantially the same things were pledged in the Democratic platform adopted at Los Angeles and the Republican platform adopted at Chicago, last July. The Republicans, who can get along without Southern votes when they absolutely have to, took a firm position, for example, in favor of integration in the schools and against discrimination in housing and in public vehicles. The Democrats, who can't get along without some Southern votes, nevertheless stated definitely that the time had come "to assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, schoolrooms, jobs, housing and public facilities."

Not all the recommendations in both platforms are likely to get through this year's Congress. In our elections both sides always promise more than they can do or even wish to do.

But the Southern Regional Council is on the right track and neither the Governor of Louisiana nor the Governor of Georgia, nor any less respectable force, can permanently prevent the carrying out of the program the council proposes.

The UPI's story has been used in the South by the Augusta Herald, Cordele Dispatch (Ga.); Jacksonville Times-Union, Miami Herald, Miami Beach Sun (Fla.); Raleigh Times, Wilmington News, Wilmington Star (N.C.); Tulsa World (Okla.); Columbia Herald, Kingsport News, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Memphis Press-Scimitar, Nashville Banner (Tenn.); Shreveport Journal (La.); Tupelo Journal, Natchez Times (Miss.); Harlingen Valley Star (Texas).

The Negro press has given wide coverage to the report, some using the wire service story of ANP, and others writing their own. Papers covering the report include: Atlanta World, St. Paul Recorder, Oklahoma City Black Dispatch, Minneapolis Spokesman, Washington Afro-American, Knoxville Independent Call, Philadelphia Afro-American, Memphis World, Chicago Daily Defender.

Roy Harris's Augusta Courier printed all the proposals, under the headline "Ralph McGill's SRC Urges 18 Point Reign of Terror on the South."

To date, we have seen nine editorials: laudatory ones in the New York Times, Washington Post and Times-Herald, Cleveland Call and Post, Atlanta Daily World, Memphis World, and Chattanooga Observer; uncomplimentary ones in the Orangeburg (S.C.) Time and Democrat, Wheeling (W.Va.) Intelligencer, and Danville (Va.) Bee.

Rights and Leadership

Washington Post 2-2-61

Executive initiative and leadership can do much to promote sane and healthy racial relations in the United States. This appears to be the principal thesis of a study prepared for submission to the new President by the Southern Regional Council, an organization singularly qualified to proffer advice in this field. The study calls for a vigorous assault against the evils of segregation and racial discrimination on a variety of fronts and by diverse techniques.

Despite the importance of legislation in outlawing practices which run counter to public policy and in giving the sanction of law to moral principles, presidential power and influence have a place of their own. By simple executive order, the President can do much to eliminate discrimination in Government contracts, in Federally financed housing projects, in Federal employment, in allocation of Federal funds to universities. The Federal Government's own operations, the report stresses, need to be a model of just race relations.

But of even greater impact than the exercise of presidential power, the Southern Regional Council suggests, is the impact of presidential influence through attitude and example. This was a thought often expressed by President Eisenhower during his occupancy of the White House. At a news conference in 1956, for example, he said in response to a question about school desegregation:

> Well, I can say what I have said so often: it is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart. It seems to me that all of us who are so interested in this question of equality of rights regardless of religion and of race and color should do more about it. I try to miss no opportunity to urge people—I have done it; I have asked the clergy in, and I have asked them to help. I have asked educators in, I have asked them to help. Whenever I see a Governor I ask him to help.

The indubitable difficulty of changing men's hearts through force adds importance to presidential precept and example. In his casual remarks even more perhaps than in his formal utterances, in his social relations even more than in his official appointments, the President sets the tone for his countrymen. If he loses no opportunity to preach and practice democracy, he can do much to mold men's thinking. If he moves imaginatively to dramatize the issue, he can touch men's consciences. Among free men, this is the essence of leadership.

CHRIST UND WELT

DEUTSCHE WOCHENZEITUNG

STUTTGART SONDERDRUCK JANUAR 1963

HANS JENNY:

Amerika ist nicht nur weiß

Die Vorgänge im amerikanischen Bundesstaat Mississippi haben weltweites Aufsehen erregt. Zwar hatte der auf der Rassentrennung bestehende Staatsgouverneur Barnett schließlich nachgegeben und der Immatrikulierung des schwarzen Studenten Meredith keinen bewaffneten Widerstand entgegengesetzt. Der Stein des Anstoßes ist jedoch nicht weggeräumt. Tausende von Bewaffneten mußten dafür sorgen, daß der Negerstudent den Vorlesungen unbelästigt folgen konnte. Noch immer ist die Erregung in den amerikanischen Südstaaten groß. Der Verfasser schildert die Aspekte der „Apartheid", die im Lichte ihres historischen Hintergrundes, des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges, verstanden werden müssen.

Die unbewältigte Vergangenheit des Bürgerkrieges

Kurz vor Charleston ging das Benzin aus. Ich winkte dem nächsten herankommenden Wagen und bat um Mitfahrt bis zur nächsten Tankstelle. Der Angeredete schaute mich mit zusammengekniffenen Augenbrauen an: „Are you a Yankee?" Sein Blick fiel auf mein New Yorker Autoschild. „European", erklärte ich, worauf sich seine Miene wieder aufhellte. „Come in!" Einem „Yankee", das heißt einem Amerikaner aus den Nordstaaten wäre diese Freundlichkeit offenbar nicht widerfahren.

Wer von der Hauptstadt Washington nach Süden fährt, überschreitet bereits vor den Toren der Stadt die sogenannte Mason-Dixon-Linie, die historische Grenze zwischen den Nord- und den Südstaaten. Er befindet sich dann unvermittelt in einem Gebiet Amerikas mit einer eigenen Tradition, mit anderen Maßstäben und anderer Denkweise. Im Gegensatz zum gesellschaftlichen Konformismus des Nordens spürt man hier noch auf Schritt und Tritt einen Hauch patriarchalischer Würde und verstaubter Grandezza.

Im Raum zwischen dem Potomac River und den weiten Prärien des westlichen Texas liegt Dixieland, das Gebiet der elf „Rebellenstaaten", die vor hundert Jahren infolge der Sklavenbefreiung in Konflikt mit der liberal-humanistischen Ideologie des industrialisierten Nordens gerieten und in der Konföderation einen „Sonderbund" bildeten. Heute umfaßt dieses Gebiet etwa ein Fünftel der Fläche des Gesamtstaates ohne Alaska. Von den 43 Millionen Einwohnern ist etwa ein Viertel schwarz.

Trauma des Bürgerkrieges

In Charleston, der alten Hafenstadt von South Carolina, zeigte mir ein Bekannter den ehemaligen Sklavenmarkt mit dem Museum. Über zwei Millionen westafrikanische Negersklaven sind seinerzeit von der englischen Kolonialherrschaft nach Nordamerika transportiert worden, weitere 800 000 bis 900 000 erlitten dasselbe Schicksal in der Zeit zwischen der Unabhängigkeitserklärung und mit Ausbruch des Sezessionskrieges. Die Neger dienten als willkommene Arbeitskräfte auf den neueingerichteten Baumwollfarmen, nachdem die Indianer sich für diese Arbeit als ungeeignet erwiesen hatten.

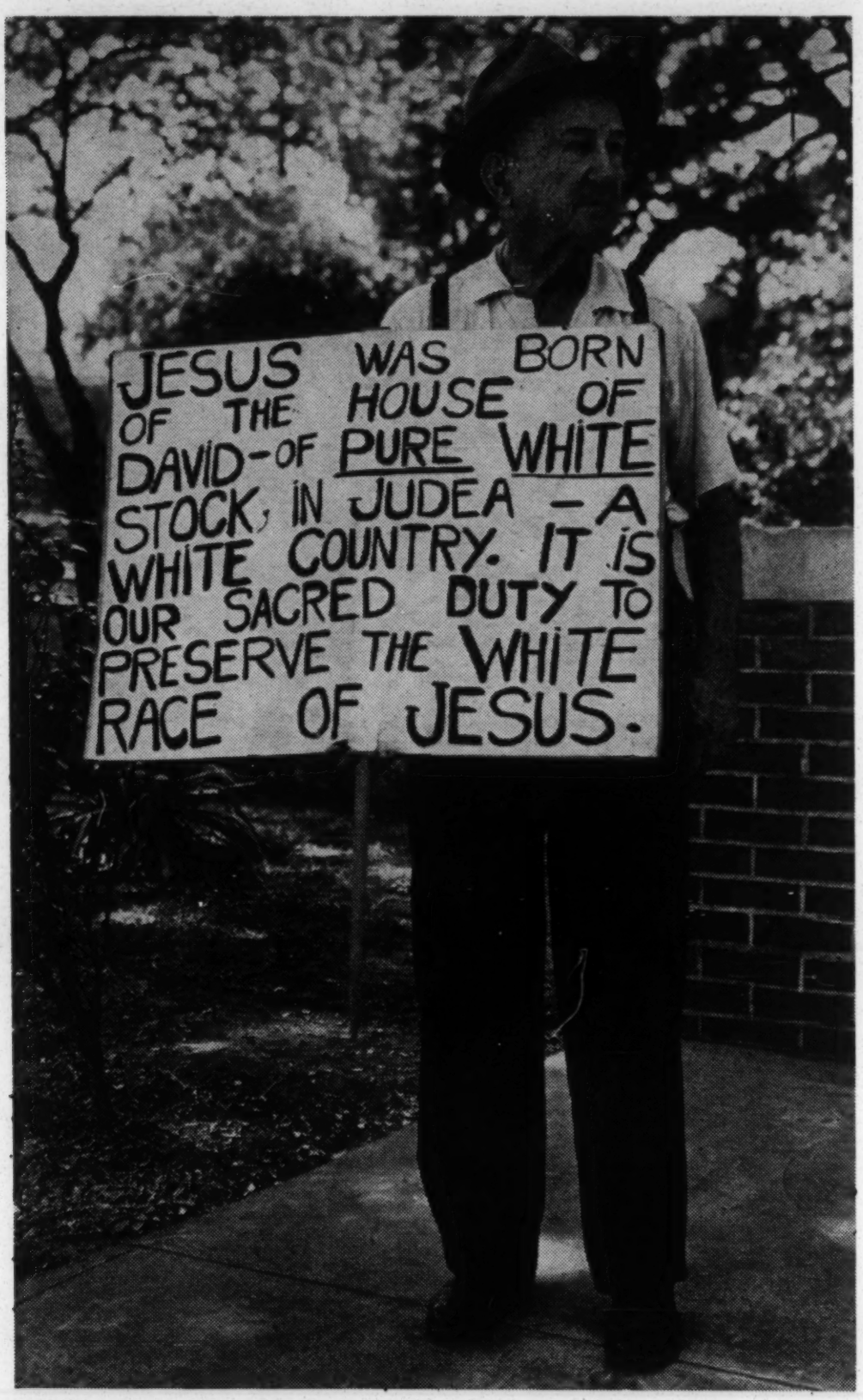
Wir bummelten in der Hitze der Mittagssonne durch die ausgestorbenen Straßen der Stadt, traten in das Dunkel altehrwürdiger Kirchen und kamen schließlich zum palmengesäumten Hafenkai, wo noch einige großartige Herrensitze von den längst vergangenen Zeiten der Sklavenherrschaft zeugen.

Mein Begleiter wies auf eine kleine befestigte Insel, die in einigen Kilometern Entfernung die Einfahrt in die Bucht beherrscht. „Das ist Fort Sumter, ein historisch bedeutsamer Ort." Mit der Eröffnung des Feuers auf das von Bundestruppen besetzte Fort begann am 12. April 1861 jener schreckliche Bürgerkrieg, der volle vier Jahre dauerte und bei einer damaligen Gesamtbevölkerung von 35 Millionen 600 000 Tote forderte.

Dem europäischen Besucher ist es ohne besondere Kenntnisse der Geschichte des Südens unverständlich, daß Menschen im Zeitalter der Bedrohung durch den Atomtod einen Sklavenbefreiungskrieg des vorigen Jahrhunderts in den Mittelpunkt ihrer politischen Betrachtungen stellen. Wenn sie vom „Krieg" sprechen, meinen sie nicht einen der beiden Weltkriege oder die Bedrohung durch einen möglichen dritten, sondern den hundert Jahre zurückliegenden Bürgerkrieg. Auf Schritt und Tritt ist im Süden der Bürgerkrieg heute wieder gegenwärtig. In der Spanne zwischen 1961 und 1965 finden die Jahrhundertgedenkfeiern der verschiedensten Schlachten statt. Welche Ähnlichkeit mit dem „erst" 38 Jahre später ausgebrochenen Burenkrieg in Südafrika, der in mancher Beziehung demselben Konfliktstoff entsprang.

Seit Little Rock

Hier im Süden werden nicht Abraham Lincoln oder General Grant, dem Oberkommandierenden der siegreichen Nordtruppen, Denkmäler gesetzt, sondern Gene-



Selbst die christliche Religion dient als Vorwand, um die Rassentrennung zu begründen

ral Robert E. Lee, dank dessen überragender Führung die Südstaaten dem mit Menschen und Material weit überlegenen Norden vier Jahre lang die Stirn boten. Vor manchem Gouverneurspalast und vor mancher City Hall flattert heute wieder die „Rebellenfahne" mit dem blauen Diagonalbalken, den vier roten Dreiecken und den 13 Sternen. Und während in allen übrigen Teilen der USA der 30. Mai als Memorial Day (Kriegsgefallenentag) gefeiert wird, gedenkt der Süden am 6. Juni nicht der Toten der beiden Weltkriege, sondern der Gefallenen des Bürgerkrieges.

Es sei nicht der verlorene Krieg gewesen, den der Süden nicht verwinden kann, versuchte mich mein Begleiter in Charleston aufzuklären, sondern es sind „die Jahre der Demütigung", die ihm folgten, das heißt die militärische Besetzung durch die Nordstaaten bis zum Jahre 1877. Heute würde leider diese Demütigung wiederholt. Damit erinnerte er mich an ein Ereignis, das im Jahre 1957 für kurze Zeit die Spalten der Weltpresse füllte, nämlich die Weigerung des Gouverneurs von Arkansas, dem Entscheid des Obersten Gerichtshofes über die Integration der Rassen in den Schulen der Stadt Little Rock nachzukommen, und die Entscheidung der Eisenhower-Administration, diesem Gerichtsurteil durch den Einsatz von Bundestruppen Geltung zu verschaffen.

Kaum jemand in der Welt spricht heute noch von Little Rock, aber in den Zeitungen von Richmond bis New Orleans, in den Farmstuben des Deep South und in den nur Weißen zugänglichen Barschenken der Mittel- und Kleinstädte von Virginia bis nach Texas wird immer noch darüber debattiert. Und ähnlich wird es gehen, nachdem sich Präsident Kennedy entschlossen hat, in Mississippi Bundestruppen einzusetzen. Der Stolz des Südens, die sogenannte Interposition, das heißt die Behauptung der Souveränität des Einzelstaates vor derjenigen des Bundes, und der Geist der Rebellion sind die Triebkräfte, an welcher sich das verzehrende Feuer der Rassenfrage immer wieder neu entzündet. So war Little Rock 1957 ein Symbol der unbewältigten Vergangenheit, wie es Oxford im Jahre 1962 ist. Der ausländische Gast entdeckt mit Erstaunen, daß es in diesem sonst so gleichförmig wirkenden Amerika unter den scheinbar einheitlich-konformistisch reagierenden Menschen eine Minderheit gibt, deren Eigenwilligkeit bis zum Traum nach einem sezessionierten eigenen Staatswesen geht.

Heute, erst nach hundert Jahren, werden die letzten Konsequenzen aus der Entscheidung des Bürgerkrieges gezogen. Der Sieg der Nordtruppen brachte damals den schwarzen Sklaven wohl die „Befreiung", nicht aber die Anerkennung als gleichberechtigte Bürger. Der Neger lebte weiter als Landarbeiter auf den Tabak- und Baumwollfarmen in hierarchischer Eingliederung unter einem Patriarchalismus der Standes- und Rassenvorurteile, die zunächst kaum eine Veränderung erfuhren.

Die Lynchjustiz der in der „Zeit der Demütigung" entstandenen Geheimorganisation Ku-Klux-Klan sorgte dafür, daß einzelne Versuche städtisch emanzipierter Neger, in die weiße Gesellschaft einzudringen, rasch zusammenbrachen. Nur darf man die Bedeutung dieses Terrors, auch wenn ihm beispielsweise 25 Neger noch im Jahre 1935 zum Opfer fielen, nicht überschätzen. Im großen und ganzen war im Süden das Zusammenleben zwischen Schwarz und Weiß erstaunlich harmonisch. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verlor der Terror seine unmittelbare Auswirkung, und es ist seither kaum mehr ein Fall von Lynchjustiz gemeldet worden.

Dort, wo der Neger in der traditionsgebundenen Ordnung des Patriarchalismus aufwächst und keine andere Welt kennt, fühlt er die Rassendiskriminierung kaum, weil er die Vorrechte des weißen Mannes als die Attribute einer natürlichen Gesellschaftsordnung empfindet. Wenn aber im Zuge der Industrialisierung Schwarze in den Fabriken Schulter an Schulter dieselbe Arbeit verrichten wie Weiße und sich der Neger am Abend von seinem Kollegen mit „Good-bye, Mister Brown" verabschiedet, während dieser „Good-bye, John" zurückruft, entsteht eine Diskrepanz, die früher oder später nach einer Lösung ruft.

Im fruchtbaren Farmgürtel zwischen Albany und Montgomery im Staate Alabama sah ich auf den Baumwollfarmen noch die Reste dieses harmonischen Zusammenlebens der Rassen und hörte aus schwarzem Munde das Loblied über die „Güte des weißen Herrn". Aber diese Welt des ländlichen Friedens steht vor ihrer totalen Umgestaltung. Maschinen zum Jäten, zum Pflügen, zur Vertilgung des Unkrauts und neuerdings sogar zum Pflücken der Baumwolle (ein umständlicher, bisher zeitraubender Prozeß, der viele Arbeitskräfte erforderte) haben diese Wandlung verursacht. Ich besuchte Farmen mit 2000 bis 3000 Acres Baumwollfeldern und 500 Stück Vieh, die heute mit 30 Arbeitskräften auskommen, während sie früher in der Erntezeit bis zu tausend Baumwollpflücker benötigten. Die Mechanisierung der Farmen und die Industrialisierung der Städte verursachten die Abwanderung der Neger vom Lande und die Bildung eines Stadtproletariats, aber

auch den Anachronismus der Schilder-Apartheid, wie sie im Süden der USA bis vor kurzem ebenso stur gehandhabt wurde wie in vielen Teilen Afrikas.

Jim Crow fügt sich nicht mehr

Als der Neger im Zweiten Weltkrieg in der Armee Schulter an Schulter mit Weißen im Kampf eingesetzt wurde, als er an den Universitäten der Nordstaaten in zunehmender Zahl graduierte, entstand das Bewußtsein, einer Minorität anzugehören, der die vollen Bürgerrechte verweigert werden. Erst jetzt wurde Jim Crow, wie der auf eine tiefere gesellschaftliche Stufe gesetzte Neger von den Weißen bezeichnet wird, gegen die ungleiche Behandlung aufmerksam, wobei die Hilfe weißer Integrationsfanatiker eine entscheidende Rolle spielte. Erst um die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts entsteht die Forderung, den Neger als „Vollbürger" nach der Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten auch im Süden anzuerkennen. Deshalb erlebt der ideologische Meinungskampf gleichzeitig mit dem Unabhängigkeits- und Souveränitätsbewußtsein der Südstaaten einen neuen Triumph. Hier zeigt sich eine geistige Spaltung innerhalb der Bevölkerung der USA, die meist vom Ausländer nicht beachtet wird. Integrationisten und Segretionisten, Zentralisten und Föderalisten, Nordstaaten und Südstaaten stehen sich in diesem Kampf gegenüber. Manche außenpolitische Entscheidung der Vereinigten Staaten wird durch diesen inneren Kampf beeinflußt, nicht zuletzt ihre Haltung im Entkolonialisierungsprozeß und gegenüber den Entwicklungsländern.

In der Tat besteht ein erheblicher Widerspruch zwischen den vielfach starken Worten, die Amerikas Delegierte in den Vereinten Nationen gegen Rassendiskriminierung und Kolonialismus führen, und den heute noch herrschenden Verhältnissen im alten Süden. Da sind einmal die großen Warenhäuser, die zwar auch jeden Neger als Käufer einladen, ihm aber den Zutritt in die Imbißecke verweigern. In New Orleans, der Stadt des Dixieland-Jazz, wird der Trompeter Louis Armstrong im French Quarter begeistert gefeiert, ihm und anderen schwarzen Kapellmeistern aber die hintere Plattform im Bus als Stehplatz angewiesen. Drive-in-Cinemas haben heute noch ihre besonderen Eingänge für „colored people" mit meist schlechteren Plätzen. Ralph Bunche und die meisten farbigen UNO-Diplomaten in New York hätten Schwierigkeiten, im Süden ein Hotelzimmer zu erhalten.

Martin Luther King auf den Spuren Gandhis

An der 40. Straße in Manhattan befindet sich vor einem Geschäftshaus ein Schild mit der Aufschrift: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Hier befindet sich der „Generalstab", der vor einigen Jahren den „Feldzug" gegen die Apartheidsgesetze der Südstaaten eröffnete. Die auf privater Vereinsbasis organisierte NAACP entstand bereits 1909, als es im Nordstaat Illinois zu Rassenkrawallen kam. Ihre Gründer waren Weiße: eine Frau namens Mary White Ovington, ein mit einer russischen Revolutionärin verheirateter Journalist, William E. Walling, und ein Einwanderer aus Osteuropa, Dr. Henry Moskowitz. Die Bewegung wurde gegründet, um die Neger des Nordens vor Rassendiskriminierung zu schützen.

Heute zählt die NAACP 1500 Zweigstellen mit 400 000 Mitgliedern, hauptsächlich Neger. Ihr Kampf konzentriert sich seit einigen Jahren gegen die Segregation in den Südstaaten. Nach dem Vorbild Gandhis wurde eine gewaltlose Ungehorsamkeitskampagne eingeleitet, deren Zweck darin besteht, friedlich, aber systematisch die Rassentrennungsgesetze zu verletzen. Ihr Spiritus rector ist der Negerpfarrer Dr. Martin Luther King, der auch persönlich an solchen Aktionen teilnimmt. Ein führendes Mitglied des NAACP sagte mir: „Die örtliche Polizei und der weiße Mob wissen, wie sie mit einem einzelnen Neger verfahren können, der die Rassentrennungsgesetze übertritt. Was aber sollen sie tun mit Hunderten oder Tausenden von ruhigen, unerschrockenen jungen Negern, die ihre durch Bundesverfassung und Gerichtsurteil verbürgten Rechte wahrnehmen?"

Seit dem 1. Februar 1960 unternehmen Studentengruppen aus dem Norden, die sich Freedom Riders, „Freiheits-Reiter", nennen, Busfahrten in die Städte des Südens, wo sie Sit-in-, „Sitz-hinein"-Aktionen unternehmen. Restaurants, Theater, Schwimmbäder, Bibliotheken und Kunstgalerien, die der weißen Rasse vorbehalten waren, erfahren den Besuch dieser Freedom Riders. Werden sie in den Lunchrooms nicht bedient, so lesen sie in ihren Kollegheften und Büchern, bleiben sitzen und versperren den weißen Gästen den Platz. Vor den Rathäusern der Städte knien sie betend nieder und blockieren die Zugänge, bis die Polizei gezwungen ist, jeden einzelnen wegzutragen. In den öffentlichen Bussen setzen sie sich auf die den Weißen reservierten Plätze, in den Bahnhöfen benutzen sie die ihnen durch Gesetz nicht zugänglichen Warteräume, in den segregierten Kirchen setzen sie sich in die vordersten Bänke.

Der Süden antwortete mit der Bildung örtlicher White Citizens Councils, die durch Pamphlete und Gegendemonstrationen auftreten und die Inhaber der betroffenen Lokale auffordern, jede Bedienung zu verweigern. Zahlreiche Polizeiaktionen gegen Ruhestörer waren unvermeidlich. Zwar können die Freedom Riders nicht gleichzeitig überall auftreten, und sie können auch nicht verhindern, daß spätere Versuche der im Ort wohnhaften Neger, die Rassentrennungsgesetze weiterhin zu übertreten, vereitelt werden. Aber man schätzt, daß seit dem 1. Februar 1960 etwa 70 000 Demonstranten an „Freiheitsritten" teilnahmen. 3600 schwarze Studenten sind seither verhaftet und wegen Ruhestörung für kürzere Zeit eingesperrt worden.

Freiheit aus dem Norden

Da die Freedom Riders in der überwiegenden Zahl aus dem Norden kommen, gelten ihre Sit-in-Aktionen in den Augen der Segretionisten als neue Kampfmethode, um die Interposition, das heißt die Souveränität der Südstaaten, zu brechen. Das oft unverständliche Festhalten an überlebten Rassentrennungsgesetzen im öffentlichen Leben ist zum Teil aus dieser Haltung zu erklären.

Dennoch ist bereits heute ein gewisser Erfolg der *Sit-ins* festzustellen. In 126 Städten des Südens wurden seither den Negern Erleichterungen gewährt, insbesondere in den Imbißecken der Warenhäuser. Mehr und mehr verschwinden auch die offiziellen Verbotsschilder und die diskriminierenden Transportbestimmungen. Es geht jetzt immer mehr um die Frage, ob ein Privater das Recht besitzt, seine Gäste auszuwählen. An vielen Orten der USA (nicht nur im Süden) fand ich vor Hotels und Restaurants die bezeichnende Aufschrift: „We reserve the Right to refuse Service to anyone." Der Hotelier behält sich vor, Gäste je nach der Hautfarbe zu bedienen oder abzulehnen.

Heute rächt es sich, daß der Süden nicht rechtzeitig und aus freien Stücken die Rassendiskriminierung abgebaut hat. Freedom Riders und Sit-ins hätten niemals ein so großes Echo bis in die Weltpresse gefunden, wenn in aller Stille gewisse überlebte Vorschriften aufgehoben worden wären. Allerdings darf man nicht übersehen, daß die „Schilder-Apartheid" auch im Norden noch bis in den Zweiten Weltkrieg hinein dauerte. Carl Rowen, ein führender schwarzer Funktionär im Informationsamt, sagte mir: „Sie machen sich keinen Begriff, welch miserable Stadt Washington für einen Bürger dunkler Hautfarbe noch im Jahre 1951 war!"

Integration der Neger – aber wie?

Die Überwindung der Rassenschranke wird Jahrzehnte dauern

In einem nördlichen Außenquartier von New Orleans war kein Mietauto erhältlich. Ich entschloß mich, zu Fuß durch ein schwarzes Wohnquartier in die Stadt zurückzukehren. Drei sauber gekleidete Negerknaben, die offenbar an meinem Tun den Fremdling erkannten, schlossen sich mir an. In der Unterhaltung entpuppten sie sich als Mitglieder derselben Fußballmannschaft. Über ihre Berufsabsichten befragt, erklärte der eine, er wolle Arzt werden, der zweite Ingenieur, und nur der dritte begnügte sich mit dem beruflichen Ziel eines Fußballtrainers. Die Zeiten Jim Crows, als sich die Neger mit den untersten sozialen Stellungen zufriedengaben, sind vorbei, dachte ich im stillen.

Die Begegnung erzählte ich am gleichen Abend Harvey Kerns, dem schwarzen Direktor der New Orleanser Urban League. „Wir haben noch keinen einzigen schwarzen Doktor und keinen Ingenieur in ganz New Orleans, bei einer Negerbevölkerung von über 230 000", entgegnete er. „Gleiche Rechte" und „faire Chancen" sind die Hauptforderungen der zweiten großen Organisation, die sich neben der NAACP für die Integration der Neger einsetzt, auch die Urban League wurde schon 1910 in New York gegründet. Im New Yorker Hauptbüro erklärte man mir, die soziale Gleichstellung mit den Weißen sei das Hauptziel der Organisation. Heute beträgt das durchschnittliche Einkommen der Neger kaum halb soviel wie jenes der weißen Amerikaner. 80 Prozent aller Schwarzen arbeiten noch immer als Farmgehilfen oder als ungelernte Helfer in Fabriken, Wäschereien, Hotelküchen, im Straßenbau oder in den Häfen.

Auch in politischer Hinsicht sind die amerikanischen Neger noch keineswegs gleichberechtigt. In den Südstaaten werden die verschiedensten Methoden ange-

wandt, um sie vom Wahlrecht fernzuhalten: Erhebung von „Wahlsteuern", „Intelligenztests" oder die Anwendung physischer Gewalt sind keine Seltenheit. Ein schwarzer Parlamentarier erklärte mir in Washington, daß den Negern in einigen Südstaaten Fragen über die Verfassung gestellt würden, die selbst ein weißer Anwalt nicht aus dem Stegreif beantworten könne. Bei weißen Anwärtern begnüge man sich damit, festzustellen, daß sie ihren Namen schreiben können.

Je größer der Anteil der Neger an der Gesamtbevölkerung eines Wahlkreises, desto geringer ist die Zahl der eingeschriebenen schwarzen Wahlberechtigten. 29 Wahlkreise in acht Südstaaten weisen nicht einen einzigen schwarzen Wähler auf — aber in 17 Kreisen umfaßt die Negerbevölkerung mehr als die Hälfte. Im Gesamtdurchschnitt der elf Südstaaten ist nur etwa ein Viertel aller nach dem Alter wahlberechtigten Neger als Wähler registriert.

Der Kampf um die Schule

Diese Ungleichheit beschränkt sich allerdings nicht nur auf die Hautfarbe. Das Wahlgesetz im Staate Mississippi stammt noch aus dem Jahre 1890. Der Wahlkreis Union zählt 12 000 Einwohner, schickt aber 12 Vertreter ins örtliche Parlament; die Stadt Hattiesburg hat mit 58 000 Einwohnern einen einzigen. „Unsere Lage ist mit jener Preußens vor 200 Jahren zu vergleichen", sagte mir der Direktor der Hattiesburger Handelskammer. Die Wahlkreisgeometrie begünstigt die ländlichen Gebiete und damit die in Rassenfragen besonders konservativ denkenden Farmer. Allerdings sind auch im aufgeschlossenen Norden bis heute erst vier Neger in den 435 Sitze zählenden Kongreß gewählt worden. Unter den 100 Senatoren ist bis heute kein einziger Neger zu finden.

„Mit der totalen Schulintegration würde das Rückgrat der weißen westlichen Kultur in den Südstaaten gebrochen. Deshalb müssen wir alles tun, um diesen Angriff auf unsere physische Existenz abzuschlagen." Dies erklärte mir einer der aktivsten und geistreichsten Führer der weißen Segregationisten, Thomas R. Waring, Chefredakteur von „The News and Courier". Seine Argumente sind für den Außenstehenden nicht ohne weiteres verständlich. Durch Warings Schriften und Vorträge zieht sich wie ein roter Faden die Empfehlung: „Sabotiert den Entscheid des Obersten Gerichtshofs über die Schulintegration." Den Einsatz von Truppen in Little Rock und Oxford (Mississippi) vergleicht er mit der Vergewaltigung Ungarns durch die Sowjets. Es sei besser, die öffentlichen Schulen zu schließen, als „die Mischung der Rassen zuzulassen". Hier sei passiver Widerstand nach dem Beispiel Indiens am Platze. Der Behauptung der NAACP: „Rassentrennung ist moralisch widerlich und rechtlich unhaltbar", entgegnet Waring: „Rassentrennung in Freundschaft, Gerechtigkeit und gegenseitigem Respekt ist gut und nicht böse, sie ist moralisch gerechtfertigt und vom praktischen Standpunkt des täglichen Lebens notwendig."

Warings Empfehlungen entsprechen offenbar dem, was weite Kreise der Bevölkerung im Süden denken. Denn nur so kann der bisher erstaunlich geringe Erfolg des Bundesgerichtsentscheides vom 17. Mai 1954 erklärt werden. Die Schulbehörde von New Orleans ermittelte durch direkte Anfrage, daß 82 Prozent der älteren weißen Kinder eher für die Schließung der Schulen als für die Abschaffung der Rassentrennung sind. Aber selbst im Norden, wo die Schulen längst integriert sind, ergaben solche Abstimmungen, daß die Eltern ihre Kinder nicht in eine mehrheitlich schwarze Schulklasse schicken wollen.

Ein ausländischer Beobachter erklärte mir, in Amerika bestehe zur Zeit eine „Hysterie der Rassenbeziehungen". Man versteht dies, wenn man vernimmt, daß der Staat Arkansas für den Besuch von neun Negerkindern in der Central High School während langer Zeit für deren militärischen Schutz täglich 100 000 Dollar auszugeben hatte. In der größten Stadt Virginias, Norfolk, verlangten im Mai 1958 siebzehn Negerkinder die Aufnahme in die High School. Darauf verfügte der Gouverneur die Schließung sämtlicher Schulen dieser Stufe in der ganzen Stadt. 10 000 Kinder blieben während mehr als eines halben Jahres zu Hause. Inzwischen entschloß sich Virginia, formell die Schulintegration einzuführen, aber gleichzeitig wurde durch großzügige staatliche Spenden jedem Kind armer weißer Eltern der Eintritt in eine Privatschule ermöglicht. Als kürzlich die private katholische Schule von Duras in New Orleans fünf Neger aufnahm, ging die Zahl der weißen Schüler von 340 auf 28 zurück.

Stigma der Minderwertigkeit

In den Staaten mit durchgeführter Schulintegration ist die Zahl der Negerkinder in den weißen Schulen erstaunlich klein. In Nord-Carolina waren bis Ende 1960 unter 12 234 Schulkindern nur 39 Neger, in Virginia unter 20 327 nur 86, in Arkansas unter 8133 nur 94. Im ganzen Süden sind erst knapp 10 Prozent aller schulpflichtigen Negerkinder in integrierten Schulen.

Wie kommt es, daß über 90 Prozent von fast drei Millionen Negerkindern immer noch die „Jim-Crow-Schule" vorziehen, obwohl Schulen „auf Rassenbasis" seit acht Jahren gerichtlich verboten sind? Aus der Geschichte Amerikas läßt sich erklären, daß der Neger, der als Sklave ins Land gebracht wurde, noch heute unter dem Stigma der rassischen „Minderwertigkeit" leidet oder zumindest in einer gewissen Apathie gedankenlos dahinlebt. Nur eine kleine Minderheit von gebildeten Schwarzen kämpft für die Beseitigung der Rassentrennung. Sie, die den Glauben an die Wertüberlegenheit der Weißen verloren haben, laufen aber ebenso Gefahr, in umgekehrter Hinsicht ungerecht zu denken und sich in einer verderblichen Verbitterung auch dort gegen „Rassendiskriminierung" zu wenden, wo es sich lediglich um die Betonung des Andersartigen handelt.

Geschlechtskrankheit, außereheliche Geburt und Kriminalität sind bei den Negern in weit größerem Ausmaß vorhanden als in der weißen Gemeinschaft. Der bekannte Negerpfarrer Dr. Martin Luther King erklärte in einem Vortrag am Bennett College in Greensboro (Nord-Carolina): „Der Neger muß den Respekt des weißen Mannes durch Verbesserung seines eigenen Standards gewinnen ... Wir töten zu viele der Unsrigen. Wir dürfen den weißen Mann nicht denken lassen, daß wir die Straße der Sexualität wandern. Wir müssen nicht immer die höchste Rate illegitimer Kinder haben in jeder Stadt. Wir müssen Reinlichkeit bewahren."

Hier liegen die tieferen psychologischen Gründe für die Furcht vor der Niederreißung der Rassenschranken. Sie werden nur selten offen erwähnt, aber sie beeinflussen die ganze Denkweise und jede einzelne Handlung in der Rassenfrage. Es ist die Angst vor Vermischung, vor der physischen „Änderung der Menschen". Waring spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von der Gefahr der „Südamerikanisierung". Nach seiner Meinung würden sich nach erfolgter Schulintegration in den unteren Schichten die Rassen vermischen, während die Oberschicht, die sich die Entsendung ihrer Kinder in private Schulen leisten könne, weiß bliebe. Diese „Aristokraten" würden dann das Feld beherrschen, es wäre „das Ende der amerikanischen Demokratie im Süden".

Vor etwa 100 Jahren war rund die Hälfte der Bevölkerung im alten Süden schwarz. Langsam, aber stetig sinkt der schwarze Anteil an der Gesamtbevölkerung. Er betrug 1950 noch 24,85 Prozent, 1960 dagegen nur noch 22,73 Prozent. Innerhalb eines Jahrzehnts haben nahezu 1,5 Millionen Neger den Süden verlassen.

Der Zug nach dem Norden

„Unser Negerproblem löst sich durch Abwanderung", sagte mir der Senator eines Südstaates in Washington und meinte ergänzend: „Dafür wird im Norden in wenigen Jahrzehnten die Negerfrage akut werden. New York ist heute mit über 1,1 Millionen Schwarzen die größte Negerstadt der Welt. Dazu kommen noch 700 000 Puerto-Ricaner, die nach der Statistik als weiß gelten, aber sozial noch tiefer stehen und von den Negern als minderwertige Rasse verachtet und entsprechend behandelt werden." Washington, die Hauptstadt der größten westlichen Macht, ist innerhalb eines Jahrzehnts „schwarz" geworden. Die Negerbevölkerung stieg dort von 35 auf 54 Prozent an. Baltimore zählt 34,7, Detroit 28,9, St. Louis 28,6, Chikago 22,9 Prozent Schwarze. In all diesen Städten ist die Negerbevölkerung durch starke Zuwanderung aus dem Süden innerhalb von zehn Jahren um mehr als 50 Prozent gewachsen. „Über die Wahl des nächsten amerikanischen Präsidenten werden die Neger als Zünglein an der Waage zwischen den beiden ungefähr gleich starken Parteien entscheiden" sagte mir ein seit Jahren in New York ansässiger ausländischer Journalist. In den Industriezentren des Nordens bilde sich ein neues Slumproletariat. Die Abwanderung aus dem Süden werde durch die White Citizens Councils systematisch gefördert. Soeben hatte die „New York Times" gemeldet, daß wieder zwei Negerfrauen mit ihren insgesamt 20 Kindern Karten für einfache Busfahrt nach dem Norden, diesmal zum Landgut der Familie Kennedy in Hyannis (Massachusetts) übergeben worden seien. Die beiden Mütter klopften mit ihrem gesamten Anhang an Kennedys Haustür an und erklärten, man habe ihnen im Süden versprochen, der Präsident würde schöne Häuser und gutbezahlte Arbeit vermitteln.

Einer meiner Bekannten in der 84. Straße Manhattans war aufgebracht: „Mit dieser gemischten Schule haben wir nur Ärger", sagte er. Seit einiger Zeit würden Kinder vom benachbarten Harlem, angeblich weil die dortigen Schulen überfüllt seien, in die bisher nur von weißen Kindern besuchten Schulen des „German Quarters" gesandt.

In New Yorks vornehmster Straße, der 5. Avenue, dominiert die weiße Hautfarbe. Noch hat der Norden der USA nicht dieses akute Rassenproblem wie der Süden.

Folge davon sei, daß nun auch hier die „Black Board Jungles" um sich griffen: Raufereien unter den Kindern, Schlägereien mit den Lehrern, was zur Folge habe, daß die Polizei Wachen vor die Schulzimmer und in den Pausen aufstellen müsse.

„Es beginnt jetzt die Abwanderung aus unserem schönen Quartier; Neger werden nachrutschen, Harlem wird damit noch etwas größer" Die Sache habe damit begonnen, daß der Negersänger Harry Belafonte eine Wohnung in diesem nur von Weißen bewohnten Quartier suchte. „Der Hauseigentümer erhielt daraufhin 50 Kündigungsandrohungen von seinen Mietern und lehnte das Gesuch ab." Auf Grund der Negerorganisationen habe dann die Stadt New York ein Gesetz erlassen, daß kein Wohnungsuchender aus Gründen der Hautfarbe abgewiesen werden dürfe.

Der Anteil der nichtweißen Bevölkerung nimmt insgesamt langsam, aber stetig zu. Es ist nicht nur die stärkere Geburtenfreudigkeit der Neger daran schuld, sondern ebenso die Tatsache, daß jedes Mischlingskind, auch wenn es nur ein Viertel oder manchmal nur ein Achtel Negerblut hat, zu den „Nichtweißen", praktisch also zu den Negern gezählt wird. Von 1950 bis 1960 stieg die Zahl der amerikanischen Neger von 15 auf 18,9 Millionen, das sind 25,4 Prozent gegenüber 18,7 Prozent bei den Weißen.

Die Furcht der Weißen

Überall in der Welt kämpfen Minderheiten um ihre Gleichberechtigung. Bei den Negern in den USA besteht aber die Eigenart, daß ihre Wortführer unter dieser Gleichberechtigung das absolute Aufgehen in der Mehrheit verstehen und keinerlei Wert auf den Schutz ihrer Eigenart legen. Integration bedeutet für sie nicht nur integrierte Schulen und gleiches Wahlrecht, sondern auch integrierte Wohnviertel, integrierte Klubs, wobei sie die Gefahr der Vermischung, die vielleicht mit dem physischen Untergang ihrer Rasse verbunden wäre, durchaus in Kauf nehmen. Nur eine

Arbeiter der Müllafuhr in Houston (Texas). Die niedrigsten Arbeiten werden in den Südstaaten ausnahmslos den Negern überlassen

kleine Minderheit unter den Wortführenden der Neger, die Black Moslems, fordern die Erhaltung der Eigenart der Negerrasse. Einzig aus gewissen Reaktionen der Masse der Negerbevölkerung kann man schließen, daß sie nicht unbedingt eine Vermischung mit den Weißen wünscht. Viele amerikanischen Neger sind ja nicht mehr „reinrassig". Die besonders erfolgreichen Vertreter der Negerbevölkerung, wie zum Beispiel Ralph Bunche, sind in Wirklichkeit Mischlinge. Die Neger, die seinerzeit als Sklaven nach Amerika importiert wurden, verloren ihre afrikanische Sprache, ihre Stammeskultur, ihre Beziehungen zur alten Heimat. Sie fühlen sich heute nur noch als Amerikaner, wenn auch anderer Rasse. Dies zeigt sich am deutlichsten, wenn amerikanische Neger mit afrikanischen zusammentreffen. Als der amerikanische Negerschriftsteller R. Wright voller Begeisterung Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana besucht hatte, kehrte er hinterher enttäuscht wieder in seine Heimat zurück.

Es scheint, daß nur noch die Hautfarbe die Neger von den übrigen Amerikanern unterscheidet. Diese war ihnen aber immer hinderlich im Aufstieg. Wundert man sich, daß die meisten Wortführer der Negerrasse volle Integration verlangen? Das amerikanische Negerproblem ist trotz vieler äußerlicher Ähnlichkeiten nicht mit jenem Südafrikas zu vergleichen. Die Herstellung der gesetzlichen Gleichberechtigung der schwarzen Bevölkerung ist in Amerika nur noch eine Frage von Jahren. Aber die Überwindung der psychologischen Rassenschranken wird Jahrzehnte brauchen, und sie wird die Haltung der Amerikaner in Zukunft vielleicht noch stärker als bisher in politischen Dingen beeinflussen. Man wird sich darüber Rechenschaft geben müssen: Amerika ist nicht nur weiß!

Winnetous 523 591 Nachkommen

Die Indianer Nordamerikas sind nicht kleinzukriegen

Auf dem großen Platz vor dem „Grand Canyon Hotel" führen jeden Abend um 18 Uhr die Hopi-Indianer ihre Tänze auf. Unweit davon entfernt sitzt ein Indianerjunge auf einem Schimmel und läßt sich, mit buntbemalten Vogelfedern bekränzt, gegen gute Dollars fotografieren. Rings um das Hotel stehen die Andenkenläden, wo Töpfereien, Korbwaren, gewebene Teppiche, Silberschmuck und andere handwerkliche Kunst für sündhafte Preise angeboten werden.

Das Bild, das sich der Durchschnittsamerikaner von den Indianern macht, ist in der Regel falsch. Er hat in der Schule gelernt, daß die Indianer die Ureinwohner dieses Kontinents sind, daß sie grausame Sitten hatten und deshalb verfolgt werden mußten. Er liest in der Zeitung, daß jährlich eine Million Touristen in die Indianerreservate fahren oder daß auf einem Grundstück eines Apachen Öl, Helium oder Uran gefunden wurde.

Die Vielseitigkeit des Indianerproblems, die Tatsache, daß die Urrasse Amerikas in eine große Zahl verschiedener Völker und Kulturen zerfällt, die unvergleichliche Armut von mindestens vier Fünftel aller Indianer, all jener, die weder vom Tourismus noch vom Erdöl profitieren, sind ihm kaum bekannt. Meist betrachtet der Bürger aus New York, Cleveland oder Chikago den Indianer als eine touristische Attraktion. Für Hollywood und die *Comics* ist der Indianer ein beliebtes Sujet des wilden Angreifers auf den unschuldigen Weißen.

Vor rund 20 000 Jahren sind die Indianer als Steinzeitmenschen über das Eis der Beringstraße oder mit Kanus über den Stillen Ozean aus Sibirien in den amerikanischen Kontinent eingedrungen. Sie kannten damals noch keine Töpferei, jagten mit Wurfspeeren und kleinen Spießen und lebten in primitiven Unterkünften. Bis zur Ankunft der ersten Weißen besaßen sie auch keine Wagen und keine Pferde. Dennoch standen einige Indianerstämme Nordamerikas in den ersten Anfängen einer richtigen Zivilisation und am Beginn der Entwicklung einer eigenen Schrift. Es gab unter ihnen friedliche und kriegerische Völker, solche mit bereits entwickelten Religionen und andere, die noch auf der Stufe primitiven Schamanentums standen.

Wurden die Indianer ausgerottet?

In Santa Fé, der alten indianischen Hauptstadt der Pueblos und heutigen Kapitale des Staates Neu-Mexiko, unterhielt ich mich mit einem amerikanischen Ethnologen. Es war dabei unvermeidlich auch das betrübliche Kapitel der weißen Eroberung Amerikas zu streifen. Als Christoph Kolumbus Amerika entdeckte, lebten auf der nördlichen Hälfte des Kontinents etwa eine Million Menschen. Hätten sie sich in gleicher Weise wie die Europäer weiterentwickeln können, so müßten zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts acht bis zehn Millionen Indianer in Nordamerika

gelebt haben. In Wirklichkeit betrug ihre Zahl um die Jahrhundertwende weniger als 250 000. Wie kam es zu dieser Dezimierung?

Durch eine Kette von Vertragsbrüchen und Zwangsverschickungen wurden die Indianer im Laufe von zweihundert Jahren um Land und Gut gebracht. Hand in Hand mit der systematischen Ausrottung der Büffel ging auch die Dezimierung der Indianer vor sich, und viele, die nicht durch Menschenhand umkamen, fielen der Ansteckung der durch Europäer hereingeschleppten Epidemien zum Opfer.

Nur in wenigen Gebieten, etwa in den Sümpfen Floridas, konnten sich die Seminolenstämme unbesiegt halten. Da kein Weißer in den unfruchtbaren Einöden Arizonas und Nevadas seinen Landhunger stillen wollte, gelang es den Navahos oder Apachi, wie sie von den Spaniern genannt wurden, dort ein größeres, zusammenhängendes Indianergebiet gegen alle weißen Übergriffe zu halten.

Die größte Stadt in diesem Gebiet, Gallup, nennt sich „Welthauptstadt der Indianer", obwohl sie außerhalb des eigentlichen Reservats liegt. Hier hatte ich erstmals Gelegenheit, die Kehrseite des vom Tourismus geprägten Indianerbildes kennenzulernen. Am Samstagabend stößt der Besucher dieser Stadt auf Massen total betrunkener Indianer und Indianerinnen, die zum Teil in hilflosem Zustande auf der Straße liegenbleiben. Alljährlich im August werden in Gallup die *Intertribal Indian Ceremonials* abgehalten, die eine Menge interessierter Touristen anlocken. Aber auch diese von wohlmeinenden Betreuern der Indianer ins Leben gerufene Attraktion ist ein Trugbild. Denn die Indianer haben nie eine geschlossene Dachorganisation besessen. Erst in neuester Zeit gibt es indianische Verbände, die sich über mehrere Stämme erstrecken.

Im Parlament zu Window Rock

Die indianischen Völker lebten auf dem Kontinent nebeneinander, ohne sich näher zu kennen. Ihre kulturellen und sprachlichen Unterschiede sind zum Teil ebenso groß wie jene zwischen Finnen und Portugiesen, zwischen Irländern und Türken, zwischen Sizilianern und Bulgaren. Einer der besten Kenner der indianischen Völker, Oliver La Farge, sagt: „Die heutigen Indianer reden Dialekte, die den verschiedenen Sprachfamilien angehören und einander nicht näher verwandt sind als Englisch, Tibetanisch und Zulu." Mag diese Feststellung auch etwas übertrieben sein, so ist es jedenfalls Tatsache, daß seinerzeit in Amerika etwa 600 Indianersprachen und Dialekte unterschieden wurden und daß die verschiedenen Stämme sich nur in Englisch unterhalten können, weil ihre eigenen Sprachen zu stark voneinander abweichen.

Am Nordausgang der Stadt Gallup steht ein Schild mit der Aufschrift: „Window Rock — 27 Miles." Die Straße führt über ödes hügeliges Land ins Reservat der Navahos. Obwohl weder ein Schlagbaum noch ein Zollhaus zu sehen ist, hat der Besucher unvermittelt den Eindruck, die Vereinigten Staaten verlassen zu haben. Die kommerziellen Reizwirkungen, Motels, „Antics"-Läden, Tierausstellungen und private Museen, die fast alle großen Überlandstraßen in unmittelbarer Nähe der Städte „schmücken", sind hier nicht zu finden. Es verbleibt die unvergleichlich schöne Landschaft, mit ihren mächtigen braun-roten Ebenen mit den zart rosa bis dunkelviolett schimmernden Bergen in weiter Ferne.

Nur selten verirrt sich ein Tourist in dieses so wenig Komfort bietende größte Indianerreservat der Vereinigten Staaten, das etwa die anderthalbfache Fläche der Schweiz umfaßt, aber nur 90 000 Einwohner zählt. Window Rock, eine grüne Oase, ist von zwei Seiten durch Felsen begrenzt, der eine weist ein großes Erosionsloch auf, daher der Name Window Rock, „Felsenfenster". Hier liegt das achteckige, aus rohen Bruchsteinen gemauerte Parlamentsgebäude, wo die 73 Delegierten des Stammesrates tagen. Bezopfte Männer und Frauen in buntfarbener Tracht mit silberbeschlagenen und reichverzierten Türkisen, Knöpfen, Ringen und Spangen saßen in einem Halbrund und behandelten mit großem Ernst die lokalen Tagesgeschäfte. Mein Begleiter, Mr. Crady, ein Beamter des *Bureau of Indian Affairs*, der seit dreiunddreißig Jahren im Reservat lebt und mit einer Indianerin verheiratet war, bat mich, nicht zu fotografieren, da die Navahos dies nicht schätzen. „Sie befinden sich hier auf ausländischem Gebiet, wir Amerikaner sind nur Gäste und haben die Stammesbräuche zu respektieren."

Später erklärte mir Mr. Crady den Sinn des Reservats, das nicht dem Einzelstaate, sondern dem Bunde direkt untersteht. „Kein staatliches Gericht und kein Polizist haben hier etwas zu suchen. Der Indianer besitzt im Reservat Selbstverwaltung, wenn auch der Bund die Oberaufsicht über gewisse Befugnisse behält. Die Indianer richten auch über Verbrechen, selbst über solche, die wir als schwerwiegend bezeichnen würden, sowie über Zivilrechtssachen wie Heirat, Scheidung und Erbschaften. Der Stammesrat kann Personen, mit Ausnahme von Regierungsbeamten, die nicht zum Stamme gehören und zu seinem Nachteil handeln, aus dem Reservat ausweisen."

Vierhundert „Friedensverträge"

Zum Teil sind diese Reservate das Resultat von über 400 mit Indianern abgeschlossenen Friedensverträgen, soweit dieselben nachträglich nicht gebrochen wurden. Betrachtet man eine Karte der Vereinigten Staaten, in welcher die Indianerreservate eingetragen sind, so ergibt sich ein Streuteppich von größeren und kleineren Flecken, über das ganze Bundesgebiet verteilt. Es sind mehr als 300 Enklaven, wovon einzelne nicht viel mehr als einige hundert Acres umfassen. 12,4 Millionen Acres werden im ganzen von den USA für individuelles Besitztum der Indianer geschützt. Weitere 41 Millionen sind Stammesland, so daß sich ein Reservatsgebiet von 212 000 Quadratkilometern ergibt, das sind 3 Prozent der Fläche der USA und beinahe soviel wie die ganze Bundesrepublik.

Im Gespräch mit meinem Begleiter erkannte ich, wie ähnlich die Probleme liegen, wenn es sich darum handelt, Völker mit unterentwickelter Zivilisation inmitten einer hochindustrialisierten Nation vor dem Untergang zu retten. „Früher gaben wir dem Indianer einfach Land", sagte Mr. Crady, „sie verkauften es an Weiße weiter. Damit wäre der Ausverkauf ihrer Heimat in ganz kurzer Zeit Tatsache geworden. Wir waren gezwungen, einschränkende Vorschriften zu erlassen, um die gänzliche Auflösung der indianischen Eigenart zu verhindern." Ich wurde unmittelbar an das Bantustan-Experiment in der Transkei Südafrikas erinnert. Auch dort gibt es ein Verbot für Weiße, Land zu kaufen, im Gebiet Handel zu treiben, sich entgegen dem Willen des Stammesrates im Reservat aufzuhalten, Steuerfreiheit für die Stammesangehörigen — mit einem Wort eine Sonderregelung, die auf die örtlichen Verhältnisse des betreffenden Volkes oder, wenn man so will, der betreffenden Rasse abstellt. „Betreiben Sie denn da nicht eigentlich eine Rassenpolitik zum Schutze der Indianer, ähnlich wie die Südafrikaner?" fragte ich.

Spezialkräfte unterrichten die Indianerkinder in eigenen Schulen

„Der Vergleich stimmt nur bedingt", sagte mein Begleiter, „vergessen Sie nicht, daß wir den Indianern in ihrem Gebiet auch das Wahlrecht für Bundesangelegenheiten geben und daß jeder Indianer das Gebiet verlassen kann, wenn er will." Tatsache ist, daß die Indianer seit 1924 vollwertige amerikanische Bürger sind, aber die Praxis sieht doch etwas anders aus. Es gibt Stämme, die ihren Angehörigen Vorschriften machen, ihnen zum Beispiel den Alkoholgenuß verbieten oder das Verlassen des Reservats unter Genehmigungsrecht stellen. Auch läßt sich nicht bestreiten, daß nur ein kleiner Teil der Indianer an politischen Vorgängen außerhalb ihres Reservats interessiert ist. Von den 5200 Angehörigen des Hopi-Reservats haben beispielsweise nur etwa 150 das Stimmrecht ausgeübt. Andererseits haben in den beiden Weltkriegen Zehntausende von Indianern in der Armee gedient.

In vielen Südstaaten bestehen heute noch Rassentrennungsgesetze, die die Indianer kurzerhand in die Gruppe der Nichtweißen einordnen und sie zusammen mit den Negern den „Jim-Crow-Gesetzen" unterwerfen. Unter anderem ist ihnen nach den örtlichen Gesetzen die Heirat mit Weißen verboten. So sehr diese Bestimmung moralisch diskutabel ist, so hat sie nach La Farge doch das eine Gute: „Wo keine Rassentrennungsgesetze bestehen, sind die meisten Gruppen, etwa die Neu-England-Indianer, die nach Westen ausgewandert sind, verschwunden."

Innerhalb des Navahos-Reservats liegt als Enklave das Reservat der Hopi-Indianer, eines Stammes, der zur Familie der Pueblos gehört. Das Büro für Indian-Affairs unterhält in Keams-Canyon, einer kleinen, in eine tiefe Schlucht eingebetteten Siedlung, die einzige Unterkunftsmöglichkeit für weiße Gäste im ganzen Reservat. 5200 Hopis leben in zwölf Dörfern. Einige gleichen Festungen, die geschickt auf die Kämme der kahlen Bergketten gebaut und vom Tale her kaum sichtbar sind. Etwa zwanzig Kilometer von Keams-Canyon führt eine schmale Straße, teils über die holprigen Steine, teils über tiefe Sandpatschen auf den Kamm des Berges, wo das Dorf Walpi liegt, neben Oraibi, die älteste permanente Siedlung in den Vereinigten Staaten. Die Häuser sind in kubischer Form in Stein und Adobe, einer Art von Lehm, terrassenförmig gebaut.

Die Hopi-Indianer blieben neutral

Es sprach sich im Dorfe bald herum, daß Fremde, das heißt Weiße, gekommen waren. Und so fand ich auch leicht Kontakte mit der Bevölkerung. Ich befand mich mitten unter einem Volk, dessen rituale Künste Trachten, Sprechweisen, Handwerke und Häuser sich seit tausend Jahren kaum verändert haben. Die Hopis sind die genialsten Trockenbauern des Kontinents. In einem Gebiet mit einer mittleren jährlichen Regenmenge von nur 33 Zentimetern betreiben sie auf nicht künstlich bewässertem Ackerland Ackerbau. Tausend Jahre lang mußte der letzte Tropfen Wasser auf menschlichem Rücken in das mehrere hundert Meter über der Ebene liegende Dorf hinaufgetragen werden. Heute besorgen Tanklastwagen diese Arbeit.

Die Hopi-Bauern wurden für ihr mühsames Leben belohnt. Unten in den Tälern führten andere Indianerstämme Krieg, später drangen die Weißen ein, aber ihr Land blieb verschont. Sie sind eines der wenigen Indianervölker, das nie mit den Weißen Krieg führen mußte.

Die Frauen zeigten uns ihre Töpferwaren und luden uns in ihre Häuser ein, wo wir sie an der Arbeit sahen. Es war bewundernswert, wie mit sanften harmonischen Bewegungen unter geschickten Fingern eine Schüssel, eine Schale oder ein Krug entstanden. Der Ton wird zuerst mit siliziumhaltiger Erde vermischt, die Töpfe später mit einer Farbe bemalt, die die Hopi aus der von ihnen als „Kuoun" bezeichneten Pflanze gewinnen. Die fertiggeformten Töpfe werden später in einem im Freien liegenden Ofen gebrannt. Die Formarbeit selbst vollzieht sich im Wohnzimmer zwischen Eßtisch, einem Butan-Gasherd und einem Batterieradio. Elektrischen Strom kennt Walpi noch nicht.

Die neue Zivilisation ist nur bedingt aufgenommen worden. Auch das Christentum ist hier noch kaum eingedrungen. Dafür pflegen die Hopi noch ihre alten Riten, den Katschinakult. Sie tanzen nach einem vorgeschriebenen und feierlichen Ritual. Diese Tänze sind nicht mit jenen, die für die Touristen in Grand Canyon aufgeführt werden, zu vergleichen. Früher wurden die heiligen Zeremonien durch die Missionare verboten. So kommt es, daß sie im geheimen abgehalten wurden, weshalb auch heute noch kein Weißer jemals einen Maskentanz der Hopis zu sehen bekommt. In Washington wird mit ebensoviel Idealismus wie Personal für den Schutz und das Wohl der Indianer gesorgt. Im *Bureau of Indian Affairs* einer 11 000 Beamte umfassenden Abteilung des Innenministeriums, gab mir deren Vorsteher, Mr. Philleo Nash, einige interessante Angaben. Noch heute erzielen die Indianer nur ein Viertel des Durchschnittseinkommens des weißen Mannes. Ihre Schulbildung und Gesundheitspflege stehen noch weit hinter jener der übrigen Bevölkerung zurück. Bei einem Vergleich des Lebensstandards zwischen den Indianern und den Negern schneidet der Neger trotz aller Diskriminierung wesentlich besser ab. „Der Indianer erreicht im Durchschnitt nur zwei Drittel des Alters der Weißen. Der Unterschied im Lebensstandard zwischen Negern und Indianern ist weit größer als der zwischen den Weißen und den Negern in diesem Lande."

Alkoholismus, Unterernährung, Krankheit und Verwahrlosung sind die materiellen Begleiterscheinungen dieser Armut. Auf Grund verschiedener Gesetzesakte, vor allem des *Indian Organization Act* vom Jahre 1934, versucht das Bureau, die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Indianer zu fördern, sogenannte „Grenzindustrien" in der Nähe der Reservate aufzuziehen, um den Leuten Arbeit zu beschaffen, deren Landbesitz zu betreuen, gleiche Bürgerrechte mit den übrigen Gruppen zu erstreben sowie das Schulwesen und den Gesundheitsdienst zu organisieren.

Skepsis gegenüber den Weißen

Die finanziellen Aufwendungen sind bedeutend. 1960 wurden von dem Büro nicht weniger als 160 Millionen Dollar für die Indianerhilfe ausgegeben, während das Health Service weitere 60 Millonen aufbrachte, so daß der Gesamtaufwand aus Bundesmitteln im letzten Budgetjahr fast eine Milliarde DM erreichte.

Aber die Aufgabe ist nicht leicht. „Die meisten Indianer stehen der weißen Kultur heute eher feindlich gegenüber. Sie beurteilen unsere Erziehungsmethoden skeptisch, deshalb haben die meisten auch noch keine Schule besucht. Die Mehrzahl spricht ja noch nicht einmal Englisch."

Nichts ist den Beamten im Indianerbüro unangenehmer, als wenn man ihnen sagt, daß sie eine „Politik auf Rassenbasis" betreiben. Die Funktionäre versuchten, mich zu überzeugen, daß das Hilfsprogramm nicht durchgeführt werde, weil die Begünstigten Indianer seien, sondern weil sie unterentwickelt seien. Aber in der Praxis läuft das Hilfsprogramm darauf hinaus, den Indianern in der Erhaltung ihrer Eigenart als besondere Rasse mit eigener Kultur zu helfen.

Es sind die Indianer selbst, die ihre Lebensart bewahren wollen. Seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg gibt es eine ethnologische, kulturelle und sogar rassische Selbstbestimmung.

Silbenalphabet der Tscherokesen

In der Konfrontation mit der weißen Zivilisation gelang den Indianern die seltene Mischung zwischen Reinerhaltung der Sitten und teilweiser Annahme der an sie herangebrachten Zivilisation. Sie wurden nicht Entwurzelte wie die Neger. Sie blieben Träger einer kulturellen Eigenart, die im unitarischen Amerika sehr auffallend ist.

Sie, die einstigen Herren in diesem Lande, waren nie Sklaven. Sie kultivierten eine ganze Anzahl von Pflanzen, die uns heute selbstverständlich sind, vor Kolumbus aber in Europa unbekannt waren: Mais, Bohnen, Kürbisse, Melonen, Tabak, Kartoffeln, Kakao, Tomaten und Erdnüsse. Sie haben darüber hinaus viel mehr, als sich die weißen Amerikaner bewußt sind, zur amerikanischen Entwicklung beigetragen. Einige Stämme kannten politische Formen, die sogar die amerikanische Verfassung beeinflußten.

Ein Angehöriger des Stammes der Tscherokesen, Sequayah, der nie eine Schule besucht hatte, erfand unter Verwendung der lateinischen Buchstaben ein Silbenalphabet, das zur schriftlichen Aufzeichnung der Tscherokesensprache noch heute Verwendung findet. Auf dem Gebiete der Transzendenz machten in neuerer Zeit die Peyotisten und der Geistertanzkult des Indianers Wovoka von sich reden. Die Irokesen, ein zwischen dem Atlantik und dem Lawrence-Strom lebender, fast ausgestorbener Stamm, sind dank ihrer Schwindelfreiheit heute unentbehrliche Arbeiter am Bau der New Yorker Wolkenkratzer und der hohen Stahlbrücken.

Eine erstaunliche Regeneration hat sich seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg vollzogen. Jahrzehntelang blieb die Zahl der Indianer mit etwas über 300 000 stabil. 1950 wurden 343 410 Indianer gezählt, 1960 waren es 523 591. Der Zuwachs ist nicht allein der höheren Geburtenrate zuzuschreiben. Heute gilt es in vielen amerikanischen Kreisen als Ehre, indianische Vorfahren zu besitzen. Viele Mischlinge haben sich wieder ihrer indianischen Herkunft erinnert. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß die Zahl der statistisch feststellbaren Indianer noch weiter wächst, denn Millionen von Amerikanern, die heute zur weißen Rasse zählen, haben indianische Vorfahren.

In diesem konformistischen Monolith der USA sind Tradition, Vergangenheit, Bewahrung einer alten Kultur stärker geblieben als die seichten Verlockungen einer bequemen Zivilisation. Die Indianer leben weiter: frei, stolz und unabhängig, wie sie es immer waren.

February 22, 1963

Dear Dr. Jenny,

We're so glad that our publications helped you in your writing. We're putting you down as a NEW SOUTH subscriber. I'm sending you our October NEW SOUTH on Mississippi and some other newspaper clippings and information.

I'm delighted to get your article in Christ Und Welt. I shall have my German reading daughter translate it for me. I'll be very grateful if you can send us other things you've written about our big change here in the South.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

Dr. H. Jenny,
Weltistr. 15,
Zollikon-Zurich
Switzerland

17th February 1963.

Miss Margaret Long,
Director of Information,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5, Forsyth Street, N.W.,
A t l a n t a 3 Georgia

Dear Miss Long,

I have to thank you for your letter of 1st October last year and the very important publications of your organization, which helped me much for writing articles about the american race question. I want to become a subscriber of your NEW SOUTH and I am sending you $ 2.- as subscription fee. On the way to you is a small booklet containing my articles in the german weekly "Christ und Welt" under the title "Amerika ist nicht nur weiss".

In case you would publish something about the Meredith question, I should very much appreciate to get a copy of it.

Yours faithfully

Hans Jenny

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Dear NEW South

A fellow Tryonite - Jessie Daniel Ames, and I'm proud to live in the same town with such a "happy warrior," - was good enough to send me a copy of your January issue. This reminded me that although I meant to renew last year, somehow I missed doing so. Sorry. Here's check to cover 1963, please start with January issue and for the other dollar enclose 5 more copies of January issue.

That James Baldwin piece in The New Yorker lit a lot of fires, and was as provocative for this era as were those searing books of Wm. B. DuBois, "Darkwater," and"The Soul of Black Folk," were 30 or 40 years ago.

I wish DuBois could have held to the line of greatest helpfulness and stuck it out in this country. I have always been grateful to him for opening my eyes to many things I needed to know about the blacks, the colored and us pale faces. Then I think of the Indians and Mexicans I knew in Arizona 50 years ago, I think of our treatment of the Chinese and Japanese, and I wish NEW SOUTH could more frequently tie the American Negro problem in with the broader, whole race situation.

I applaud Margaret Long's heated discussion of the Meredith case. Guess it takes heat to melt ice. Will things ever be so that we may say, "Come, let us reason together,"?

Sincerely, Garth Cate

MG ✓
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March 12, 1963

Miss. Mary Godwin, Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Miss. Godwin:

Continue to enjoy the issues of the New South. Tell Mr. Dunbar that I am appreciative of his generosity. Tell him also that I hope to be in Atlanta soon, and will be sure to see him.

Sincerely,

Warren E. Gauerke

Warren E. Gauerke
Associate Professor
Department of Educational
Administration

WEG:mb

March 31, 1963

Dear Mr. Benowitz,

We're sending you six copies of the January NEW SOUTH with Eric Lincoln's Black Muslim article, our publication list of other brochures and a statement of the Southern Regional Council's origin and aims. I'm sorry to be so slow, but I've had a lot of extra work without my usual help. We'll be glad to send you anything you see on our publication list which interests you.

The Council is an old, southern, bi-racial board of prominent Negro and white Southerners devoted to desegregated freedom for our section. Our staff here in Atlanta puts out information, reports and persuasions to this end and our field man works out of here with state and local Councils on Human Relations whose members are actively for equality in their own communities.

Please let us know which of our publications you'd like to have, and I promise to be prompt next time. Single copies are free, and bulk amounts cost a little, as you can see on the list.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Information

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March 11, 1963

Margaret Long, Editor
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

sent 4-1-63 mea

If available we should appreciate being sent six (6) copies of the January 1963 issue of the "New South".

We would like to distribute the article on the Black Muslim Movement to our Community Relations Committee.

We would also appreciate receiving any additional information and materials on your organization and its published materials particuarly those which have relationship to Community Relations Committees or Councils.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold H. Benowitz

Harold H. Benowitz
Executive Director

HHB:paf

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April 19, 1963

Editor
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Would you please let us know if reprints of Eric Lincoln's article on the Black Muslims is available in reprint form and if so how much it would cost to order 1,000 copies.

If you have not made reprints of this piece, would you be willing to authorize us to mimeograph it so that we can make it available to the members of our National Trade Union Council and our field staff.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Betty K. Taylor

Betty Kaye Taylor

OEIU-153
afl-cio

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Gideon M. Fryer
M. & Jenn

Apeil 23, 1963

Dear Mr. Fryer,

I hope you can forgive me for taking so long to answer your inquiry about our ALBANY. The study is 25 cents for a single, and you can have 60 and 20 cents each. We still have enough to supply you, and will be prompt if you want them.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
810 BROADWAY
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

TELEPHONE CHAPEL 2-4439

April 9, 1963

Miss Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

We are interested in using the Albany study in one of our classes. If we get a copy for each student we will need sixty. Please let me know of availability and cost on this study.

Sincerely yours,

Gideon W. Fryer

Gideon W. Fryer
Associate Professor

GWF:OB

Maggie,
Did you write him
or should I?
me

MARYGROVE COLLEGE
MONROE CAMPUS
MONROE, MICHIGAN

May 29, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Your letter of March 2 and the information you sent concerning the Negro in our society was greatly appreciated. Both proved very helpful in our study of urban America and furnished wonderful material for a display servicing our entire college.

Your efforts to acquaint us with your organization's work in this regard did much to make our study a profitable part of our teacher preparation program. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Sister M. John Mark, I.H.M.

Sister M. John Mark, I.H.M.
Marygrove College
Monroe Campus
Monroe, Michigan

Westminster Presbyterian Church

4100 Nakoma Road • Madison 11, Wisconsin
Church Telephone CEdar 8-3121

Richard E. Pritchard, D. D., Minister, CEdar 3-1340
Erwin R. Ruklic, Associate Minister, CEdar 3-1910

May 29, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Thank you very much for your letter of May 21st. There will be enough reading material to keep me busy for a year! I am grateful for your thoughtfulness in sending what you thought would be the most helpful material. If there is any cost to this, I would appreciate your letting me know.

I am looking forward to going to Africa and feel it will be a tremendously worthwhile experience. Perhaps we should have something in the North titled "New North," doing for us what you are doing in the South. Sometimes I have the feeling that you are making more progress, really, than we are.

Sincerely,

Richard E. Pritchard

Richard E. Pritchard

GARDEN APARTMENTS 4F
STONY RUN LANE
BALTIMORE 10, MARYLAND

May 31, 1963

Southern Region Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would like to express my appreciation for the letter Mrs. Monty Albright wrote me and also acknowledge receipt of the material she gathered together and mailed. I am sure the information, which the literature provides will be of great assistance during my travel and work in Africa this summer.

I have enclosed a check for $5 to cover the expense of mailing and as support of your work.

Sincerely yours,
J. B. Powell, Jr.

Check for $5.00 enclosed.
JA

JOURNAL OF NEGRO RESEARCH
P. O. BOX 4184
PHILA. 44, PA.

May 31, 1963

Miss Margaret Long
Editor, NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Long:

We wish to thank you for granting our request to reprint "Arts and Entertainment for Southern Negroes" in the Journal of Negro Research. The article will appear in the August 1963 issue of the Journal.

In our reprint we will credit the Southern Regional Council and NEW SOUTH, as well as the author, Miss Dorothy Miller. And, you may rest assured that both you and Miss Miller will receive copies of the August Journal.

However, may we impose further upon you by requesting a reprint of the article for our printer. If there is any charge for such reprints, kindly bill us and we will submit by return mail.

Again our thanks.

Sincerely,

P. L. Edwoods, Jr.

P. L. Edwoods, Jr.
Editor

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Pine City, New York
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June 6, 1963

Miss Margaret Long
Editor, NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

Thank you for your letter of May 27, replying to my inquiry about NEW SOUTH, and for sending back copies. The magazine is magnificent. I don't know why I have been so long finding out about it.

It happened that yesterday, the day after I had received the copies you sent, I received a letter from Mr. Dabbs about his coming to our pastors' school in Syracuse in September. With the letter he enclosed the issue of NEW SOUTH containing his address to the annual meeting last November. This is of special interest to me because of a connection between the ideas he expressed in the address and a conversation we had in Chapel Hill in February, 1962. Part of our conversation had to do with Dante and Charles Williams.

Enclosed is my check for a year's subscription to NEW SOUTH, to be addressed as indicated on the slip. We can probably get some subscriptions from ministers attending the pastors' school in September. I hope so.

Sincerely yours,

J. Russell Carpenter

J. Russell Carpenter

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June 29, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I have received the material which you mailed me and have found it to be very informative. It contained the type of information which I desired in reference to the educational conditions (Negro-White) in the south.

I wish to thank you very much for your help.

Very truly yours,

Arnold D. Kamen

Arnold D. Kamen

ADK/jg

July 9, 1963

Mrs. George K. Dumbauld
The Houston Council on Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Mrs. Dumbauld:

Thanks for the good news about a Houston story for NEW SOUTH. I'm awaiting it with some patience, but it would be nice if you could prod your writer on.

We all feel very sad about Mr. Shaw, and I know you are feeling his death even more. I enjoyed and admired him no end when he was in Atlanta and feel that we were good friends.

I hope to meet you too. Why don't you come to Atlanta and see us?

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Editor, NEW SOUTH

ML/mg

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3605 Fannin Street
Houston 4, Texas
Jackson 4-5084

June 6, 1963

Miss Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Long:

Pardon the bad typing. I have a couple volunteers in the office this afternoon and I've given up my good typewriter to one of them and I can't get use to this touch. Good excuse, anyway!

I am sorry to be so long in replying to your nice letter requesting that we write an article for NEW SOUTH. We are flattered because it is such an excellent magazine and we gain so much insight from it. The reason for the long delay is that I am not good at writing and I waited over three weeks to hear from the person I first contacted and the sum she wanted for doing it was more than we could pay. Today I located a newspaper reporter--a staunch friend of the Council's who will do it and can probably get to it next week and I'm not sure just when it will be done. I have a scrapbook from the time the office was opened which should be helpful, glossy prints of many activities and with some interviews of the original members it should make a really good story. I'll try to keep you posted on how things are progressing. Incidentally, is there a deadline and length to the article. Of course, we realize anything turned in you might have to delete, etc.

I have often heard Charles Shaw speak of you. You know that he is seriously ill. He underwent surgery a couple months ago and is not gaining strenth as he should. Paul Anthony got to see him when he was here. I called the home yesterday and he was not good at all. We surely miss him from active participation in our work.

Do hope I get to meet you one of these days. Keep up your good work.

Sincerely,

Ethel Dumbauld

Office, 219 North President Street

Telephone FL 2-7571

MISSISSIPPI EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Owner and Publisher

Mississippi Educational Advance

FLOYD C. BARNES
Executive Secretary and Editor

P. O. Box 826
JACKSON 5, MISSISSIPPI

MRS. MARIANNA BRANNON
Associate Editor & Adv. Manager

July 23, 1963

Publications Dept.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please send me another review copy of your recent booklet, "Southern Schools--Token Desegregation and Beyond"?

Our research department here has found your tabulation of data quite valuable, and I do need a review copy if we are to call attention to this publication in our next issue.

Thank you for your immediate attention to this request.

Sincerely,

Marianna Brannon

(Mrs.) Marianna Brannon
Associate Editor

7-24-63
MA

MB/mc

Study Analyzes Effects Of School Integration

By Susanna McBee
Staff Reporter

The story of the South's school desegregation can be told in terms of the little white girl in New Orleans who informed her Negro classmate she would not play with the Negro because her mother had forbidden her to.

But then, a few minutes later, she disobeyed her mother.

It can be told in terms of the teacher who realized she had accepted integration only after she raised her voice at a Negro girl as she would have at any white student.

It can be told in terms of the strongly segregationist white boy who decided to better his grades after several Negroes entered his class because "I couldn't let them beat us out."

To those whites and Negroes who have lived through the initial difficulties of newly desegregated schools, the event is more than a political struggle or a social phenomenon; it is a series of individual experiences.

Some of these experiences and a few conclusions are recorded in a 25-page pamphlet, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," by Dr. Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist of Atlanta.

The report, based on Dr. Coles' two-year study mainly in Atlanta and New Orleans, was published yesterday by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Coles also did research in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Stress Noted

He concluded that medically and psychologically, Negro students found their admission to white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

Also, he said, none of the white children suffered medical or psychiatric damage from integration. "Regardless of their views they have all continued in school and graduated or been promoted."

Dr. Coles added, "Even the strongly segregationist children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment."

Academically, it is better to start desegregation in the first grades because attitudes in younger children are more flexible and educational disparities are fewer in the lower grades, he said.

The key question, however, was, "Do changes occur among the attitudes of the white and Negro children as they go to school together?" Dr. Coles indicated the answer is yet, but he added cautiously that "time renders any judgment dangerous indeed."

Ideas Gave Way

He did find that "old ideas of suspicion and distrust, contempt and disdain, give way to personal knowledge."

That happened in the case of a Negro girl in Atlanta who had gone through a year of "continued silence, isolation, occasional insult of word and even deed in a white high school.

On the last day of school she was approached by more than 15 classmates who asked her if they could autograph her yearbook.

"She was afraid . . . because she felt that it might be a means of attack and insult rather than an expression of good will," Dr. Coles said.

But she offered her book, and here were some of the comments:

"Martha, I have admired your courage in your great decision. I'm sure you've been subjected to much unpleasantness, but you've met it in a most gracious way."

"Dear Martha . . . I know that since I, too, am a new senior I have had my troubles. I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly . . ."

"Dear Martha, . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity."

Some Didn't Change

Not all children, however, changed their views. Three of the white children studied retained their strong dislike of Negroes, and one Negro boy was quoted as saying of white students:

"I hate them, all of them, and when I can help it, I try to stay clear of them. They cause trouble whenever they can, and they're the ones who are dirty . . . I'm here to claim this school because it's as much ours as theirs."

Like their students, teachers had varying views about desegregation, but many shared the view of one teacher who said, "I didn't like it, but I also couldn't walk out on my job. That would be unthinkable."

The moral of Dr. Coles' report seems to be that both races have survived and made progress in integrated schools. Apparently, the "particularly enraged" person does not nuture his rage over integration, or at least the one who does is rare. "Too long have those who are committed to many customs and traditions besides racial ones allowed this one problem to dominate all others," the psychiatrist observed.

As with war, concentration camps, and pestilence, "life gathers itself together, often makes needed changes and goes on," he said.

Compared With High School

Study Shows Desegregation Easier in Lower Grades

ATLANTA (AP)—School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools, two biracial agencies reported Saturday.

And where desegregation is accompanied by disorder, children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system.

These findings were made by the Southern Regional Council, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the second of a series of studies that have been under way for two years.

Saturday's report dealt with the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegreation on pupils. The early study, entitled "Token Desegregation and Beyond," analyzed methods used in some resistant southern states where integration was limited to less than half of one per cent of Negroes. The study contrasted token efforts with those of six complaint states where more than 50 per cent of the Negro pupils were shifted to non-racial schools.

The psychiatric study dealt primarily with six and seven year old pupils in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school pupils in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville and Burnsville, N. C.; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and Little Rock, Ark.

Today's report said the psychiatric study showed:

Some segregationist children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

Negro children find attendance in white schools stressing but not incapacitating.

White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no medical or psychiatric damage and no breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends.

Pressure on Negro children in desegregated schools varied only in degree from those which had always faced them in their daily lives.

School Desegregation In South Found Beneficial To Children

NEW YORK — Even when school desegregation is accompanied by community disorder, "young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given . . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

This is one of the findings of the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on participating Negro and white students in the South.

The study, which has been in process for two years, was conducted by Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist of Atlanta, Ga. A summary report, titled The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, was published today by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

The study deals primarily with six and seven year old elementary school students in New Orleans and 16 and 17 year old high school students in Atlanta. Supplementary evaluations were also made in desegregated schools in Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville, North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

FINDINGS

Among the findings are these:

—Some "segregationist" children change their attitudes toward Negro children after attending school with them for a year.

—Negro children find attendance in white schools "stressful but not incapacitating."

—White children in desegregated southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage" and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

—Children of both races continue their studies "without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child" and come old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents.

REACTIONS

Both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully. Dr. Coles pointed out, however, that although the majority of younger Negro students managed well, older ones sometimes had to overcome "the burden of their former years" in schools "often far from comparable to the white ones." Despite some learning difficulties among Negro students who initiated desegregation in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems "insurmountable." He asserted, however, that there were "less fixed disparities of educational achievement" in earlier grades than in higher ones.

According to the study, racial and personal feelings among teachers in desegregated schools tended to give way "to professional responsibilities and obligations," and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children. Professional integrity "transcended private feelings about race," Dr. Coles observed. He went on to say that children and teachers whose feelings are "exceptionally strong about desegregation" are "a special and rather small group."

"Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavier, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. The particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners," the psychiatrist said.

The study is the second in a series to be issued by the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council on problems of desegregation. The first, Token Desegregation and Beyond, by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia, was published last month. It analyzed "devices" used by "resistant" states in the South which had limited desegregation to less than half of one per cent of Negroes in all school districts, and contrasted these efforts with those of six "compliant" states which had moved 51.1 per cent of Negro pupils to non-racial schools "creatively and successfully."

Copies of both studies are available from the national offices of the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, or from the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

and their studies without impairment."

—From an academic viewpoint, desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools.

The study found pressures on Negro children in desegregated schools varied "only in degree" from those which had always faced them in their daily lives. It added that while it was hard for a Negro child to enter an all-white school, the change offered "hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Dr. Coles attributed changed attitudes in some white children to "getting to know a particular Negro child" and "thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school." He quoted a white Atlanta high school senior:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. . ."

In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Coles said younger children played and worked together more readily than older ones. He found the reactions of high school students were determined not only by their racial attitudes, but by the normal teen-age struggles of growing up. Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did over-

INTEGRATION

What Happens to the Kids?

On his record, Psychiatrist Robert Coles, 33, should be tending bothered Brahmins on Boston's Beacon Street. A graduate of Milton Academy and Harvard (*magna*), Coles got his M.D. at Columbia and trained at proper Boston hospitals, from Children's to McLean to Massachusetts General. He even married a Hallowell—a word that some Boston tots think is part of the Lord's Prayer: "Hallowell be thy name."

Instead, Coles has been off tackling one of the great questions of U.S. edu-

PSYCHIATRIST COLES AT WORK
Youngness is the key to success.

cation: How, in detail, does desegregation affect children? He may now be the nation's leading expert on the subject. As gifted with words as he is with feelings, Coles last week issued an eloquent report under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Sharing the Strain. In the tense summer of 1961, Coles moved to Atlanta, where ten Negro children were girding themselves to "integrate" four white high schools. Bomb rumors spread; abusive phone calls gave the kids bad dreams. With foundation money, Coles and his wife set up a unique "practice" —fulltime sharing of the kids' trials and triumphs over the next two years.

Every week Coles tape-recorded interviews with each of the Negroes and a dozen of their white classmates, half of them from intensely segregationist families. By 1962, his "patients" included 40 more integrated Negro students and additional whites, plus numerous teachers and parents. Once a month, he similarly interviewed 19 grade-school children in New Orleans includ-

ing the four Negroes who went through desegregation riots there in 1960. Along the way, he scoured other integration hot spots from Little Rock to Clinton, Tenn.

Paroled to America. Coles found that youngness is the key to successful desegregation. Much as he was moved by one small Negro girl's drawing of herself in New Orleans as "a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school," he observed that the youngest children show the least strain. In New Orleans, white six-year-olds gravely promised their parents to avoid Negro children—and then happily skipped rope with them as soon as they got to school. Equally important, the world of school shut out adult rioters; all they did was create more school spirit. "Frantz School will survive," sang the kids in New Orleans, and it did.

Atlanta's teen-agers had a lot tougher time. Though untouched by violence, they had to unlearn old fears amid "normal" adolescent strains. One Negro boy worriedly studied karate before entering a white school; another dreamed of himself in Little Rock, holding off whites with a machine gun. Yet integration spurred many to sudden pride and progress. Instead of "always watching and peeking around," as one boy put it, "I feel as if I've been let out of jail and into America."

A Horrible Thought. For white students, the experience was equally profound. Some felt actual physical revulsion when near a Negro, "like dirt being rubbed on you." But this emotion was often overruled by the horror that all adolescents feel toward the thought of social ostracism. "I've really changed a lot of my ideas," one white boy said of the Negroes. "You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well."

One white problem was telling "them" so out loud—a battle between guilt and conformity. Perhaps sensing this, one bright white teacher suddenly called on a Negro girl named Martha to state her problems in class. When she did so in no uncertain manner, Coles found whites "relieved by this firmness." At year's end Martha was astonished to find her yearbook filled with glowing words. Sample: "I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly." And: "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination."

A Decade More. Though wary of generalizations, Coles believes that children of both races study as hard as ever in newly integrated schools. Negroes drive to catch up, whites to stay on top or improve. Says Coles: "We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school."

All this, Reporter Coles believes, shows how racial myths can in practice be legislated out of existence to the general improvement of education. The law is still a great teacher.

What A Study Proves

Robert Coles, a Harvard-trained psychiatrist, has just completed a most remarkable study on the attitudes and experiences of white and Negro children in the limited integration of the South.

The study was sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. From the summer of 1961, when the racial pot was literally boiling in the South, Coles began two years of extensive testing, interviewing and recording on tape, information from which he finally drew conclusions. The researcher went into the homes of white families, many of them arch segregationists, to record the prevailing and changing if any, attitudes of these. He also interviewed, in depth, teachers and students in New Orleans, where the pot boiled more briskly.

He found that youngness is a key to desegregation. He found also that children of both races study just as hard in integrated classrooms.

Coles found that some white students actually experience physical revulsion when near a Negro. Yet, such extraordinary conditions changed. One Negro boy studied karate before entering a previously all-white school. Another white boy is quoted as saying, "I've really changed a lot of my ideas about Negroes."

This study should serve to dispel some of the myths now clouding the classroom issue everywhere. It should do something toward bringing levity into the thinking of school people here.

ESCAPE SUFFERING

The following comment grows out of comments from a joint study of the effect of desegregation and adjustments on the minds of young children of both races during recent years, when desegregation was involved with readjustment or changes in the minds of the children in their early years. Put in simple words, the finding of the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council, their research, was that "young people of both races seem able to learn with any physical or emotional injury or collapse as a result of the strain andthe possible upset in the desegregation research." Not only had many of the parents thought of possible danger through the shaking and emotional disturbance, which most of us thought would be the aftermath of the violence and disturbance that the children of tender years were subjected to, but it seemed almost inevitable to parents and to teachers, as well as other leaders, such as preachers, that this would be true.

But the study, which has been in progress for two years, and which dealt primarily with children of the 6th and 7th grades, and included some of the most violently disturbed areas, such as New Orleans, Atlanta ant the like, showed that not only have they not suffered, as it was feared they might suffer, but seems asthough the children generally have escaped the injury to their minds and to their habits that most of the people concerned, such as teachers and parents, expected.

On the other hand, it is true, as the facts show, that some "segregationists" children changed their attitude toward Negro children, after attending school with them for a year or so; also some Negro children find attendance in white schools "Stressful but not incapacitating" Many parents find with relief that white children in segregated, southern schools suffer no "medical or psychiatric damage", and no "breakdown in ability to work, study and get along with friends."

Awhite Atlanta high school senior was quoted as saying:

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help but have respect for them (Negroes) the way they have gone through their year so swell. They are nice kids, and that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends."

We know there are many parents and other adults interested in the development of Negroes and how they would fare asthey were being entered into desegregated schools, and we take the time to quote actually what has happened in the hope that it would inspire and give peace to many Negro parents, who wonder whether or not their children will be cowed, frightened or nervously upset. According to the study that we are now discussing, the kids did not go to pieces, and did not lose the fundamental things that go for making poise and character.

Another fortunate, and maybe surprising, experience was permitting the researchers to find and publish the following statement:

In discussing how Negro and white students got along in the same school, Dr. Robert Coles a psychiatrist of Atlanta, (Ga.) said, "Young children played and worked together more readily than older ones - - - Personal knowledge of Negroes, however, did overcome old ideas of suspicion, distrust, contempt, and disdain held by some white adolescents."

The analysis also showed that "both Negro and white students continued to learn successfully . . .", and "in their high school years, the psychiatrist found very few academic problems insurmountable."

Another significant and interesting fact is found in the following words:

". . . and few criticisms of teachers were heard from white or Negro children."

There may be many changes of some of these findings, and some of them may be attacked, but it is heartening to most of the educators to find them now.

Martha's Story

Negro Girl's Treatment In Integrated School

By MURIEL DOBBIN
[*Washington Bureau of The Sun*]

Washington, Aug. 17 — Negro teen-ager Martha was one of the test cases in a formerly segregated white school in Atlanta. Her graduation year was lonely and silent, punctuated only by occasional insults, although a few furtively friendly words were exchanged in cloakrooms or corridors.

Yet on the last day of the school year, fifteen of Martha's classmates asked if they might autograph her yearbook. Hesitantly, she agreed. Their messages formed a commentary on adolescent reaction.

Hard To Express Feelings

One wrote . . . "Martha, I don't know how you've felt this year, but I'm sure there have been times of loneliness and frustration. Surely you realize the ways you have been tested at times are not personal, but merely instances of a gigantic, universal social problem. I have known you to be a quiet girl with courageous dignity."

Another wrote . . . "As you said in English class one day, some of us can't express how we really feel toward you, but I would like to take this opportunity."

And from a third student came this message . . . "I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out. . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity."

25-Page Report Issued

The story of Martha was one of those gathered by a young Atlanta child psychiatrist who has spent the last two years studying the results of desegregation in Southern schools.

Dr. Robert Coles watched both white and Negro children during

(Continued, Page 16, Column 2)

Martha's Story

Negro Girl's Treatment In Integrated School

By MURIEL DOBBIN

(Continued from Page 1)

the frequently tense day-by-day integration of schools in New Orleans and Atlanta. Interviews were tape-recorded with both parents and children involved, as well as with principals and teachers. Comparative evaluations were made by trips to North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas schools.

In "the scientific spirit of observation and evaluation," Dr. Coles compiled a 25-page report, issued under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

One of the points pinpointed is that "evidence here indicates, ironically, that even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable initial good health and a functioning school system."

In a chapter devoted to Negro children, the psychiatrist conceded that they were surrounded by tension and fear, and that they lived under difficult circumstances. But the pressures on such children were different only in degree, rather than in kind, he observed.

"This makes them, on the whole, less vulnerable, in the sense that they have learned from their earliest years techniques and methods of dealing with their position in society and its consequences for them. For them to enter a desegregated school may be hard, but it offers them certain hopes and opportunities . . . which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling."

Responses To Fear, Anxiety

During a school year, medical and then, a few minutes later, did just that."

Dr. Coles emphasized that this is heard repeatedly from children who obey both their parents and their own natural inclinations of age and whim, by saying words which are ideas to them, and yet by also doing the deeds which the moments in the playground or classroom suggest.

None of the white children seen had suffered any medical or psychiatric damage during this period, he noted. Regardless of their views, they had all continued in school and graduated or been promoted.

Reaction In Classroom

"What, therefore, the white child senses and feels in a desegregated classroom will depend on the Negro child in that room, the particular white child and how he sees the Negro child, and, most important, what actually happens between the Negro child and his white classmates and teachers."

What was seen after some months, according to the psychiatrist, was the slow development of discretion and selection in the white child.

"In weekly meetings, one can hear even the most segregationist-minded child describe the different personalities or mannerisms of the several Negro children. . . . If a Negro child is hurt, his white friend will be upset."

During the year, continued the report, Negro children received their satisfactions from simple survival, from survival with good performance, and from signs of welcome and friendship which might come their way. "The white child might slowly begin to recognize the Negro child and speak with him, or steadfastly avoid him."

Changes In Views

It was found that all of the white children who favored desegregation were nevertheless inhibited in words and behavior during the school year, and Negro students felt that many of their classmates were sympathetic or curious, but were afraid to reveal any relationship with them because of fear of ridicule or rejection.

"Among the segregationist children, several changed their minds over the year, all attributing this change to what had happened at school, to noticing and getting to know a particular Negro child . . ."

A boy who was a senior in an Atlanta school said in a taped interview in 1962 . . . "You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while . . . I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes . . ."

And Dr. Coles underlined the fact that there was hostility on the part of both white and Negro children. Some white children experienced physical revulsion when near a Negro, and a Negro boy described the whites as "savages."

Summarizing his findings, Dr. Coles said, "Whites and Negroes of the South, perhaps all over America, can agree that Negro schools are generally inferior, even where bright new buildings belie the assertion."

"Schools are more than bricks and mortar, and no child or school system can ignore the history of Negro education in America, a reflection, of course, of the Negro's experience in America," he stated.

Yet against the troubled imprint of past history, there was always

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Responses To Fear, Anxiety

During a school year, medical and psychiatric responses to fear and anxiety became evident among these children, related Dr. Coles. "One child may lose his appetite, another may become sarcastic and have nightmares. Lethargy may develop or excessive studying may mark the apprehension common to both."

But the fact fact remained that the majority did survive. In Atlanta and New Orleans, only one child had succumbed to mental illness, illustrating again the paradox of health, Dr. Coles noted.

He reminded that at the height of tension in New Orleans, the few white children and the Negro children went through streets of abuse, but had no trouble with one another in the school itself. In Atlanta, a Negro boy reflected "It was rough at times, but I learned a lot and met some nice people, and I think they got to know us a little, and we got to know them too."

Discussing the reactions of white children, the child psychiatrist noted that as in the case of the Negroes, even under the worst situations outside, the children in the schools managed well together.

"Those white children who remained in the desegregated Frantz School in New Orleans thoroughly enjoyed the increased attention of their teachers, the excitement around them. They often urged their more timid or justifiably frightened parents to keep them in school."

"In 1961, one of the white children who returned to the almost totally boycotted Frantz School told a little colored girl that she should not play with her because her mother had forbidden them,

Sorry to be so late; we had to await an opportunity to mimeograph more copies as we were out of the report. Mailed 10/8/63 separately.

M. Albright

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. David A. Lane
USAREUR Operations Division
APO 403
New York, N. Y.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 8-19-63

1 - Southern School Desegregation: A Psychiatric Study .50

Reading this account of the study has whetted my desire to obtain the full psychiatric report which, it is indicated, was made at the 1963 meeting of the American Psychiatric Association. Has it been published -- and if so, can you advise me as to how to obtain a copy?

D.A.Lane

D.A.Lane

August 21, 1963

Mrs. G. Q. Eddy
5325 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Dear Mrs. Eddy:

Thanks so much for your note and your successful circulation fervor which put New South in the Harvard College Library. We're proud to be there. And I am happy with your compliments.

We do circulate pretty thoroughly into most southern college libraries, and some others around the country. New South and other SRC publications also go to a lot of college newspapers.

Thanks again and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Editor, New South

ML/mg

Alexandria Council on Human Relations

A meeting ground for Virginians sincerely concerned with finding reasonable and democratic solutions to the race problems now troubling our society. Affiliated with the Virginia Council on Human Relations and the Southern Regional Council.

5325 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22304
August 8, 1963

Dear Miss Long,

Enclosed is a rather scrawled bit of correspondence, but I hope you see the gist is that the Harvard Library now subscribes to New South after a suggestion to that effect.

I have meant to pass this along to you for some time with the idea subscription information about New South might well go to college libraries. It is such a fine magazine that I would like to see it receive wider circulation.

May your muse continue to burn and run out into print.

Sincerely yours,
Eileen Eddy
(Mrs. G. Q.) president

HE 20879
C. B. King

20

365 | 7600

730

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104

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3

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723

870

August 22, 1963

Dr. Walter H. Beck
Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Beck:

I've read accounts of the southern law professors' statement in the New York Times, the Atlanta Journal and the Washington Post, and agree with you that it is notable. We're writing to Vanderbilt for the text. I don't know if New South or our Research Department can reprint it in full, but maybe I can get something out of it for New South. I'll certainly let you know if we can do anything with the full text.

It is gratifying to learn that you use our little magazine in your psychology classes and to have your compliments on SRC's efforts. IIdon't know if you've seen our Coles' report The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, which I'm sending you with Kenneth Morland's Token Segregation and Beyond, another recent report. Here, also is a list of our current publications. If you see anything here you'd like to have, do let us know.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Editor, New South

ML/mg

ck $2.00
8/6/63
LK

LWDL

Dr. WALTER H. BECK

NEWBERRY COLLEGE
FOUNDED 1856
NEWBERRY, SOUTH CAROLINA

VJ - pls handle
reply

August 5, 1963

The NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:-

The enclosed check is for the renewal of my subscription to NEW SOUTH. 8/6/63 r

I use NEW SOUTH to a considerable extent in my classes in Psychology to help interpret to students (white) many of the factors that determine common atiitudes as related to human relationships. ~~(I also~~ taught Negro students for ~~fifteen~~ years and am therefore in a ~~position to present both~~ sides).

I should like to inquire whether NEW SOUTH will in the near future include the full text of the notable Statement issued in July by the Southern Law School deans and professors with regard to the Supreme Court and Civil Rights. - Most newspapers in South Carolina have refused to even refer to this Statement, though it appeared as an Associated Press release. I read it while visiting in Greensboro, N.C. at the time it was released.

I feel that this Statement ought be issued in full, also as a separate reprint leaflet, so that we may broadcast it among the people who too often get a very one-sided point of view from the limited presentation they find in their newspapers - If reprinted, I will want at least 200 copies.

With appreciation of your progressive efforts,

Dr. Walter H. Beck

Jean, Journal + Post

Ana María Farfán N.
Avda. Arenales # 1279
Lima, Perú
September 2, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Gentlemen:

I would like to thank you very much for the valuable information you have sond me. It has been of great help for my term paper. I don't have words to express the satisfaction I had when the pamphlet and the articles arrived to my house. I sincerely thank you again very much. MUCHAS GRACIAS!!

Yours Very truly
Ana María Farfán

September 16, 1963

Rev. L. H. R. Hass
2446 Richmond Street
Fort Myers, Florida 33901

Dear Mr. Hass:

How good of you to write me about my piece in the Progressive. I'm very happy to have your compliments on that, and on New South. I need and cherish your blessings, too.

Gratefully,

Margaret Long
Editor, New South

ML/mg

REV. L. H. R. HASS
2446 RICHMOND STREET
FORT MYERS
FLORIDA
33901

September 5, 1963

Dear Mrs. Long,

I thank you for writing the most helpful message "ALL GOD'S CHILDREN" in the August Progressive.

Also I thank you for the fine work you do each month thru THE NEW SOUTH.

May God bless you!

Gratefully,

L. H. R. Hass

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Washington 25, D. C.

September 16, 1963

Professor Vivian W. Henderson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Professor Henderson:

Please accept my congratulations for your recently completed 23-page booklet entitled "Economic Status of Negroes In the Nation and In the South" for the Southern Regional Council. I was favorably impressed by a report on it in today's Washington Post.

I should very much appreciate a copy of it and will gladly pay any costs involved, including postage.

Thank you for any assistance you can provide.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert L. Woods

Herbert L. Woods
Training Officer
Industrial Techniques Training Branch
International Training Division

Race, Region and Jobs

With the detailed income estimates now published by the Bureau of the Census, it is possible to measure the economic progress of Negro Americans with a degree of accuracy never before attainable. But this growth of information has created new problems for the discerning investigator who attempts to draw broad inferences.

In 1962 the median wage or salary income of the nonwhite worker in the United States was 45 per cent below that of whites. Discrimination which limits both the educational attainment of the Negro and his range of employment opportunities, explains part of this differential. But there are other interacting factors, which have not as yet been subjected to intensive analysis. How much weight should be attached to the fact that more than 40 per cent of Negroes reside in Southern states where income levels for whites and nonwhites are below that of the Nation as whole? What portion of the income differential can be explained by the still heavy concentration of Negroes in the rural areas of the South? And how has the differential been affected by the massive migration of the Negro to cities in all sections of the country?

Prof. Vivian W. Henderson of Fisk University attempts to supply some answers in his study of *The Economic Status of Negroes: The Nation and in the South,* recently published by the Southern Regional Council. Unfortunately, he makes no systematic effort to isolate the impacts of regional migrations or shifts in the occupational mix of Negro workers.

Moreover, Professor Henderson's treatment of the white-nonwhite income differential in *absolute* terms leads to misinterpretations. In 1939 the average yearly income of the white male was $1112 while the nonwhite earned $460; and in 1962 the figures are $5462 for whites and $3023 for nonwhites. This widening "dollar gap" leads Henderson to state that "Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites."

But the more relevant point to make in this comparison is that nonwhite incomes have risen from 41 to 55 per cent of the white level over the 23-year period. Admittedly much of this progress was made during the second World War when there was a massive shift of Negro labor into nonagricultural occupations. Admittedly, there has been no significant change in the relative income gap over the last decade yet we doubt whether any reasonable person—Negro or white—would propose closing the absolute dollar gap by a downward leveling of the income distributions.

Income estimates are useful in gauging the economic progress made by the Negro community, but they must be analyzed carefully if faulty conclusions are to be avoided.

School Lag Binds Southern Negroes

By Bicknell Eubanks

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dallas

Efforts by Negroes to get a better education in Southern public schools are entangled inextricably with their lowly economic status as compared with that of white Southerners. In almost every phase, Negro workers find themselves at a disadvantage in competing for jobs because of inadequate training and education.

Southern employers who try to help alleviate the conditions of Negroes by making jobs available often find that there are not enough qualified applicants to fill the jobs. In many cases, these employers will report that they do not get a single Negro applicant. Such jobs as they make available range from semiskilled to white-collar work.

While the incomes of Negro families and individuals have increased more than five times nationally since the end of World War II, it is still only a little more than half of what the white wage earner makes. In the South, there is an even greater disparity. South of the Mason and Dixon Line, Negro income is less than half—only about 46 percent — of what white workers earn.

Why School Drive?

This and other factors are cited by a Fisk University economist as one of the reasons why Negroes have stepped up "their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically."

The economist is Dr. Vivian Henderson, who is chairman of the department of economics and business administration at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. The results of Dr. Henderson's study have been published by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, a bipartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners organized in 1944 to advance equal opportunity for all Southerners.

Dr. Henderson cautions that unless Negroes get a better break on the job market, the South's unprecedented economic expansion may get a major setback.

Basic Question Cited

total unemployment is about twice that of white workers.

Dr. Henderson reports that Negroes are still concentrated in jobs of the lowest categoires, with limited mobility and a high vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. The results of Dr. Henderson's study have been published by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, a bipartisan organization of white and Negro Southerners organized in 1944 to advance equal opportunity for all Southerners.

Dr. Henderson cautions that unless Negroes get a better break on the job market, the South's unprecedented economic expansion may get a major setback.

Basic Question Cited

He concludes that the South "loses from five to six billion dollars annually because of racial discrimination. He warns that if the South expects to make continued economic progress, it must make "rapid racial adjustments."

Dr. Henderson found that Negroes had taken little part in the growth phases of the South's economic advances.

"While it cannot be denied that important change has occurred in the economic status of Negroes during the past 20 years, critical questions must be considered regarding the rapidity of this change," Dr. Henderson said.

"Basically the question facing the nation, the South, and Negroes today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gaps in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress, but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative and intense."

Negro leaders across the South point out that the traditional Southern system of "last hired, first fired" still prevails.

vails. This is borne out at state employment offices, where Negroes will be waiting long after white jobless applicants have been given work.

It is pointed out that while employment has increased in general among Negroes, their

KING COLLEGE

BRISTOL, TENNESSEE

September 24, 1963
Department of History

Mrs. Montez G. Albirght
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for sending to me the materials which I had ordered. Thanks also for sending to me the additional literature. I am keenly interested in the South's racial history. At the present, I am writing a dissertation on Southern intellectual history during the years 1890 to 1930. These were years of racial strife, as you know.

I am taking the liberty of sending to you copies of papers which were prepared and read here on the King College campus this summer on the subject of "The Writings of James Baldwin." I thought that perhaps you and the Council would appreciate knowing that this symposium occurred and having copies of the papers presented. I wrote one of the papers, the Registrar, who has a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary (Richmond, Virginia), wrote one, and a graduating senior wrote the other paper.

I cannot speak of course for the other two writers, but you may feel free to treat my paper as you like. It is certainly not a "contribution" but I enjoyed writing it and I think the symposium was very beneficial.

I have a paper coming out in the winter issue of the South Atlantic Quarterly (publication date, December, 1963) on the racial thought of a Southern intellectual who lived right before the First World War. I will gladly send you a copy of that article if you would like to see it.

May I take this time to compliment the work of the Southern Regional Council? I recently had the pleasure of hearing one of your representatives speak at a meeting of the Bristol Human Relations Council.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce L. Clayton

Bruce L. Clayton
Assistant Professor
of History

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street • Chicago 10, Illinois • MOhawk 4-8222

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523-2901

20 Vesey Street
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Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

September 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to know the cost of 500 copies of the Vivian Henderson study, Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South. Please tell us, too, if that many copies could be supplied for our national convention to be held in mid-November.

@ .25 each

quantity @ .20

500
20
$100.00

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Assistant to the Executive Director

JPS/mc

BUSINESS ADDRESS:
P. O. BOX 396
TALBOTTON, GA.
PHONE: 665-2621

E. L. BURKS
JEANES CURRICULUM DIRECTOR
BOX 396
TALBOTTON, GA.

PERMANENT ADDRESS:
BOX 54
ASHBURN, GA.
PHONE: 567-3672

September 30, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright;

May I extend my greatest appreciation for your assistance in sending the booklets on the movement of the Negroes, while I was studying at New York University.

The material was of tremendous value in aiding to complete requirements for the Six-Year Program. My grades were two of the best in the class.

Thank you for helping me to accomplish my object.

Very truly yours,
Essie L. Burks
Essie L. Burks

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

October 2, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have received the material which you were kind enough to send to the Legislative Reference Service, and it is proving to be most useful. Thank you for your prompt and courteous reply to our request.

Sincerely,

Merwin C. Phelps

Merwin C. Phelps
Librarian
Legislative Reference Service

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, N. Y.

JUDSON 6-8397

October 2, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Please accept my thanks for your letter and report on the integration of Negro teachers in the public schools of the Southern States. When convenient kindly send me supplementary information on this increasingly important subject.

The materials which you have just sent me are of special value to our interests here.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Davis
Special Director
Teacher Information and Security

JWD/mgf

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The "Committee of 100," a voluntary cooperative group of individuals headed by Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

OCT 6 1963

WHEN INTEGRATION COMES . . . .

What Happens To the Children?

EDUCATION

Martha spent a lonely year in an Atlanta high school. She was one of two Negro girls, selected by what must have been to her an unexplainable chain of circumstances, to integrate the school.

Her year was one of isolation, occasional insult of word and deed and occasional secret conversations in cloak rooms and corridors with white students. When the last day of school arrived, she was convinced that she had not made any friends, that her experience was of questionable value.

Much to her surprise, more than 15 classmates came to her on the last day and asked whether they could autograph her yearbook. Her first reaction was of distrust—perhaps her yearbook would be ruined with a venomous insult.

Here is what some of her previously silent white classmates wrote:

"Dear Martha, . . . I know that since I, too, am a new senior I have had my troubles. I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly . . .

"Dear Martha, . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity . . .

"I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination . . . in my eyes you were 'nine feet tall.'

"Surely you realize that ways you have been tested at times are not personal but merely instances of a gigantic, universal, social problem . . ."

This conclusion to the experience of one Negro girl is contained in the first psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation on both Negro and white students in the South.

The two-year study, made by Dr. Robert Coles, an Atlanta psychiatrist, is summarized in a report, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study," published by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Coles conducted intensive interviews with Negro and white children of six and seven in New Orleans and of 16 and 17-year-olds in Atlanta. He also interviewed parents and teachers.

In an ironic way Dr. Coles' study should take its place among other psychiatric classics concerning reactions of children under stress in concentration camps and during wars.

From a clinical point of view the study demonstrated that in an integrated school "children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given . . . initial good health and a functioning school system."

Despite intensive screening, which has been the rule in the choice of all Negro children chosen to integrate previously all white schools, some of the children did not survive.

In Atlanta, one girl seemed to be the likeliest candidate to withstand the stress of integration. She had high grades and was sent to a school in area where desegregation was accepted without violence.

But within three months, she was forced to return to her all Negro school. She suffered from insomnia, depression and cumulative fatigue. Dr. Coles concludes that the crisis of attending the all white school brought out hidden personal and family problems which proved insurmountable.

The study shows strikingly that generalizations about both the Negro and white children cannot be easily made. Only if understood as individuals can their reactions be understood at all. One Negro teenager in Atlanta summed up the feelings of most of the Negro children when he told the psychiatrist, "It was rough at times, but I learned a lot and met some nice people, and I think they got to know us a little and we got to know them too."

The white children, Dr. Coles found, broke down at first into three groups. Some were well disposed towards the Negro children, others were strongly opposed and willing to activate their feelings, but the majority said they were annoyed, did not want the children or did not care.

The attitude of the white children, in many cases, changed significantly. At first, Dr. Coles said, the white children in interviews would describe the Negro children as a group having certain common patterns of behavior. But, gradually, the white children began to individualize, to think of the Negro children as personalities with features original to themselves alone as personalities.

And then further, the white children began to reflect the condition of the Negro children. If they felt that the Negro student was hurt or isolated, they would react either by expressing sympathy, by feelings of guilt or anger or by outright hate or rage.

The best atmosphere was in an Atlanta school which drew a middle class population of a diverse religious and ethnic background and had high standards of teaching corresponding to the high ambitions parents had for their children. The Negro children came from a similar economic background. Dr. Cole concludes that where class differences are eliminated the atmosphere for integration is improved.

Some white children who expressed their parents' strong segregationist views changed their attitude. One boy said, "I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes . . . next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names . . . "

But other white children continued to "call them all the old names." And some Negro children did not change their attitudes.

A Negro student told Dr. Coles: "I hate them, all of them, and when I can help it, I try to stay clear of them . . . I'm here to claim this school, because it's as much ours as theirs . . . they're going to have to learn to live with us, and they'd better learn it, because they need us. I mean they need our help to civilize them . . . they're like savages, that's what whites are like, savages."

Generally, the study found that teachers rose above their personal feelings and saw their professional duty as foremost. The special problems caused by a token integration of a classroom, however, require an exceptional teacher to guarantee that classroom achievement continues at a normal pace, Dr. Coles concluded. No teacher complained of any drop in intellectual or moral climate because of desegregation.

Perhaps Dr. Coles most significant conclusion is that desegregation poses the fewest problems when begun in the first grades. At that time, although children may already have racial attitudes, they are governed by the immediate needs of the moment. Also in the lower grades the differences in educational achievement are less and children compete on a more even basis.

The best summary to the report is provided in an introduction by Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Dunbar writes: " . . . the special merit of this report is to take our minds off the public role and the function of these children, and leads us to think about them and their individualities. Perhaps, after all, that is their true civil right."

Copies of the study are available from the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22.

—JOHN MATHEWS

—Associated Press

'I used to get nervous when I'd see them alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes.'—Comment of a white student.

How Poor Are American Negroes?

by Eli Ginzberg

The paucity of factual information about the changing circumstances and conditions of the Negro minority is a grievous handicap to both white and Negro leadership, and for that reason we are all indebted to the Southern Regional Council, that redoubtable organization which has contributed so much to the improvement of race relations in the South and in the nation,

The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South
by Vivian W. Henderson
(Southern Regional Council; 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Atlanta, Georgia)

for sponsoring a statistical study on *The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South.* Written by Vivian W. Henderson, Professor of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University, the Council's latest brochure sheds much useful light on recent trends in the employment and income of Negroes compared to that of white neighbors, North as well as South.

With respect to population shifts, Professor Henderson points out that during the past decade every one of the Southern states except Florida lost more population through migration than it gained. (This ignores Virginia's increase because of the growth of the District of Columbia.) Moreover, except for Kentucky, the ratio of outmigration of the Negroes was considerably above that of the white population. Between 1940 and 1960 three million Negroes left the South; in 1940 more than three out of four of all American Negroes were residents of the South; today that figure is one in two. Moreover, these two decades witnessed a marked redistribution of the Negro population within the South. Southern Negroes are now primarily urban dwellers (72 percent), heavily concentrated in the central cities of the South (about half).

Have these movements helped or handicapped the Negro? Henderson points out that people move in response to economic opportunity. Therefore, such heavy migration within the region suggests that the Negro made a gain by shifting off the farm into the city; and such heavy migration out of the region suggests that he made a gain by going North.

Did it help the South? Henderson is uncertain. He points to the heavy costs sustained by the region in raising so many young people, Negro and white, only to lose them once they reached working age. But he does not face up to the chronic oversupply of labor in the South. Nor does he mention the continuing very high birth rate among the Southern farm population. He likewise ignores the advantage that many conservative Southerners see in the heavy out-migration of Negroes, which not only helps to drain the South of its surplus workers, but also forces North and West to confront the Negro en masse, thereby transforming a regional into a national problem. Finally, Henderson is silent about the substantial numbers of white and Negro men and women who live neither on the farm nor in cities but in small communities where there is little work and little prospect of work.

It is difficult to see how the South could gain in the near future by holding on to all of its population. The

South surely would gain if it could hold on to more of the better educated and more skilled among both Negroes and whites, but its economic progress requires a dampening of the increase among its farm population and continued out-migration.

The main purpose of Mr. Henderson's study is to assess recent trends in the relative incomes of Negroes and whites in the South and in the rest of the nation. Such titles and subtitles as "Negro Gain Has Been Slight"; "Negroes Running Fast to Stand Still"; "Southern Negroes at the Bottom of the Economic Ladder"; indicate his conclusions. He also tells us of the large gains in average income made by the Negro over the past two decades – from under $500 to over $3,000; and of the better ratio between his earnings and those of the white population – from 37 percent in 1940 to 56 percent in 1960. Big differences, both absolute and relative, continue to persist, but these are not the heart of the author's concern. He is more deeply disturbed, as have been others before him, that *"Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954 they have not progressed in income. . . ."* To this he adds an analysis based on the dollar gap which "means very simply that earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes."

Surely the reduction in the rates of growth in Negro income, absolute and relative, since the end of the Korean War, is cause for concern. But a "dollar gap" analysis, especially since it is uncorrected for inflationary trends, is confusing rather than illuminating. It ignores such basic facts as whether the Negro has more money to spend now than formerly. (Henderson himself tells us that in ten large Southern cities alone, Negroes spent about $2 billion in 1961.) In any case, the concept of a dollar gap is useful only when it is juxtaposed to minimum or desirable budgets. Moreover, a sophisticated analysis would have to estimate the changing value of goods and services that Negroes receive free or below cost – housing, health services, education. Access to improved public services has been a major contribution to raising the real standard of living of the Negro population during the past two decades as they have moved off the farm into the city and from the South to the North and West.

So much for the dollar gap. It is real, it remains large, but it is at best a limited analytical device. What about the data which show both absolute changes in average incomes and the changing ratios between Negro and white incomes? Are the spectacular gains of the 1940-1954 period at an end? Is the Negro's weak position about to be further weakened as white workers move more quickly ahead?

Several brief comments. There is no basis in theory or history which would lead us to expect a straight line projection of the gains made by Negroes during and immediately after World War II. However, great caution must be exercised in analyzing the nine years since 1954. Mr. Henderson shows that between 1954 and 1958 the ratio of average Negro to white incomes declined from 56.2 to 49.9 percent; in 1960 the ratio was back at 56.3; and in 1961 it declined again to 52.2. Fluctuations of this magnitude within such a few years are a warning against extracting and projecting any trend.

Professor Henderson provides us with important income data but he fails to explore them fully; for instance, the finding that Negroes in Florida in 1960 had almost twice as high an average income as those in Mississippi ($2,798 vs. $1,444); or the fact that Negroes in the West had an average income of more than twice that of Negroes in the South ($4,937 vs. $2,322). Henderson opens up the question of income trends; he makes no effort to exhaust it. With respect to employment patterns, he remarks, *"Noteworthy is the fact that the industries with a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes."* As Dale L. Hiestand indicates in his forthcoming book on *Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities*, this finding is not particularly "noteworthy." This has been true to some extent throughout the century. Henderson's tendency to "exclude government" in considering the areas of growth of Negro employment is probably unwise. After all, government is not only our largest industry, it is also the one which is growing most rapidly.

Henderson is worried about the slow penetration of Negroes into the white collar occupations; their much higher rates of unemployment; their continued exclusion from many desirable jobs and from educational and training programs which provide access to them. He quotes the Council of Economic Advisers' estimate that the nation is losing about $17 billion annually as a result of discrimination; he warns the South of the threat to its economic progress from continued racial strife; and pleads for affirmative public action to speed the integration of the Negro – fair employment programs, minimum-wage coverage, expanded area development programs,

more adult training programs, and of course school desegregation.

I have set out as faithfully as I could the highlights of Henderson's analysis, evaluation, and policy recommendations. How does my interpretation of the data differ from his? First, I consider it dangerous to pursue studies on the economic position of the American Negro which treat the Negro population in general, or in a few major subdivisions, such as Negroes in the South and in the rest of the nation. At a minimum, rural Negroes should be distinguished from urban Negroes. We need to know more about significant sub-groups such as by region, education, mobility, family structure, and still other characteristics. Averages sometimes hide more than they disclose. We cannot develop sound public and private programs without much more refined diagnoses of the disabilities that various groups of Negroes experience. Color may not even be the greatest handicap which many Negroes must overcome. At the last NAACP Convention in Chicago I stated my belief that racial discrimination ranks *fifth* in the cause of high Negro unemployment. The first four are slackness in the rate of national economic expansion, heavy concentration of Negroes in the South which has long been an area of surplus manpower, the relatively poor educational background of most Negroes, and the relatively high attachment of Negroes to industries most affected by automation, such as meat packing, auto, steel. To make this point most sharply: If all the Negroes in America were to lose pigmentation overnight, how many of the problems would be solved, how many would persist?

My priorities for action differ from Henderson's, as might be expected. I am concerned that unless we attain a higher level of employment throughout the economy, millions of Negroes as well as millions of white workers will be robbed of the opportunity to live meaningful lives and to contribute meaningfully to the economy and society. Job creation is the major challenge on the domestic front. In this connection we need special efforts directed at providing jobs for young people and for the surplus manpower on farms and in the South. Such a three-pronged employment effort would prove of inestimable assistance to many Negroes most in need of help. No other policy can do so much for so many so quickly.

Next, we need expanded education and training programs to strengthen weak academic and vocational schools and to establish new and expand existing training opportunities for adults, white as well as Negro.

Thirdly, we must proceed energetically to remove discriminatory practices from all aspects of our public life, and also from our private lives. The rejection of human beings from full participation in the economy or society on irrelevant grounds of sex, age, religion, national origin, or race, is as destructive of the individual against whom it is directed as it is injurious to the welfare and security of the nation.

For 344 years Negroes have sought justice from the white majority. They still wait for it. They must keep on demanding their political and civil rights, and they will finally attain them. The other types of help which they, as a handicapped group, need should be part of a national, not a racial program. In the past the Negro has made significant gains when he has been included in important national efforts – the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the New Deal, the CIO, World War II, the expansion of public programs for health, education, and welfare. There is little prospect that white America will do much for the handicapped Negro group. But we *can* expect our democracy to attend to its less fortunate citizens, Negroes included. All America needs a higher level of employment, more and better education, a closer approximation to true equality. To the extent that we move energetically towards these national goals, to that extent will the status of the Negro be improved.

Notes on Contributors

Eli Ginzberg, *professor of economics and director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia University, is the author of a forthcoming book,* The Cup of Liberty. David I. Segal *is an editor in a New York publishing house.*

professeur PAUL PIN
Bioenergetics Laboratories

NAVAL MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
NATIONAL NAVAL MEDICAL CENTER
BETHESDA 14, MARYLAND 20014

14TH October 1963

Dear Professor,

I am a professor of Paris University (FRANCE) very interested in the problems of colored-people in United States. I know that you have written a very interesting report of the economic status of negroes.

As lot of friends are interested in France on such a subject, I should like if possible to receive one of this reprint (if available) - I am sure that your report is a fair tool to understand the situation decently.

I thank you in advance in my name and ~~my~~ for my Paris University's colleagues.

Yours faithfully

Paul Pin

Sent 10-23-63 MA

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CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

ISAIAH W. WILLIAMS
624 22ND STREET SOUTH
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

October 15, 1963

Dr, Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman
Economics Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Dr. Henderson:

I read today a favorable editorial in the St. Petersburg Times to your report concerning the economic status of the American Negro. The editorial stated that it is recommended reading both for those who fail to understan d the reasons for the Negro drive and those who think it is being waged too aggressively.

as a member of the Pinellas County Bi-Racial Committee I feel this report will be a valueable document to us in our work.

Please send a copy of this report for our study.

Thankfully yours,
O'Cain J. Thumbtzen
O'Cain J. Thumbtzen

AUTHORIZED BY PINELLAS COUNTY BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS
JOHN W. BONSEY, Chairman A. L. ANDERSON, Co-Chairman

October 22, 1963

Mrs. James W. Rhea
1809 Carter Avenue
Columbus, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Rhea:

We are pleased that you liked our publication by Dr. Coles. Since you plan to give the two booklets to two psychiatrists in Columbus, we will send them without charge. Our "quantity discount" is based on both quantity ordered, and purpose of the order. If you order as many as ten copies, and plan to distribute it personally to persons such as teachers and school board members, we could let you have them at 25¢ each.

When Dr. Coles was in Atlanta for the two years of his study, he did make some public appearances and speeches. He is now at Coolidge Road, Concord, Massachusetts, and has a heavy program of teaching and research. Even if he had the time, I wonder if the school board would wish to go to the expense of his travel from that point? If they would, you might write to him and see if he could speak to the board.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research

P.S. The two psychiatrists you mentioned might be interested in having Dr. Coles report to the psychiatric association; we do have mimeographed copies for limited distribution and would send it upon their request.

Ck $5.00
10/15/63
LK

Mrs. James W. Rhea
1809 Carter Avenue
Columbus, Georgia

31906

Carlisle PA
Platte
Cement
Mend.

Dear Sirs:

I want to order ten or more (depending on your definition of "Quantity Discounts") booklets by Dr. Robt. Coles "A Psychiatric Study: The Desegregation of Southern Schools".

Is Dr. Coles available ever to come talk with teachers and/or school boards if the school boards would give their consent? It is a fine booklet

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES RENDERED

ITEMIZED STATEMENT MAY BE HAD UPON REQUEST

& since Columbus has just obtained 2 Child Psychiatrists this summer I shall give each one of them a book.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ann B. Rhea

(Mrs. J. W.)

October 24, 1963

Señor Victor Alba
Director
Panaramas
Centro de Estudios y Documentacion Sociales, A.C.
Apartado 25468
Mexico 5, D. F.

Dear Señor Alba:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the requested copy of Dr. Henderson's report. Enclosed is our news release regarding the pamphlet. We appreciate your wish to review it for possible use in Panaramas, distributed throughout the Latin American countries.

I am also enclosing our current list of publications, for your possible interest.

If you do decide to include a review in Panoramas, we would appreciate receiving a copy to forward to Dr. Henderson.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

P.S. My husband, daughter and I have visited Mexico twice, and enjoyed our trip very much.

Centro de Estudios y Documentación Sociales, A.C.

"PANORAMAS"
Apartado 25468,
México 5, D.F.

October 19, 1963.

Southern Regional Council.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

Sirs:

We would appreciate it very much if you send us a copy of: "THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: In the Nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson.

For possible treatment in a special comprehensive review in the "books" section of "PANORAMAS", distributed throughout the Latin American countries.

Yours truly

V Alba

Víctor Alba
Director

letter

javp.

Oct 27 1963

Bias Said to Cost U.S. Billions Annually in Lost Production

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD
A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—Economic second-class citizenship for Negroes is exacting from the United States a tragic cost that is becoming increasingly intolerable and dangerous.

The hazard to the country, as well as to the Negroes, is made clear by an analysis of recent studies by Government agencies, private research organizations, civil rights groups and individual economists.

For Negroes the price is the numbing burden of poverty and the inability to pay for education and training that could lead to a better life. For the nation the cost is unrealized production and income worth billions of dollars every year, in addition to the expense of public aid.

Perhaps most importantly, economic discrimination is a major force behind the current Negro revolution that is fraught with turmoil and hazardous unrest.

Negroes' Grim Lot

The dollars-and-cents lot of the Negro is a grim one. A few facts show how far removed he is from the mainstream of American affluence:

Gains in Negro income have slowed in the last decade. Between 1952 and 1961 the median income of Negro families slipped from 57 per cent of that of whites to 53 per cent, the same level it had been in 1948.

The dollar gap between white and Negro median incomes in 1960 was more than three times what it was in 1939.

Median income of Negroes three years ago was only $1502, less than $30 a week. This was about half the white level.

In the South the median income for Negroes was $995, less than $20 weekly.

Half of all Negro families had total incomes of less than $3000 in 1961—less than $60 a week—although several members might be working. Only one fifth of white families ranked in this low category.

Although half of all white families had incomes of more than $5981 in 1961, only a fourth of Negro families stood that high.

Glaring Economic Lag

The glaring economic lag demonstrated by these few figures has extremely serious consequences for the nation. The dollars-and-cents cost has been spelled out in two astonishing estimates by the Council of Economic Advisers. In a study just a year ago of "the economic costs of racial discrimination in employment," the council foresaw has been achieved largely by moving off the farm and into jobs as laborers and in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations.

However, the industries into which they have been able to move are principally mining, manufacturing and construction, all declining businesses. Employment has been dropping in each since 1947. As a result, there is little hope they can absorb many additional Negroes.

This unhappy prospect is aggravated by the impact of automation, changes in future job demands and inadequate vocational training for Negroes.

The Federal Government has been trying to cope with some of these problem. It has sought to remove racial job barriers, especially among firms holding Government contracts, to elimiate discrimination in apprenticeship training and union membership and to provide new skills through training under the area redevelopment program and the Manpower Development and training Act.

Urges Training Programs

Henderson warns that "Negroes can no longer depend on the forces of national economic expansion and technology" to achieve better jobs and higher incomes. What is needed, he says are bigger and stronger programs at local, state and federal levels to promote fair employment practices; expanded minimum wage coverage; more extensive area redevelopment projects; better adult education, training and retraining, and more school desegregation.

Without drastic changes in these areas, Henderson forsees a continued grim economic future for Negroes.

He concludes: "There is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future. Unless unforeseeable 'revolutionary' changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the forgotten man in America's affluent society."

that high.

Glaring Economic Lag

The glaring economic lag demonstrated by these few figures has extremely serious consequences for the nation. The dollars-and-cents cost has been spelled out in two astonishing estimates by the Council of Economic Advisers. In a study just a year ago of "the economic costs of racial discrimination in employment," the council forecast that the gross national product might be boosted by 2.5 per cent, or 13 billion dollars a year, if Negroes and other nonwhites were not barred from jobs by discriminatory employment practices.

Significantly, the council said this gain could be achieved merely by utilizing fully the existing skills and educational achievements of Negroes. If, in addition, their educational level were raised to equal that of whites, the gain in GNP might rise to as much as 17 billion dollars a year. The council concluded that job discrimination is costing the nation one third of the potential contribution of its nonwhite workers.

Aside from the injustice involved, this waste is a tragic loss at a time when vigorous efforts are being made to stimulate economic growth. The council's estimates make it plain that ending job discrimination would give a bigger immediate boost to the national economy than the initial stimulus of the proposed 10.2 billion dollar tax cut on which the Kennedy Administration is relying so heavily.

Importance of Negro

The economic importance of the Negro to the country is underscored in an excellent study made a month ago for the Southern Regional Council, a civil rights group, by Vivian Henderson, chairman of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Fisk University in Nashville.

Henderson estimated that the personal income of Negroes is "well over 22 billion dollars per year," or 5 per cent of the national total. He showed that in 10 major Southern cities Negroes account for 9 to 24 per cent of retail sales. Using what he called "a conservative estimate," he suggested that racial discrimination is costing the South up to six billion daollars a year in lost income.

This economic power, although below that of whites, offers Negroes a strong lever against discrimination.

Negroes have made great economic strides since World War II, but a number of obstacles will have to be overcome if they are to come nearer to achieving dollar equality with whites. Most obvious of the problems is high unemployment. Since World War II, unemployment among Negroes has run about twice the level for white workers. Last year's unemplyment rate of 11 per cent was the highest for Negroes in the postwar period except for the recession years of 1958 and 1961. Negroes lose their jobs oftener and are out of work longer than whites.

Types of Negro Jobs

A less obvious but highly important problem stems from the fact that Negroes have not made any significant penetration into industries with rising employment. Henderson shows that the economic improvement Negroes have attained since the

Bias Said to Cost U.S. Billions Annually in Lost Production

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD
A Washington Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—Economic second-class citizenship for Negroes is exacting from the United States a tragic cost that is becoming increasingly intolerable and dangerous.

The hazard to the country, as well as to the Negroes, is made clear by an analysis of recent studies by Government agencies, private research organizations, civil rights groups and individual economists.

For Negroes the price is the numbing burden of poverty and the inability to pay for education and training that could lead to a better life. For the nation the cost is unrealized production and income worth billions of dollars every year, in addition to the expense of public aid.

Perhaps most importantly, economic discrimination is a major force behind the current Negro revolution that is fraught with turmoil and hazardous unrest.

Negroes' Grim Lot

The dollars-and-cents lot of the Negro is a grim one. A few facts show how far removed he is from the mainstream of American affluence:

Gains in Negro income have slowed in the last decade. Between 1952 and 1961 the median income of Negro families slipped from 57 per cent of that of whites to 53 per cent, the same level it had been in 1948.

The dollar gap between white and Negro median incomes in 1960 was more than three times what it was in 1939.

Median income of Negroes three years ago was only $1502, less than $30 a week. This was about half the white level.

In the South the median income for Negroes was $995, less than $20 weekly.

Half of all Negro families had total incomes of less than $3000 in 1961—less than $60 a week—although several members might be working. Only one fifth of white families ranked in this low category.

Although half of all white families had incomes of more than $5981 in 1961, only a fourth of Negro families stood that high.

war has been achieved largely by moving off the farm and into jobs as laborers and in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations.

However, the industries into which they have been able to move are principally mining, manufacturing and construction, all declining businesses. Employment has been dropping in each since 1947. As a result there is little hope they can absorb many additional Negroes.

This unhappy prospect is aggravated by the impact of automation, changes in future job demands and inadequate vocational training for Negroes.

The Federal Government has been trying to cope with some of these problem. It has sought to remove racial job barriers, especially among firms holding Government contracts, to eliminate discrimination in apprenticeship training and union membership and to provide new skills through training under the area redevelopment program and the Manpower Development and training Act.

Urges Training Programs

Henderson warns that "Negroes can no longer depend on the forces of national economic expansion and technology" to achieve better jobs and higher incomes. What is needed, he says are bigger and stronger programs at local, state and federal levels to promote fair employment practices; expanded minimum wage coverage; more extensive area redevelopment projects; better adult education, training and retraining, and more school desegregation.

Without drastic changes in these areas, Henderson forsees a continued grim economic future for Negroes.

He concludes: "There is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future. Unless unforeseeable 'revolutionary' changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the forgotten man in America's affluent society."

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Significantly, the council said this gain could be achieved merely by utilizing fully the existing skills and educational achievements of Negroes. If, in addition, their educational level were raised to equal that of whites, the gain in GNP might rise to as much as 17 billion dollars a year. The council concluded that job discrimination is costing the nation one third of the potential contribution of its nonwhite workers.

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Negroes have made great economic strides since World War II, but a number of obstacles will have to be overcome if they are to come nearer to achieving dollar equality with whites. Most obvious of the problems is high unemployment. Since World War II, unemployment among Negroes has run about twice the level for white workers. Last year's unemplyment rate of 11 per cent was the highest for Negroes in the postwar period except for the recession years of 1958 and 1961. Negroes lose their jobs oftener and are out of work longer than whites.

Types of Negro Jobs

A less obvious but highly important problem stems from the fact that Negroes have not made any significant penetration into industries with rising employment. Henderson shows that the economic improvement Negroes have attained since the

October 29, 1963

Dear Maggie,

Just a short note to congratulate you on the September New South. Your report on the March on Washington was both charming and heartwarming...I gave it to my Government professor to read...he gave it to the head of the Religion dept...who read it to some classes, I think...and all the girls in the dorm are asking for it. Several want subscriptions to New South, and I'm having a hard time keeping every one supplied with information about SRC.

Would write more, but I have a French mid-term tomorrow, so I'd better get with it...just wanted you to know how much your talent is appreciated around here.

See ya'll Christmas

Sincerely,

Carol

The Federationist

The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South. Oct. 1963

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga. 23 pages. No price listed.

Vivian W. Henderson, chairman of the Fisk University economics department, has put down in concise, dramatic form the economic costs to the Negro of discrimination in job opportunities, in education and in job training. In no part of the country does the income of the Negro stand near equality with that of whites and in the South, where discrimination is greatest, the Negro's status is worst. Professor Henderson destroys the popular myth that things are getting better. Negro earnings relative to those of whites have not improved since 1955 and the prospects for the future are grim unless there is a major breakthrough in ending the three kinds of discrimination listed above. For Negro employment is highest in those jobs which are declining in the American economy and lowest in areas of greatest expansion. Just how far we are from this breakthrough is indicated by a report on the vocational schools in Houston, Nashville and Atlanta.

November 5, 1963

Senor Victor Alba
Director
Panoramas
Centro de Estudios y Documentacion Sociales, A.C.
Rio Tamesis 1
Mexico 5, D. F.

Dear Senor Alba:

Muchas gracias for your gracious offer to send us two copies of Panoramas containing a note on Dr. Henderson's study.

As you requested, we are adding your name to our press list to receive all subsequent publications and press releases.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS Y
DOCUMENTACION SOCIALES, A. C.

"PANORAMAS"
Revista Bimestral

DIRECCION CABLEGRAFICA: CEDOS
RIO TAMESIS 1, TEL: 46-32-51
MEXICO 5, D. F.

October 30, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of October 24 and for Dr. Henderson's report. As soon as the issue of PANORAMAS containing a note on this interesting study is published, we shall send you two copies.

We should very much appreciate your sending us material from time to time, for use as background or for possible review in our journal.

Sincerely yours,

Víctor Alba
Director

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

*Lewis Towers * 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 11, Illinois * WHitehall 4-0800*

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

November 5, 1963

Sent 11-8-63 mA

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I should appreciate it if you would kindly send me a copy of your recent publication entitled: "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South."

I am an instructor in labor economics and want to use the material for educational and research purposes.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Anrod

Charles W. Anrod,
Professor of Economics

CWA:mh

November 5, 1963

Mr. Clifford Cabell Early
Soldier's Joy
231 Peachtree Battle Avenue, NW
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Early:

How good of you to write me so glowingly about the Washington March story. I am proud that you think so much of New South and the Council's work.

I owe you an apology for not calling you after Mr. Collinson showed me your interesting letter in the Commercial Appeal. I wanted very much to solicit your story for New South, but I got very busy with foreign visitors and a trip and neglected it. I certainly wish you a speedy recovery, for your own sake, and for us, too, so you can write some of your feelings and ideas about our big change in the South. It seems to me that some of the best hope of the South is in the generous and thoghtful feelings of Southerners like you.

My experience with mail is pretty much like yours; the abuse is usually so ill-phrased and spelled, and often so obscene, that no one could be offended or hurt by such ignorant and reasonless attack, and the support rational, literate and generous. This is to be expected, I reckon, since prejudiced people are fearful and mean-hearted and uninformed, and the more open and educated minds are not afraid, hostile and punishing of other people who may be superficially different.

Thanks again for your support and compliments, and my best wishes for a recovery soon.

Cordially,

Margaret Long
New South Editor

ML/mg

"Soldiers Joy"
231 Peachtree Battle Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

October 24 ,1963.

Mrs Margaret Long
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3 , Georgia .

My dear Mrs. Long :

I wish to congratulate you on your outstnding and splendid article comprising the whole of your September issue of the "New South " on the " March on Washington ". You have done a masterpiece of fine writing . You are modern Joan of Arc in your battle for racial justice for Negroes in the South. We Southern Whites must get rid of the idea that we are giving away, losing or sacrificing our legitimate rights when we give the Negroes that to which they are only justly entitled both legally and morally. We white Souhterners gain even more than the Negroes when we do the fair , honest , decent and Christain thing towards our fellow citizens with black skins.

I wish to apologize to you for my not having written to you before in reference to my own proposal made to you through the intermediary of Mr. Noyes Collinson that I prepare an Article for publication in the New South on the subject of Negro Achievement in America. Since it was my own proposal, it was up to me to follow it up and write to you directly on the subject. I wanted to help the cause of racial justice in the South. I would have liked very much to write the article if my health permitted. Now I find I do not have the health amd strength to do the article. I had a serious heart attack last April , shortly after my 80th birthday . I went to the Hospital over a month. Then when I came home , I had to stay on the second floor of our home which is the bed room floor for two or three months. Then I got a little better and I was eager to do what I could to help the cause of ending racial injustices inthe South. However my recovery did not continue and I had a set back. My heart condition has deteriorated. I know you would prefer performance to Alibies . But I just am not physically able to do the work involevd in preparing a comprehensive and accurate article on the subject. I am a low grade perfectionist. If I agree to do a job at all, I want it to be my best and not a sloppy , half accurate , poorly looked up make-shift job.

I know from Mr. Collinson's recently letter that he showed you my letter to the Editor of the Memphis Comercial Appeal in which I stated that as a Southerner I considered segregation morally indefensible . I enclose a copy of my letter for you to have as your own. The way I happened to write the Editor of the Memphis Commercial Appeal was this: A lady who lived in Memphis saw my letter in the Atlanta Constitution and wrote me stating that she thought a letter from me to the Mamphis Paper and I complied with her request. The Lady was Mrs Lawrence Coe a member of the Memphis School Baard.

After my letter, as published in the Memphis Commercial Appeal, a white Gentlemanfrom the town of Jonesboro , Arkansas saw my letter and wrote to me asking that he

"Soldiers Joy"
231 Peachtree Battle Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

beauthorized to secure the republishing of my letter to the Memphis Commercial Appeal in the Arkansas Gazette which permission I cheerfully gave him. He was Mr. RoyPenix lawyer and former Mayor or Jonesboro , Arkansas a town of about 25000 population.

When I wrote my letter for the Memphis Commercial Appeal I received , as I expected , a good deal of abuse as the Memphis Commercial Appeal has a big circulation in the Mississippi Delta and in rabid segregationalist Alabama. But on the other hand I was pleasantly surprized at the amount of favorable mail I received from white Southerners approving of the stand I took in my letter. I am writing you at some length about this correspondence in the hope that what I tell you will be of some help to you in your work as Editor of the New South.

It would be entirely unfair andblindly partisan if I were automatically to classify every one who wrote to me agreeing with me as highly intelligent , well educated , well bred superior good citizens ,and at the same time toclassify every one who opposed me as being automatically stupid , illiterate , intemperate , ill bred , "trash " . But in practise it actually did work out that way. The letters approving my stand were invariably written in good handwriting, correctly spelled , well expressed , with out rancor, demented racial hatred . They were all evidently from well educated , intelligent , well bred , rational human beings who from that they said and the way they said it would be classified as "Gentlefolks ". One the other hand, those who wrote to abuse me were almost invariably very poorly educated people , who generally write on very poor quality stationery , in illegible handwriting , poorly spelled and poorly expressed . The letters from the segregationalists were characterized by surrilous epithets often obscene. In stead of making me mad, the letters saddened me. Why do we have to have so many poorly educated , undepriviledged people in the South. May be they take their frustrations , and disappointments out in blaming Negroes for their failures andlack of white achievements among them selves. Any how it is pathethic that we have so many degraded white people in the South. We often speak of Southern " Poor Whites " thinking in terms of poverty stricken and illiterate People . That was true once but is less applicable now. When I was a small boy in rural Virginia 65 to 75 years ago, The poor white could not read and write because the Slave system was not yet a system of Private Schools for white aristocrats and no public schools for poor whites. Those conditions no longer obtain as an overall picture. The poor white had often gotten up in this world, lives in an expensive home, drives a Cadillac automobile. But the poor white means he had inborn or inbuilt in his wretched soul, a hatred for the Negroes because in his grandfather's day hating Negroes gave him comfort for his own low economic and educational status.

May you have good health and strength to keep on with your noble work for many long, fruitful years. May many fine days be in store for you.

Sincerely , with best wishes

Clifford Cabell Early

Green

November 6, 1963

Mrs. E. A. Foster
137 Mimosa Drive
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Foster:

We're delighted with your good words about New South and Jim Laue's piece. I'm sending your card on to rejoice him, too. We don't anticipate any reprints of his Seven C's, but could send you some spare copies of New South, if you want them.

We love being quoted by such discerning readers as the Fosters.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
New South Editor

ML/mg

Send to Jerri Lane

Dear Margaret Long and New South staff,

If I don't use this card, I'll never write. This is a fan letter to your magazine in general, inspired specifically by James Laue's article on the Movement and the Seven C's. My husband read it first - he always grabs the New South first - and said it was terrifi and I have since practically memorized it. Laue analyzed the situation so clearly, saying what we have been groping for in the past 3 years. Usually sociologists just state the obvious in the most elaborate jargon they can concoct, but Laue has clarified the whole picture. If you ever make reprints, please let me know. I often plan to write (of it) and praise the New South and don't get to it, but we quote from you constantly.

Sincerely, Jane Foster

Sent copy to Laue 10-24-63 MC

Mrs E.A. Foster
137 Mimosa Drive
Charlottesville,

CHARLOTTESVILLE
VA.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

The New South
5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 6, 1963

Dr. D. D. Foote
3720 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Dr. Foote:

I am very happy with your compliments on the Washington March New South, and of course, pleased to send you 35 copies. We are proud of the Patterson piece, too, and I'm glad you're going to spread it around.

Thanks for the interesting letters on Baldwin and the Peale reprint. I would guess, though, that you don't need Dr. Peale to inspire you on how to live or die.

Sincerely,

M

Margaret Long
New South Editor

ML/mg

sent Washington March
11-6-63
MG

Chicago, Ill.
Oct 26-63

Dear Miss Long:

I have just finished reading your acct. of "The March on Washington" and I must admit that it is the most comprehensive and unbiased coverage I have had the priviledge to read. The article by Mr Eugene Patterson, is also to be highly commended. I would like to make my application for 25 extra copies of the New South Sept 63

Mail same to my address with bill.

Sincerely
Dr L. D. Foote
3720 2nd. ave.

November 12, 1963

Mr. Charles M. Hanson, Jr.
Labor Attache
American Embassy
Port of Spain, Trinidad

My dear Mr. Hanson:

We are pleased to send you the requested two copies of Dr. Henderson's report. You may also be interested in our three employment studies, and an L-Report #37. Our current publications list is enclosed for your possible interest.

Very truly yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy,
Port of Spain, Trinidad.
November 8, 1965.

Dear Sirs:

Please be good enough to let us have for the use of this Embassy two copies of the publication entitled "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South".

Thanking you for your cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

Charles M. Hanson, Jr.
Labor Attache

L-37
Employment Studies

The Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

November 18, 1963

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

How good of you to write me about the Washington piece. I am very proud of your letter and high compliments.

We will be glad to see you at the annual meeting.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Editor, New South

ML/mg

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

PA
ML

November 6, 1963

Mrs. Margaret Long, Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Long:

I have read with great interest and satisfaction your article on "March on Washington" which appears in the New South for September, 1963. I found the prose poetical and the descriptions of your experiences very vividly related. It was a real pleasure to read the document.

Again, congratulations on your work as editor of New South, and in your related activities as a citizen in the South.

Best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G.Gomillion
Dean

CGG:f

Henderson

December 9, 1963

Mr. Elmer J. Moore
Research Agricultural Economist
Economic Research Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moore:

We are pleased that you have found our publication, The Economic Status of Negroes useful. Under separate cover we are mailing you the requested 25 copies; a statement is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

December 5, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We would appreciate receiving 25 copies of "The Economic Status of Negroes in the South and The United States." This is an exeellent report, which will be useful in our research on human resources development problems.

If there are charges, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer J. Moore

Elmer J. Moore
Research Agricultural
Economist

2 @ 1.25
2.25
1.25
3.50
6.25

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

Ithaca City School District

CURRICULUM DEPARTMENT

December 13, 1963

Professor Vivian W. Henderson
Southern Regional Council
North Carolina State College
University of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Professor Anderson:

We should like to order ten copies of the pamphlet, "The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South", published by the Southern Regional Council. If there is a special office from which I should order this material, please send me the appropriate information.

Thank you for your attention.

Yours truly,

Jane C. Stoutenburg

Jane C. Stoutenburg
Director of Curriculum

JCS:rc

Sent & billed
12-18-63
MA

Columbia University
in the City of New York
(NEW YORK 27, N. Y.)
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

EXECUTIVE PROGRAMS

Rec'd
12/16/63

December 12, 1963

Gentlemen:

We wish to order 125 copies of "The Economic Status of Negroes; In the Nation and in the South", by Vivian W. Handerson, to be billed to the Executive Programs and sent to my attention.

I would greatly appreciate your sending these to us just as soon as possible, as we wish to use them as reading material for a conference in January.

Sincerely,

Harriet S. Kurland

Harriet S. Kurland
Staff Associate

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsuth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

as per phone call to SDB
1-8-64

December 3, 1963

Mr. Gail F. Ryder
Purchasing Assistant
Office of the Purchasing Agent
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Ryder:

Your inquiry regarding purchasing order 55919 (125 - The Economic Status of Negroes) was received today. If you will refer to the copies of the purchasing order which we filled in and mailed you, you will note that the pamphlets were mailed to Mr. Fred K. Hoehler, Jr., School of Labor and Industrial Relations, on November 11, 1963. I telephoned Mr. Hoehler's office today and talked with his secretary; she assured me that the pamphlets had been received. I asked her to telephone you and tell you they were in Mr. Hoehler's office.

I hope this clears up the matter.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

OFFICE OF THE PURCHASING AGENT

November 27, 1963

Southern Regionial Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Reference is made to our purchase order number 55919 , dated November 18, 1963. The items listed below have not been received:

125 - The economic Status of the negro: in the nationa and in the south By Vivian Henderson

Sent 12-3-63 MA

We are urgently in need of them and would appreciate you furnishing a definite delivery date as to when we can expect shipment.

Your reply within 10 days is requested.

Very truly yours,

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Gail F. Ryder

(Mr.) Gail F. Ryder
Purchasing Assistant

GFR/st

Write

PURCHASE ORDER

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

IMPORTANT - "SHIP TO" ADDRESS AS FOLLOWS

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

PURCHASE ORDER No. 55919

TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DATE NOV. 18, 1963

BUYER CLARK

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE
1	125	THE ECONOMICS STATUS OF THE NEGRO: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH BY VIVIAN HENDERSON .20 EA.	
		NEED BY DECEMBER 4, 1963	
		TO BE USED IN CONNECTION WITH: CIVIL SERVICE PERSONNEL CONFERENCE DECEMBER 9-12, 1963 H 1219	

F. O. B. POINT	TERMS	SHIPPING DATE	YOUR QUOTE NUMBER	OUR QUOTE NUMBER

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

INVOICE PROMPTLY ON ATTACHED BLANKS. THIS ORDER IS SUBJECT TO ALL THE CONDITIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS PRINTED ON THE REVERSE SIDE HEREOF.

NOTICE
EXEMPT FROM STATE AND FEDERAL TAXES

R. D. ANGELL
PURCHASING AGENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

IMPORTANT - "SHIP TO" ADDRESS AS FOLLOWS ▼

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

PURCHASE ORDER No. 55919

TO SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DATE NOV. 18, 1963

BUYER CLARK

PLEASE PROCESS AT ONCE

YOUR ORDER IS HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGED AND ACCEPTED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT SHIPMENT WILL BE MADE AS FOLLOWS:

DELIVERY DATE _____

SHIPMENT TO ORIGINATE FROM Southern Regional Council, Atlanta Ga.
(MANUFACTURER) (DISTRIBUTOR) (CITY)

F. O. B. POINT Lansing, Michigan

VIA: ☐ RAIL FREIGHT ☐ EXPRESS ☐ AIR EXPRESS ☑ PARCEL POST ☐ TRUCK _____

WE UNDERSTAND THAT, IF WE CANNOT SHIP ON OR BEFORE THE ABOVE DATE, NOTIFICATION WILL BE GIVEN IN WRITING.

SIGNED Monty G. Albright

parcel mailed 11-11-63

BY _____

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

DATE 11-21-63

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

SCHOOL OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

November 6, 1963

Mich 4-
355-1855
355-5070
Hoehler-
Thursday

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

We have this date put in a requisition for 125 copies of Dr. Vivian Henderson's "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South." I would appreciate your sending these along as soon as possible. In order that you not duplicate this request, our requisition number is 10780.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Fred K. Hoehler

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

FKHjr:ao

Sent 11-11-63
to be billed when
requisition
arrives

12.52

125
.25
625
250
31.25

125
20
2500
25.00
6.25

ck $1.05
11/4/63
K

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER University Park
COLORADO SEMINARY Denver 10, Colorado

November 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a check to cover the cost of the following publications of your organization. In addition, I am adding 25¢ for the paper by Henderson on The econcomic status of negroes in the nation and in the south, which you so kindly sent me without charging when Iwrote you for it some weeks ago. If I am in error regarding the total amount enclosed please send the materials and let me know and I shall rectify the difficulty immediately. In addition, please place me on your mailing list to receive future catalogs of your offerings plus notices of any forthcoming publications.

I desire the following:

	Cost
Rudwick, Elliott M., The Unequal Badge	$0.10
Price, Margaret, The Negro voter in the South	
The Negro and the Ballot	.40
Plans for Progress	.10
Perry, John, Business--Next target for integration	.20
Total	.80

Please send me the following leadership reports, for which I see no prices listed.

L-12 Voluntary desegregation in some southern school districts
L-17 Desegregation and academic achievement
L-23C Desegregation in higher education. fact sheet, 1935-63
L-32 Refutation of "Race and Reason"
L-34A Desegregation in southern parochial schools
L-45 Public education in Mississippi

I am currently in the process of writing a book inthe ARea of Social Problems and Issueson the American Scene, and your material would be of much use to me.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sent 11-5-63 MA

Sincerely,

Bernard Spilka Ph.D.
Associate Professor,
Psychology Department

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
EDWARD CHACE TOLMAN HALL
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

October 31, 1963

Mrs. Albright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for the employment studies. I would appreciate copies of the following reports: .20 Siberman, The City and the Negro; .20 Map; Collins, The South and the Nation; .10 Harold Fleming, A Southern View of the South; A study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina; .10 .25 Henderson, The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South; Atlanta and Washington: Racial Difference in Academic Achievement; L-23C; L-34A, L-40; and L-45.

.20
.20
.10
.10
.25
.85

L 16
23C
34A
40
45
} F

Sincerely,

Glen H. Elder Jr.

Glen H. Elder, Jr.
Assistant Professor of Sociology

GHE:evb

Sent & billed
11-4-63
MA

Coles

October 25, 1963

Mrs. Rena S. Craig
Spelman College
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Craig:

We have a policy of charging half-price for our publications when they are used in the classroom as textbooks, with a free copy for the professor. So, 16 copies would be $4.00, or 25¢ each.

Sincerely yours,

Montee G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

SPELMAN COLLEGE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Oct. 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

3.16
50
8.00

Dear Sir,

I teach Psychology at Spelman College and I have been much impressed by Dr. Coles' study of "Desegregation of Southern Schools."

How much would you charge for 16 copies for me to give my negro students in Ed. Psych?

Sincerely,
(Mrs.) Rena S. Craig

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

October 24, 1963

Professor Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
School of Labor and Industrial Relations
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Professor Hoehler:

Under separate cover we have mailed you the requested copy of Dr. Henderson's report. Regarding quantity rates for your conference in December, the cost would be @ 20¢ per copy for more than 50 copies. We are selling this pamphlet almost at cost, and the quantity rate is at cost.

Sincerely yours,

Monten G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

SCHOOL OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

later ordered 125 copies

October 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Sent 10-24-63

I note that Dr. Vivian Henderson has prepared a document on "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South."

In early December we will be putting on a conference on "Poverty in the United States" at which we may want to use the above-mentioned material. I wonder if it would be possible for you to send me a copy of this material for our files and to give me the prices for a quantity order.

letter

Yours very truly,

Fred K. Hoehler

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

FKHjr:ao

October 3, 1963

NEW SOUTH

Professor James C. Haden
Department of Philosophy
Oakland University
Rochester, Michigan

OK
RHA
10/3/63

Dear Professor Haden:

We are pleased that you found our materials helpful in your course. The additional publications you ordered have been mailed today. Your check more than covers payment for all mailings. We are taking the liberty of applying $2.00 towards a subscription to our monthly magazine, New South. This will, we hope, interest you as well as keeping you informed of our new publications.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
materials ordered

ck $5.00
10/2/63
K

OAKLAND UNIVERSITY Rochester, Michigan

Affiliated with Michigan State University

September 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

Thank you very much for sending me copies of several of your publications in response to my recent, unspecific request. I am attaching a list of additional materials which I would appreciate receiving, selected from your listing of available publications. One copy of each is all I need.

I am also enclosing my personal check for $5.00, a sum which should cover both the publications which you previously sent and the additional ones on the attached list. I am greatly impressed by the quality of the first materials which you sent, and looking forward to reading further ones.

Thank you for your promptness and courtesy.

Sent
10-3-63
MA

Very truly yours,

James C. Haden

James C. Haden
Professor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
ATHENS, GEORGIA

September 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The University of Georgia Libraries wish to thank you for sending a copy of Pamphlet No. 3 in the "Toward Regional Realism" Series. We find we do not have Nos. 1 and 2 and if you could furnish us with a copy of each we would appreciate your courtesy.

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Sims Way

(Mrs.) Sarah Sims Way
Gift and Exchange Section
Acquisitions Division

SSW:cf

Rec'd 9-26-63
N.M.

July 8, 1963

Professor Locksley G. E. Edmondson
Queen's University
Department of Political and Economic Science
Kingston, Ontario

Dear Professor Edmondson:

We are pleased that you have found our materials of interest. Under separate cover we are mailing additional statistics on voting registration. The Negro Voter in the South (Table 1, p. 5) has a table on registration for 1947, 1952, and 1956. The mimeographed sheet has figures for 1961-62.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Table 1, p. 5
Negro Regis
1947, 1952, 1956

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE
KINGSTON, ONTARIO

2 July 1963.

Mrs Muntez G. Albright,
Research Associate,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta.

Dear Mrs Albright:

I refer to earlier correspondence with your organization enquiring about materials released by you. I have decided to approach you for some information or advice in the hope that you may find it possible to aid me in my researching.

I have been just reading the very interesting pamphlet received from you, the study by Mrs Margaret Price entitled The Negro And The Ballot in the South (1959). The statistics on Negro Registration on page 9 are very helpful for my research purposes. I am wondering, however if you would have further statistics readily available for the year 1943, and 1961 or 1962. I am mainly interested in the earlier figures, that is for the year prior to the overthrow of the white primary. If 1943 figures are not readily available, 1942 or '41 will do. In the ~~to~~ second case, the most recent statistics since 1956 would be helpful.

If you are not able to provide such information readily perhaps you can advise me as to the official (or other) sources which I may consult for speedy reference. Alternatively you may be able to inform me of Mrs Price's whereabouts, since it is likely that she would have these areas of information readily available.

Yours very truly,
Lockslay G. E. Edmondson

December 20, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for the information you sent me. It was of great help to me and my side did win the debate. Our main stand in the debate was based on prejudice. Thanks to the material you sent me it had a well built foundation that the affirmative side could not refute easily. They never did completely which is why we won.

I know now that preparing for a debate involves a lot more work than I expected but it is a lot of fun when the actual debating takes place.

Best wishes for a very merry Christams and a happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Rosemary Burke

Rosemary Burke

January 21, 1964

Dr. Kurt Kloetzel
Caixa Postal 3301
Sao Paulo, BRAZIL

Dear Dr. Kloetzel:

We have mailed you, under separate cover, the requested copy of Dr. Henderson's report. A list of our current publications available is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Universidade de São Paulo
DEPENDÊNCIA

January 11,1964

Gentlemen:

I had the occasion to read a review of V.W.Henderson's work in The New Republic.If copies of "The economic status of negroes: in the nation and in the south." are still available,could you send one copy to me?

Thank you

Kurt Kloetzel-M.D.

Adress:Caixa Postal 3301,São Paulo,Brazil.

Sent 1-20-64
MA

February 17, 1964

James H. Bowman, S. J.
West Baden College
West Baden Springs, Indiana

Dear Father Bowman:

We appreciated your comment on "The March" -- Margaret Long enjoyed it too. We have received a number of comments on this issue.

Our publications list is enclosed; sorry I omitted it before.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

WEST BADEN COLLEGE
WEST BADEN SPRINGS
INDIANA

Feb. 14, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
SouthernRegional Council

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thanks very much for the New South and report on parochial school desegregation and for the reference to the Interdenominational Theological Center. One thing, however, you didn't enclose your publications list. If you can send one up to me, I'd appreciate it greatly.

I have just read some (only some) of the amazing account of the March by Margaret Long and have found it nothing to go at dry-eyed--impossible to do so. I'd better portion out my readings of it; else it will take too much out of me.

√M.L.

Sincerely,

James H. Bowman S.J.

(Rev.) James H. Bowman, S.J.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

LONGWOOD COLLEGE
ESTABLISHED 1884
FARMVILLE, VIRGINIA

28 February 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright, Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I am most grateful for your kindness in sending the works by Margaret Price and the bibliographical material. This is exactly what I was hoping for, and I shall do my best to make proper and beneficial use of the material.

Before imposing on your generosity again, I shall try to find a copy of the Luther P. Jackson study in this area. If it is not available, I shall take advantage of your offer to let me use a file copy. I shall write immediately to Professors Matthews and Prothro for any help they may give. If they are willing for me to come, I shall go to Chapel Hill.

I regret that there is no possibility of my coming to Atlanta to use your files and possibly to use the collection of reference materials which I know to be at Atlanta University. Should my original paper merit expansion, I shall plan a trip down as soon as conditions permit.

Again, my thanks for all courtesies extended.

Sincerely,

James M. Helms, Jr.

James M. Helms, Jr.
Department of History

MA –

I have return on have
returned & properfiles
thank you.

Orig. letter & reply in
"Valtrin" file – MA

ck 5.00 3-24-64 ✓

PW
MW
SB
JG

2.00 3-13-63 ✓ Subscription New South
20.00 materials

USAREUR Operations Division
APO 403, New York, N.Y.

11 March 1964

Gentlemen:

Please renew, for one year, my subscription to NEW SOUTH -- the 1963 October-November and December issues of which I have just received.

The October-November issue impresses me very much as a well-conceived and excellently presented story of "the movement". I feel, in all sincerity, that if a copy, inviting special attention in some way to the citation on the outside back cover, is sent to every U.S. senator during the current civil rights debate in the Senate, more than one "on the fence" vote may be influenced -- and even one vote will mean a lot. . . . . Thus the additional three dollars, surely as little as I can do from this distance.

If the idea does not appeal to you, or if it has been carried out already, let the three dollars be a very tiny contribution to the work of the Council.

Sincerely,

David A. Lane Jr.

DAVID A. LANE, Jr.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

Largest Evening Newspaper in the Two Carolinas

P. O. BOX 360 • CHARLOTTE 1, NORTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Mpntez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

April 14, 1964

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Many thanks for the prompt reply and the helpful material on the race-press thing. I appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Bob Smith

Bob Smith
Editorial Page Editor

Oslo, April 21, 1964.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta,
Georgia.

Dear Sirs,

Since 1961, when I travelled quite extensively in the South, I have received your excellent publications regularily. Being of assistance to me in my work with the Norwegian Broadcasting and providing a very good commentary on an issue which I have given quite a lot of attention, " The NEW SOUTH " and the other pamflets have been most welcome.

The enclosed cheque is to ensure that this good tradition is kept up. Please note that I have moved from the earlier address: Studentbyen på Sogn, Sognsv. 85, Oslo U.H., to a new domicile: Gunnar Johnsons vei 8, Oslo 8, Norway.

Thank you!

Sincerely yours,
Ole Chr. Lagesen
Ole Chr. Lagesen

New South - 3 yrs. - $6.00
Materials - $4.00

Enclosure.

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
ATHENS, GEORGIA
Institute of Law and Government

April 23, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for you letter of April 16. The information enclosed will be extremely helpful in our study of Georgia voting behavior.

Sincerely yours,

Michael A. Baer

Michael A. Baer
Research Assistant

April 23, 1964

Mr. Stephen Leff
Guggenheim Productions, Inc.
14 N. Newstead
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mr. Leff:

It is letters like yours that make our workday brighter and offset some of the frustrations and depression that we often feel in our little oasis of civil rights here in the deep South. Thank you.

We are mailing you today duplicate copies as you requested, for your personal use.

Yesterday we received a bulletin from the Anti-Defamation League on a book just published which you may wish to purchase. The blurb includes the following: "...Dr. Grossack, a social psychologist, when studying personality adjustment and morale of Negroes in Little Rock, found that there was no book dealing in a broad manner with the emotional impact of segregation He decided on searching in the literature for the most revealing studies." The book includes some of Dr. Grossack's own studies and many others. It can be ordered from the Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York: Martin M. Grossack, Mental Health and Segregation, 256 pp. $4.00; Springer Publishing Co., Inc.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Coles (2)
New South: Coles
Clark on Little Rock
Redbook reprint, Little Rock

GUGGENHEIM PRODUCTIONS, INC.
14 N. NEWSTEAD • ST. LOUIS 8, MISSOURI
JEFFERSON 5-9188

April 22, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for your prompt reply. We greatly appreciate all the materials you sent us. They will be very helpful in the preparation of our film.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to send me for my own personal use a similar selection of material. I've had to pass on to our writer the collection we just received. To save you the trouble of digging my letter out of your file the material included: (1) Dr. Coles' pamphlet. (2) His report to the American Psychiatric Association. (3) Dr. Coles' article in New South. (3) Some General Observations on the Negro Community of Little Rock by Dr. Kenneth Clark. and (4) The Redbook reprint, Little Rock -- Five Years Later, by Gerald Walker.

Once again, thank you very much, particularly for taking the trouble to go beyond our original request and add the supplementary material.

Sincerely,

Stephen Leff

Stephen Leff

The Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.

"COMMUNITY PROGRESS THROUGH INTERRACIAL PLANNING"

P. O. BOX 7855, ANCHOR STATION, ST. LOUIS, MO. 63106 • 3017 Delmar Boulevard
Phone JEfferson 3-3820

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Executive Director

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Affiliated with
National Urban League

155

May 1, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright;

Thank you very much for the material you have recently sent me by Dr. Robert Coles. These reports are extremely interesting reading, and I am delighted to have them.

Yours sincerely,

Nancy C. Dyer

Nancy C. Dyer

Virginia State College

Petersburg, Virginia

May 4, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

This is to express our deep appreciation for the 30 copies of Dr. Henderson's Economic Status of Negroes. We do not mean to be selfish, but if you find that you have a surplus of copies, we could use them all as we offer our course in American Race Relations twice each year. The next offering will be in Summer School.

On behalf of all of us, we thank you again.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

HWR/vw

LWD✓

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

May 20, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright, Research Associate
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I am embarrassed by your kindness, thoughtfulness, and industry in responding to my request for information concerning Atlanta ministers and desegregation. I appreciate, in particular, your sending vital information beyond my request. I am greatly in your debt.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Samuel DuBois Cook

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
LAW SCHOOL
LEGAL RESEARCH BUILDING
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48104

May 25, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of May 1, 1964 with numerous enclosures. This is just what I was looking for.

Yours very truly,

Robert J. Harris

Robert J. Harris
Associate Professor of Law

RJH/cs

Miss Sandra Rouzan
1863 Industry St.
New Orleans 19, Louisiana
July 7, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you ever so much for sending me the photo copies on the White Citizens' Councils and also the lists of addresses and literature that will help me gain further information. I greatly appreciate your time and interest in sending the information for my project.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Sandra Rouzan

Sandra Rouzan

5008 Andrea Avenue
Annandale, Va. - 22003
July 9, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW - Room 201
Atlanta, Ga. - 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 2 and all the enclosures. This material will be of tremendous help to me in preparing my paper.

Most sincerely yours,

Mildred D. Brown

Mrs. Morris Brown

LWD ✓
pls ret
MA

I. L. FABIAN, PROPRIETOR

Hotel Empire

4TH AVE & 22ND ST.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Friday, July 9

Dear Mrs. Albright,

My thanks to you for your letter enclosing the photostats. The information is very helpful indeed.

note | Did you and your organization notice that the S.R.C. was among those enjoined from "further" civil rights activity in Selma today? The injunction came from Judge James Hare of the County Circuit Court, and the suit has been served on you by mail.

Thanks again.

C. Minear

Minear

LWD ✓

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Mental Health Study Center
National Institute of Mental Health
2340 University Boulevard East
Adelphi, Maryland 20783

July 10, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright, Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I wish to thank you for your prompt response to my request for publications as well as for the inclusion of several interesting articles which I did not specifically request. I am about to go on vacation and I greatly look forward to reading them.

I am very much interested in the first two reports on the process of peaceful settlement of racial protests which you mentioned in your letter. If you would send them along I would appreciate it.

Again I want to congratulate you on the conscientious way in which you responded to my request for information. I believe the Southern Regional Council promises to be the most useful source of information on this topic that I have come across.

Cordially,

Robert Shellow

Robert Shellow, Ph.D., Chief
Adolescent Process Section

Sent
7-15-64
Charlotte
Louisville
Memphis

MA

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

Department of History

July 13, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of July 6, and for the prompt and generous attention you gave to my inquiry concerning SRC research materials. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me several of your recent publications, and I am pleased to know that I shall be able to receive the interesting and valuable products of your research division in the future.

With renewed thanks and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Denny W. Grantham

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

PROCESSING DEPARTMENT
EXCHANGE AND GIFT DIVISION

Refer to: AG
July 23, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Librarian of Congress has requested me to acknowledge, with many thanks, receipt of the material mentioned below. Your kindness in sending this material to the Library of Congress is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Jennings Wood, Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

The material received:

Special Report. Law Enforcement in Mississippi.

Western Highlands Presbyterian Church

Cleveland Avenue at North Twelfth Street
KANSAS CITY 4, KANSAS

Kenneth R. Locke, Pastor

July 27, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

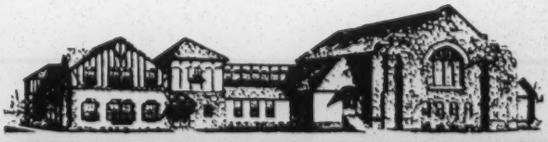
Thank you very much for mailing to me the publications indicated in your letter. They have arrived and I believe they will be helpful. I am going to show these to the students in the class and perhaps then we will make an additional order to you.

With very best wishes,

Kenneth R Locke

Kenneth R. Locke

KRL/ww



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MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

August 4, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the materials of Titles II and III of the Civil Rights Bill received in our office today as requested by my secretary, Mrs. Shaila Small.

You can be assured that this will be used well in the National Teenage Conference on Human Rights to be held at Princeton University August 17-21, 1964. We are serving as one of the cooperating agencies for this conference sponsored by the National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc.

We appreciate your interest in supplying this helpful information.

Sincerely,

Sallie N. Johnson

Sallie N. Johnson (Mrs. James C.)
Consultant, Association Development
Community Division

SNJ/ys

YWCA

Ricker Classical Institute

AN INDEPENDENT COLLEGE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

HOULTON, MAINE

G. DONALD ADAMS
TEL. 532-2223

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

August 10, 1964

Mrs. Montez G . Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your letter of August 5 in which you advised me of sources for placing scholarship aid.

I have written to those recommended sources and anxiously anticipate their reply. I agree with you that a well placed news release would be a most effective way of reaching this select audience and will be completed promptly.

I am sorry for the delay in getting our material to you and can not understand what happened to it; however, I have sent along some more information in case the first mailing does not reach you.

Thank you for your help. Our policy of providing aid to southern Negro students will continue through the years and I look forward to further association with your council. Your name has been placed on the mailing list for our materials and you will receive all RCI publications.

Gratefully,

G. Donald Adams

G. Donald Adams

LE-fz
MA

August 27, 1964

Professor Philip Booth
School of Social Work
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Dear Professor Booth:

Since Mr. Dunbar is away on vacation this month, your letter was referred to me for reply. On the 17th we mailed you the requested five copies of Dr. Henderson's report; you should have received them by now.

If you find that any of our other publications will be helpful to you in your classes, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48104

F. F. FAURI, DEAN

MA - Pls. reply
Rec'd 8/12/64

August 10, 1964

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

LWD

Dear Sir:

For teaching purposes during the coming semester, it would be very helpful to us if we could obtain five copies of your recent publication by Vivian Henderson "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South".

Sent 8-17-64 & billed

In the event that there is a charge for the publications, please send us a bill in triplicate made out to the Library, University of Michigan, School of Social Work Branch.

Yours sincerely,

Philip Booth

Philip Booth
Lecturer in Social Work

PB:phb

v 25 / 5 / 1.25

WALKER PERCY
COVINGTON, LA.

September 8, 1964

Mrs Montez G Albright
Southern Regional Council Inc
5 Forsyth St
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs Albright:

I appreciate very much the figures you sent me on voting registration in Mississippi.

It has been extremely helpful to me in the article I am writing.

Sincerely yours,

Walker Percy

September 8, 1964

Professor Gerald Forbes
Ouachita Baptist College
Box 902
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Dear Professor Forbes:

We are pleased that you found our materials helpful, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing to thank me for the selection I made.

We will add your name to our mailing list to receive all subsequent research publications, for use of your graduate students in the department of history and for the library.

If you would like to look over our enclosed publications list and check those publications which you think would be of especial value to you and the students, we will send them to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

OUACHITA BAPTIST COLLEGE
ARKADELPHIA, ARKANSAS

8/31/64

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I thank you for the material that your note of August 27 mentions that you are sending to me. I shall look forward to its arrival.

Especially, I appreciate the materials that I did not request --- largely because I did not know this information was to be found anywhere.

Let me explain. I am the chairman of the department of history, and we have a few graduate students. Some of them do research in current history. I am trying gradually to develop some materials with which these students can work. I shall be most appreciative, therefore, if you will send me any materials, dealing with the racial question, that you may have for general distribution.

In short, I will be pleased to put all documents and studies on this general subject into the library for the use of the students of history --- either advanced or under-graduate.

Again, I thank you and this note brings you my very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Gerald Forbes

Gerald Forbes, Box 902

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LWDV

EDITH GREEN
3D DISTRICT, OREGON

COMMITTEES:
EDUCATION AND LABOR
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

A. WESLEY BARTHELMES, JR.
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

PORTLAND, OREG., OFFICE:
PIONEER POST OFFICE BUILDING
JUANITA CURRENT
OFFICE MANAGER
PHONE 223-4101

Sept. 10,1964

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Mrs. Green was extremely pleased at your compliment,particularly in view of its source. You were most kind.

I am enclosing a copy of the minority views filed as part of the official proceedings of the Convention and specifically of the credentials committee.

filed in Research 9-21-64

Our thanks for providing us with your publications list and report on Law Enforcement in Mississippi.

Sincerely,

Wes Barthelmes

AWBarthelmesjr

OUACHITA BAPTIST COLLEGE
ARKADELPHIA, ARKANSAS

9/22/64

Dear Mrs. Albright:

This is just express my thanks for the materials from the Southern Regional Council.

It will serve both me and my students admirably in research in current history, and I want to assure you that I am deeply appreciative.

This note brings you and the Southern Regional Council my deep wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely,

Gerald Forbes

Gerald Forbes

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
ITHACA NEW YORK

ACQUISITIONS DEPARTMENT

November 9, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Our Reference: Our request of 10/27/64

Gentlemen:

The Cornell University Library gratefully acknowledges the receipt of the gift noted below, which you sent to us in response to our recent request ("Our Reference", above).

We are pleased to be able to add this to our collection and appreciate your courtesy in sending it to us.

Very truly yours,

Arlene Davern

(Mrs.) Arlene Davern

Gift & Exchange Section

Henderson, Vivian W
The economic status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South
[Atlanta] [1963]

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Labadie Collection

Nov. 11, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Thank you very much for continuing to send us your publications. I can assure you that they are often consulted and form one of the most substantial sources in our civil rights section.

However, we appear to lack yourspecial report on Memphis. Would you please send us a copy?

Again many thanks for your generous cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Weber

Edward Weber, Curator
Labadie Collection

Sent 11-13-64 mA

UNITED STATES CUSTOMS COURT
201 VARICK STREET
NEW YORK 14

CHAMBERS OF
SCOVEL RICHARDSON
JUDGE

June 15, 1965

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of two copies of your special report on Racial Discrimination in Southern Federal Courts. Your courtesy in sending me this publication is very much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Scovel Richardson

Judge.

SRC

* * *

A Strong Voice

An outstanding voice on the side of justice and fair play in the South for the past quarter-century has been the Southern Regional Council.

For the last several years, the council's executive director has been the quiet-spoken and able Leslie Dunbar.

Now Dr. Dunbar is leaving the SRC at the end of this month to become executive director of the Field Foundation in New York.

We wish Dr. Dunbar well in his new position. His has been a strong contribution on the side of conscience and decency.

Atl Const
9-25-65

The Chattanooga Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER, 27, 1965.

Ford Fund Gives Millions In Support of Pluralism

Special to The Chattanooga Times

NEW YORK — The Ford Foundation announced Tuesday a multimillion-dollar support program to help strengthen American pluralism through wide use of independent and private institutions to augment the expanding role of government concern in social welfare.

Foundation officials noted that pluralistic practices are essential to the free society because they involve the whole range of actions and decisions taken at countless points of community interaction. This in turn challenges the private sector to share in social progress through experiment and innovation.

"The way to preserve pluralism," the officials noted, "lies not in rolling back government, but in maintaining and strengthening independent, private institutions capable of contributing to the well-being of American society with energy and originality."

Tuesday's action concerned nine separate grants, totaling $5,028,750, and including two major awards to Southern projects —$972,000 for the Southern Regional Council to study and evaluate a broad range of human welfare programs, and $800,000 to the University of North Carolina for comprehensive research on population problems.

Henry T. Heald, foundation president, noting that the nine grants represent a cross section of several areas in which the foundation is active—urban poverty, population, human relations preservation of great national landmarks, labor relations, and effectiveness of state government —said they were announced simultaneously "as a tangible reminder of the important role private effort can and must play even as government expands its concern for social welfare."

The other grant-supported projects were:

1. $600,000 to the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission (Chicago), sponsored by 13 Protestant denominations, to help urban churches play a more active part in antipoverty efforts.

2. $80,000 to the National Council of Churches to arrange a series of conferences to acquaint church leaders with significant urban work by church groups.

3. $366,000 to the National Urban League to initiate a nationwide program to assist Negro entrance into selected labor unions, primarily in special-skill trades.

4. $1.2 million to the City of Oakland, Calif., for further support of its community-development program to mobilize local resources to combat human problems in the community "gray areas."

5. $130,750 to the U.S. Conference of Mayors for a study of government assistance in preserving architectural and historical landmarks.

6. $130,000 to Brown University for analyses of federal legislation relating to labor-management relations.

7. $750,000 to the recently formed Citizens Conference on State Legislature for a national program to stimulate citizen action for the improvement of state government.

The award to the Southern Regional Council, the foremost interracial organization working for human relations improvements in the South, was viewed by Southern moderate leaders as a major endorsement and tribute to the council's long years of service on meager funds in the interests of human betterment throughout the region.

Numerous Successes

Under the executive directorship, in order, of George Mitchell, Harold C. Fleming, Leslie Dunbar and Paul Anthony, the council, composed of white and Negro leaders from all walks of life in the South, has attained numerous successes in human betterment projects through education, persuasion and research studies.

The foundation grant is designed to help the council, with headquarters in Atlanta, study federal programs in city planning, fair employment, antipoverty, housing and school integration, along with a second group of studies dealing with state welfare programs, rehabilitation of criminals, penal administration, and unemployment resulting from technological change.

The council will also use the funds to provide technical assistance and training to Negro and other groups trying to help themselves through community organizations, credit unions and agricultural cooperatives. The council also will support training in human relations within Southern labor unions, and will help carry out a program of voter registration.

Heald noted that as the federal government greatly expands its role in education and social welfare, the responsibilities of private effort increase in the pluralistic society. He added:

"The grants illustrate some of the reasons. For example, private agencies must continue to pioneer in important affairs from which the government is absent or inadequately involved—the population problem is such a field.

"In fields where government is very active, efforts supported heavily or in part by private funds—such as Oakland's antipoverty activities—can play a valuable part as models, demonstrations of parallel approaches, or as supplements for activities federal programs do not cover.

"Moreover, government programs tend to amplify the status quo approaches, and private agencies with proven ability to innovate, experiment, and sometimes to challenge — as the churches are increasingly doing on urban social problems—are important sources of social progress.

"Government itself is not always the best judge of its own performance, and independent agencies—as in the case of the grants to Brown University, the Conference of Mayors, and the Southern Regional Council—can often evaluate and monitor government efforts more effectively.

"The private sector can also organize itself—as in the case of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures—to work toward the improvement of the machinery of government itself."

+
[rm]

Fr. Kenneth Gilly

monastery of the holy ghost

CONYERS, GEORGIA

Miss Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss (Mrs) Long,

Ever since I received the first issues of New South I have been contemplating writing you a letter to let you know I like the magazine no end. I only wish that somehow the spirit that pervades your periodical were the dominant spirit in the South. It is surely not a new spirit - it is ante bellum and I consider it, not an innovation but a return to recapture a genuine

I am (2)

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CONYERS, GEORGIA

part of our dynamic Southern Heritage. I am at lost to single out any particular articles that I especially admired or any I did not care toomuch for. The October issue (last I have received as of now) was especially interesting to me as I happen to be a Mississippian and damn proud of it. I liked the article on the Hattiesburg Rabbi.

If I may express a personal desire without insinuating any criticism of your publication as it exists - I would hope you could incorporate more articles of the type published in the book The "Lasting South." Since I have only read 4 or 5

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issues of New South perhaps my opinion is obstine and a longer acquaintance with your magazine would show you are doing just this. Someone, who knows of my intense interest in things Southern sent me a clipping from Sunday Jan 13th Constitution about Mr. Sabbs. Well, I don't think I have ever read anything about things Southern, that corresponded more with my personal views than did that article - as well as his own article in The Lost my South. I really believe that the South has a tremendous lot we should fight just as hard to keep as we should be fighting to rid ourselves

monastery of the holy ghost
conyers, georgia

of segregation.
Incidentally, there is a marked likeness between the Cistercian Order and the South. Or how should I put it, between the traditions & viewpoints of these 2 societies. just to name a few things – both are basically agricultural, both have chivalric ideals – (respect for womanhood in cistercian order found its greatest outlet in devotion (not worship) of God's mother – Mary.). Both are contemplatively orientated, religiously committed.
also there is a strong resemblance between the organization of the 2. Both put great emphasis on smaller autonomous units & have

MONASTERY OF THE HOLY GHOST
CONYERS, GEORGIA

looked upon over centralization as undesirable. This concept of government has indeed worked out best for us. Autonomous independent monasteries with relatively weak central organization. I Really believe the South has much to contribute to the nation by not loosing this viewpoint & remain as a constant buffer against unnecessary central government.

It is also true the the South & the Cisterian order likewise share similar weaknesses & pitfalls. a stagnant adverous Tradition is probably NO. I on the Cist. Provincialism (with the unfavorable nuance.) comes close.

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Right at present one of our problems is ridding ourselves of the feudal distinction between choir monks (white robed) & lay Brothers - (brown robed). Does this ring a bell.

Somehow, I have written longer on this subject than I intended but I hope you may find it of interest, if not, forgive me. One last item I would like to bring into this letter. I do not know whether you have ever heard of the Dominican convent in Marbury, Alabama. They are a convent of cloistered nuns dedicated solely to a life of prayer. In this they simply

MONASTERY OF THE HOLY GHOST
CONYERS, GEORGIA

follow the usual pattern of such establishments within the Catholic church. However they are unusual in as much as they are integrated and have been since their foundation in 1944. at present there are 6 colored & 5 white nuns. Their spirit is simply one of unbelievable christian joy & dedication. I have visited this convent 8 or 9 times in the past 4 years and I simply am unaware of the color distinction in their presence - I believe that's quite a statement from a Mississippian. The only thing really missing is that the 5 white girls are all of northern birth.

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The first Southern white girl - Ga. cracker from Savannah - has in her application now & will enter sometime next fall. This will probably co incide with integration of Univ. of Alabama - purely co-incidental. I am in correspondence with the Savannah girl and believe she has all the necessary qualities & dispositions to fit into this convent. So - if perhaps at some date you should ever feel that an article about this convent should have any interest to your New South readers, I would be glad to see what I could

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do about getting up one. Needless to say these nuns have the integration revolution deeply at heart. At particular crisis they sometimes remain in chapel all night. This should be a great reminder that without diminishing the need for heroic action, we also need to storm heaven for the best possible solution to this great evil + that bitterness + rankling in men's hearts be lessened.

Good coins, but I never intended to be this long. Forgive all mistakes - but I have neither time nor inclination to do anything about them. By the way, if

+ 110

monastery of the holy ghost

conyers, georgia

you're ever out Conyers way, come on up to the monastery for a visit. I wonder if you could render an invitation to Mr. Dable to visit us. I would indeed enjoy speaking to him. I feel he is a real southerner after the better traditions of Lee & Jackson, Cleburne, Grady & Cable.

wishing you God's blessing on your work & on you

Fr. Kennette ocso

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
TUCSON, ARIZONA
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

Mrs Montez Albright
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs Albright:

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your generous responce to my letter concerning a number of the Council's publications. They will prove especially helpful in the course on Civil Liberties that I will be offering next year.

I realize the trying and vital that you and your members are going through at the present, and I wish you success.

With best regards,

Clifford M. Lytle, Jr.

Clifford M. Lytle, Jr.

New South, "March on Washington"

letter 11-5-63 from Eugene Patterson, editor Atlanta Constitution to Margaret Long

"The New South issue with your Washington report in it will live. It's a great job. When I saw you wandering around the Washington Monument you didn't tell me you were going to do the definitive work on that day, but I think you have done it."

The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, by Robert Coles, M.D.

Time Magazine, 8-16-63

"...Coles has been off tackling one of the great questions of U. S. education: How, in detail, does desegregation affect children? He may now be the nation's leading expert on the subject. As gifted with words as he is with feelings, Coles last week issued an eloquent report under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
...All this, Reporter Coles believes, shows how racial myths can in practice be legislated out of existence to the general improvement of education. The law is still a great teacher."

Dallas, Texas Express, 8-17-63

(last Para) "There may be many changes of some of these findings, and some of them may be attacked, but it is heartening to most of the educators to find them now."

Washington Post, 8-11-63, Susanna McBee

"To those whites and Negroes who have lived through the initial difficulties of newly desegregated schools, the event is more than a political struggle for a social phenomenon; it is a series of individual experiences.

...The moral of Dr. Coles' report seems to be that both races have survived and made progress in integrated schools."

Providence (R.I.) Journal, 10-6-63, John Matthews

"...In an ironic way Dr. Coles' study should take its place among other psychiatric classics concerning reactions of children under stress in concentration camps and during wars."

The News and Observer, Raleigh, N.C. 8-12-63 (from AP report)

"School desegregation is easier in elementary grade schools than in high schools... children of both races seem able to learn without physical or emotional injury, if they are in good health and have a functioning school system."

The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South, by Vivian W. Henderson

The Federationist, October 1963

"Vivian W. Henderson, chairman of the Fisk University economics department, has put down in concise, dramatic form the economic costs to the Negro of discrimination in job opportunities, in education and in job training. In no part of the country does the income of the Negro stand near equality with that of whites and in the South, where discrimination is greatest, the Negro's status is worst. Professor Henderson destroys the popular myth that things are getting better. Negro earnings relative to those of whites have not improved since 1955 and the prospects for the future are grim unless there is a major breakthrough in ending the three kinds of discrim ination listed above. For Negro employment is highest in those jobs which are declining in the American economy and lowest in areas of greatest expansion. Just how far we are from this breakthrough is indicated by a report on the vocational schools in Houston, Nashville and Atlanta."